THE FRENCH ACADEMIE,

wherin is discourſed the inſtitution of maners, and whatſoeuer els concerneth the good and happie life of all eſtates and callings, by preceptes of doctrine, and examples of the liues of ancient Sages and famous men:

By PETER de la PRIMAVDAYE Eſquire, Lord of the ſaid place, and of Barree, one of the ordinarie Gentlemen of the Kings Chamber: dedicated

To the Moſt Chriſtian King Henrie the third, and newly tranſlated into Engliſh by T. B.

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1586

TO THE RIGHT VERTVOVS AND WORSHIPFVLL GENTLEMAN, AND HIS SINgular good friend Maiſter IOHN BARNE *Eſquire*, T. B. C. *wiſheth grace and peace in this life, and euerlaſting happines in the life to come.*

SIR, hauing at length finiſhed the Tranſlation of this French Treatiſe of Morall Philoſophy, I preſume the rather to recommend it to your Worſhips fauour, bicauſe your ſelfe did firſt commend it vnto me for the varietie of excellent ſayings and examples wherewith it is repleniſhed. And ſurely I perſwade my ſelfe, that howſoeuer for want of a skillfull Tranſlator it hath loſt much of that grace, which otherwiſe it might haue had, yet by reaſon of the matter it ſelfe, & good diſpoſition obſerued throughout the whole booke, it will be of ſome account with ſo many as preferre the ſoundnes of ſubſtance before the ſwelling froth of curious phraſes. True it is, that many words vſed by the Author, and retained by me, are almoſt the ſame with the originall toongs from whence they were deriued, and peraduenture will ſound harſh at the firſt in their eares that neuer heard them before; but if

they will haue patience a while, and let them passe to and fro vpon the file of their teeth, no doubt but in short time they will be as smooth as other Greeke and Latine words which now are taken for meere English. I might heere alleadge reasons to prooue the necessitie of retaining such words in translating: namely, that many of them are proper names and words of Arte, that as all occupations and handicrafts haue their seuerall names of instruments belonging to their science, so is it with Philosophy, and with euery part thereof: but I make no doubt of finding the Reader fauourable in this point, considering that it tendeth to the enriching of our owne language, and hath beene practised by the learned of all nations that haue gone before vs, as is euident to such as are skilfull in the toongs. Concerning the profite of this booke, I referre the Reader either to the title thereof, which promiseth no more (in my opinion) than is performed with aduantage in the bodie of the same, or else to the Authors Epistle to the Reader, wherein he setteth downe a summarie of that doctrine, which is afterward handeled more at large. Wherein howsoeuer he hath very excellently behaued himselfe, and (as I am perswaded) gone farre beyond those that haue handled the same matter before him, yet considering each mans infirmitie to be such, that he attaineth not to perfection in any worke, neither speaketh all things that are to be spoken of the same thing, nor yet is free from error in those things which he speaketh or writeth, I exhort all that shall peruse this Treatise following, so farre onely to approoue euery sentence and example of life, as it may be prooued out of the records of holie Scripture. Moreouer, as many as are desirous to be bettered by the reading of this booke, they must thinke seriously vpon that ende vnto which this Author had regard when he penned it, which was the same that *Aristotle* had in writing his Ethicks or booke of Manners: namely, *the practise of vertue in life, and not the bare knowledge and contemplation thereof in braine.* And, least any man should haue that

Arist. lib. 2. Eth. cap. 2.

opinion

opinion of these Morall precepts, which all men haue of *Platoes* Common-wealth, or of *Aristotles* Felicitie, of *Tullies* Orator, or of *Moores* Vtopia, that they containe in them rather an *Idea* of good life, than such a platforme as may be drawne from contemplation into action, he hath ioined works with words, practise with precept, and the fruits of rare examples with the faire flowers of Philosophicall instructions. But many are so farre from conceiuing any such excellencie in them, that so soone as they heare the name of *Philosophy*, they thinke they haue sufficient cause to condemne as hurtfull, all the writings of *Philosophers*, alleadging that sentence of S. *Paule: Beware least there be any man that spoile you through Philosophy:* not considering that the Apostle doth in the very next wordes expound himselfe, and sheweth that he meaneth nothing els but the deceitfull conclusions of mans reason, disagreeing from the doctrine of Christ reuealed vnto vs in his word. I grant that the word of God is onely perfect, and containeth in it an absolute rule both of pietie towards God, and humanitie towards men, but it followeth not therefore, that we may not vse the benefit of humane precepts, or tread in the steps of heathen men, so farre foorth as their learning and liues dissent not from the truth of holy Scriptures. Will any man refuse pearles bicause they are offered him in base vessels? Or not vse a light bicause it is not put into a siluer candlesticke? And shall we passe ouer without profite, so many good precepts and woorthy examples of learned men, bicause they proceede from the twilight of naturall knowledge, and not from the cleere sunne-shine of the word of God? Let vs rather harken to S. *Augustine* in his second booke of Christian doctrine, where he hath these words agreeing very fitly to this matter. *As for those* (saith he) *that are called Philosophers, if they haue vttred any truth agreeable to our faith & doctrine (especially the Platonists) we are not onely not to feare it, but rather to challenge it from them as from vniust possessors thereof. For as the Egyptians had not onely idols and heauy burdens, which the people of* *Aug. lib. 2. de doct. chr. cap. 40.*

Israell were to detest and flye from, but also vessels and ornaments of gold, siluer and raiment, which that people at their departure out of Egypt challeged couertly to themselues for better vses, although not of their owne authoritie, but by the commandement of God, &c. So the doctrine of the Gentiles hath not onely counterfet and superstitious forgeries and heauy packs of needeles labour, which euery one of vs departing from their societie vnder our Captaine Christ, ought to detest and shun: but also liberall Arts meete to set foorth the truth by, and certaine profitable precepts of manners, yea some true points concerning the worship of one onely God. What their knowledge was concerning themselues, and their dutie one towards another, the whole Treatise following expresseth at large, vnto which I had rather referre you, than vse any needeles repetition in this place. And as for that other point concerning the knowledge of one only God, it is most certaine, that from the light of Nature holpen with industrie, studie, and education, (according to the wisedome and dispensation of God) many notable conclusions proceeded from sundry of them, as *Augustine* himselfe sheweth by a long discourse in his eight booke *De Ciuitate Dei*, where among other he alleadgeth these out of *Plato*: *That God is a spirite, and of a farre more excellent nature than the soule of man, or any other spirite whatsoeuer: that God is one and the same, and alwaies like vnto himselfe: that God is the light of our minds, wherby we attaine to all our knowledge and vnderstanding: that no man is therefore blessed and happy, because he hath abundance of wealth, honor, strength, beautie, or of any externall thing, nor yet for any gift of the mind, but because he enioyeth God the soueraigne Good.* How diuinely doth *Aristotle* write of God, and of his fatherly prouidence, in his tractate *De Mundo* dedicated to *Alexander*? I know that many with force of reason carying them thereunto, haue vehemently suspected, that this peece of worke came neuer out of his shop. Which although it be granted for true, yet the book it selfe doth euidently declare, that the Author thereof was a meere heathen man, and directed onely by his pure Naturals when he wrote it: which being sufficient to shew how

Aug. lib. 8. de ciuit. Dei, cap. 6. 7. 8. &c.

how farre the darkenes of nature doth comprehend the light and knowledge of heauenly things, is as much as I require. This treatise being wholy occupied in these two principall points: namely, in the description of the vniuersall frame of the world, and in the declaration of the nature of God the workemaister thereof, I will briefly set before you the summe of the last part, which the Philosopher painteth out vnto vs very notably in liuely and orient colours. First he acknowledgeth, *that all things are of God, that they consist and haue their being by his power, that no nature whatsoeuer is able to continue, if it be not maintained and preserued by him.* And in setting out the manner of working whereby this mightie power of God is forceable in the gouernment of all things, he goeth beyond the common reach of naturall men, affirming, that although God be present euery where, yet not by any bodily or locall presence, as the common receiued opinion then was, *That all things whatsoeuer we perceiue by sight, hearing, or any other sense, were full of Gods*, and as *Seruetus* blasphemously taught of late yeeres, *That God was an essentiall part of euery creature*, but that he gouerneth all things *by his power and vertue*, whereby he effecteth whatsoeuer pleaseth him. Againe, as he subscribeth to the almightie power and prouidence of God in the being and rule of all things, so he laboureth to make knowne the great wisedome of God by the contemplation of the excellent course of nature, which is certaine without inconstancie, beautifull without blemish, & diuers without disorder. For what can be more certaine than the ordinarie course of the Sunne, Moone, & Starres, which haue continued in their appointed race from time to time, and from one age vnto another? What greater certaintie than that which to our comfort appeereth in the mutuall turnes and returnes of times and seasons, of Sommer and Winter, Spring and Autumne, day & night? In regard of which constant continuance of the irreuocable order appointed by God in this whole frame, the world is called by the Hebrewes *gnolam*: and in the Epi-

Aristotele de Mundo.

ſtle to that people, it is expreſſed by this word αἰὼν, (which many times ſignifieth perpetuitie) *Heb.*1.2.& 11.3. Concerning the beautie and glorious ſhew thereof, what thing more beautifull than the glittering face of the heauens, decked and adorned with ſtarres both great and ſmall, as it were with iewels and pretious ſtones of all ſorts? And for this ſelf ſame cauſe it receiued that name of κόσμος from the Grecians, and of *Mundus* from the Latines. Laſtly, if we looke either to the variable motions of the Spheres in the ethereall region, or to the contrary qualities of the elements in the aerie and lower part of the world, or to the varietie of foules, fiſhes, beaſts, plants, graine, ſtones, mettals, &c. and conſider withall what a ſweete harmonie ariſeth from all theſe, as it were from a well tuned inſtrumẽt that hath ſtrings of all ſorts, or like to a liuely picture that hath all kinds of colours mingled in it, or to a well ordered citie compounded of ſundry occupations, callings, & conditions, of poore and rich, yoong and old, bond and free, we may ſee if we haue but halfe an eie, and feele if we be blind, that in this rare peece of worke and frame of the world, there is moſt excellent conueiance without confuſion, great varietie concurring in vnitie, and diuerſitie of all kinds without diſorder. All this and much more is attributed by the Author of that booke *De Mundo*, (be he *Ariſtotle*, or ſome other heathen Philoſopher) *to the onely working of the power of the inuiſible God, of whome* (ſaith he) *we muſt thus conceiue, that for his power he is moſt mightie, for his beautie moſt excellent, for his life immortall, and for his vertue moſt abſolute:* and therfore he cannot be ſeene of any mortal creature, but is notwithſtanding known by his works. *For all accidents in the aire, in the earth, and in the water, may truly be called the works of God, who containeth and preſerueth this world, of whome* (as *Empedocles* ſaith) *proceeded,*

All things that were, that are, and ſhall be here,
Plants, Men, Beaſts, Birds, and fiſh in waters cleere.

But this Philoſopher not contenting himſelfe with this conſideration and view of God in his works, entreth into

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a deeper meditation of his nature, by setting downe a very good exposition, and as it were a Commentarie vpon those names and titles, which vsually were attributed in his time vnto God, thereby to make his powerfull gouernment ouer all the world more knowne vnto men. *Although* (saith he) *that God be but one, yet we call him by many names, as* Zeus *and* Dia, *bicause we liue by him:* Adonæus, *bicause he is of an immutable nature:* Heimarmenè, *bicause nothing is done by chãce, but according to his most certaine decree:* Ate, *bicause no man can possibly auoide him, or flie from him:* Aion, *bicause he abideth for euer. And as for that fable* (saith he) *of the three sisters of destinie, I meane of Clotho that spinneth, of Lachesis that draweth out to a iust length, and of Atropos that cutteth off the threed of mans life, it is to be vnderstood of God onely who (as it was said in old time) is the beginning, midst, and end of all things. To conclude, there is a iustice that is neuer separated from God, which is the reuenger of al transgressions committed against the law of God, wherin euery one must be well instructed that would be partaker of humane felicitie and happines.* Now iudge, I pray you, whether a Christian may not with profit enter into this schoole of nature, and reape commoditie by this little light of naturall knowledge, which as it serued to make them without excuse that were endued therewith, bicause they knowing God, did not glorifie him as god, neither were thankfull, but became vaine in their imaginations: so it is to be feared, that those selfe same men shal rise vp in iudgement against vs that professe Christianitie, and condemne vs in that great and terrible day. For how many of vs want that knowledge of the eternall power, diuinitie, & prouidence of God, which was in *Parmenides*, *Plato*, *Aristotle*, & others, endued onely with the light of nature, whereby they were led from the view of the creatures, to the consideration of the inuisible things of God? And if we looke into the liues of men in these daies, & consider what neglect there is of those mutuall duties which God commandeth vs to exhibite one to another, we shall soone see, that many a million of carnall Gospellers come farre short euen of

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thoſe ciuill apparant and halfe vertues of the Heathen, & may therefore be ſent backe to learne holines of *Socrates*, iuſtice and innocencie of *Ariſtides*, charitie of *Cymon*, vpright dealing of *Phocion*, fidelitie in perfourming promiſes of *Regulus*, moderation of *Camillus*, parſimonie of *Curius*, grauitie of *Cato*, & what not of Heathen men, whoſe ſight in theſe thinges was better at midnight, than ours is at mid-day. But my meaning is not to approoue that Apocriphal tradition of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, who ſaith, that *as the Lawe was a ſchoole-maiſter to the Iewes to leade them to Chriſt: ſo Philoſophy was to the Grecians to bring them to ſaluation.* Now, although this erronious doctrine be as contrary to truth, as darkenes is to light, and as hel is to heauen, yet did *Andradius* defend it in a booke ſet foorth by him at their inſtigation (as himſelfe proteſteth) who were of greateſt authoritie in the late Tridentine Councell. Doth not the Lorde by the mouth of *Eſay* tell vs, that there is no light in them that haue not recourſe to the Lawe and to the teſtimonie, and ſpeake not according to his word? *Eſay* 8. 20. Dooth not our Sauiour Chriſt ſende vs to the Scriptures for euerlaſting life? *Iohn* 5. 39. Howe then dare anie profeſſing Chriſtianitie, affirme, that *Philoſophers by the light of nature, and knowledge of Philoſophie, without the direction of the written word of God were made partakers of the righteouſnes that commeth by faith*, and ſo conſequently of eternall happines? But to let this blaſphemous mouth paſſe, let vs make that account of the writings of men which they deſerue, and reape that commoditie by them, which we may without preiudice to the written word. For my meaning is not in commending *Philoſophie*, to giue greater credite vnto it, or further to allow the vſe thereof, than may ſtand with the maieſtie of the holy and ſacred Scripture, which being the Miſtres of all humane arts and diſciplines, vſeth them as hir handmaids to ſerue and obeie hir. Therefore as it is vnſeemly for a maid-ſeruant to go before hir Miſtres, to ſpeake before ſhe be ſpoken vnto, or to vſe three words for hir one, eſpecially in

Lib. 6. Stromm.

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companie where ſeruice and modeſtie is moſt required: ſo it beſeemeth not the ambaſſadors of Gods word (vnto whom indeed the knowledge of toongs and humane arts is a ſingular helpe) to vſe theſe gifts otherwiſe than as handmaids in their ſtudies and meditations to ſerue the Scripture to the more plaine and pure expoſition of it, ſeeing they are ſent to edifie others, and not to ſet out themſelues. Now when they ſtuffe a great part of their ſpeech with poeticall fictions, philoſophicall ſayings and examples (as alſo they are woont to alledge Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine ſentences to draw men into admiration of their great learning) they ſet the Miſtres behind, and giue the firſt and chiefeſt place vnto the handmaidens. Is not this *To make the croſſe of Chriſt of none effect?* 1.*Cor.*1.17. To vſe that kind of preaching that ſtandeth in the inticing ſpeech of mans wiſedome; and not in plaine euidence and power, is it not *to build faith vpon the wiſedom of men, and not vpon the power of God?* 1. *Cor.* 2. 4. 5. If diſagreement of matter and forme be vnſeemely, how vndecent is it in ſpirituall doctrine to vſe a carnal and humane kind of teaching, 1. *Cor.* 2. 13? to alay the ſtrength of the word of Chriſt with the wateriſh ſayings & fables of men? to put vpon the naked and glorious face of God the beggerly clokes of *Poets & Philoſophers?* When the Lorde hath ſanctified, not the corruptible ſeede of the ſayings of men, but the incorruptible ſeede of his owne moſt holy worde to the begetting of faith, are not theſe new-begetters aſhamed to bring in another way of regeneration? When Gods will is to haue his children nouriſhed with the ſincere and vnmingled milke of his worde, dare man vſe the infuſion of water, to the weakening of them whome he ought to confirme? When the King hath appointed for his ſonnes and daughters the pureſt and fineſt wheate, ſhall the Steward, as if they were ſwine, prouide Acornes for them? But I detaine you too long from entering into the pleaſant walks of this Platonical Academie & Schoole of Moral Philoſophy, which being hewen out of the choi-

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ceſt timber of all Countries, was raiſed vp, and ſet togither in France, and is newly rough-caſt (as you ſee) by an Engliſh workeman: whoſe earneſt deſire is to haue this ſmall labour of his knowne to other, and receiued of you as a monument of his gratefull mind towards your Worſhip, for the manifold benefits which he hath from a child receiued at your hands. In conſideration whereof I am bold or rather bound, to offer my ſelf togither with theſe my firſt fruits vnto your good liking, beſeeching him that turned your bountifull hart towards me, to knit it ſo neere vnto himſelfe, that he may be your chiefe riches in this life, & your only happines in the world to come. Thus commending you and that good Gentlewoman your wife with all yours, to the grace of God, I take my leaue of you this 17. of October.

Your Worſhips euer bounden in the Lord,

T. B. C.

SI quis in natiuo ſolo collocatus, honeſtis quibuſuis circumfluẽs voluptatibus, nec vlla neceſſitate eò impulſus, ſe tamẽ amicorum hortatu in turbulentiſſimas maris tempeſtates conijceret, vt pretioſam margaritam à ſuis multũ deſideratam cõpararet: certè & laudanda foret eius in tantis laboribus ſubeundis alacritas, & poſtquã ſecundo vento vſus ſit, ſumma cũ lætitia excipiendus illius reditus. Peregrè, vt mihi viſum eſt, profectus es aliquantiſper (chariſſime amice) & licet ea fuit vitæ tuæ cõditio, vt bonis literis te oblectans, in ijs tanquã in tua patria conſiſtere potuiſſes: voluiſti tamẽ amicorũ rogatu fluctibus te obijcere, & per aliquos ſcopulos velut in Gallicam regionẽ nauigare, vt hanc ſplendidiſſimã gemmam, Academiam nempè florentiſſimã, nobis etiam amicis tuis communicare poſſes. Appuliſti tandem ad portũ, Syrtes omnes præternectus es, exoptatã margaritã tuo opere aſſequuti ſumus: nõ poſſumus ergo quin & tuam in iſtis laboribus ſuſcipiendis voluntatẽ libenter agnoſcamus, et in ijſdẽ exantlandis fœlicitatẽ liberè prædicemus. Quamuis verò multorum in oculis vileſcere cœpit Philoſophia, cuius abditos theſauros in lucẽ protuliſti: eiuſmodi tamen ſunt, quorum autoritas propter hominum leuitatem nullius eſt momenti, & quos verè perſtringit illud ſermone tritum prouerbiũ, Scientia non habet inimicum niſi ignorantem. Quis in Maronem Bathyllo atrocior? Quis in Vlyſſem Therſite acerbior? Quis Dialecticis argutijs Epicuro infeſtior? Et quales, quæſo, ſunt, qui canino latratu impetunt philoſophiã, niſi qui huius Reginæ ædes ne à limine ſalutarunt? Si ergo apud iſtos forſitã ſordeſcant tuæ vigiliæ, ne demittas tamen animũ. Neq; enim tam acre eſt eorum iudicium, vt iam pertimeſcas, nec lingua adeò virulenta, vt vel minimam labeculam tuo nomini aſpergere poſſit. Ne ſolis quidem lumen cæco iucundum eſt: ſaluberrima pharmaca ab imperitis conculcantur: pretioſiſſimæ gemmæ à gallo Æſopico ſpernuntur: & ipſa philoſophia, vitæ lucerna, mentis medicina, gemma lucidiſſima, à cæcis, ſtolidis, brutis contemnitur. Si aut cum Neoptolemo apud Ennium philoſophandum ſaltem putaſſent, licet paucis; aut cum Diuo Paulo φιλοσοφίαν duntaxat ἀπαιδεύτων reiecisſent; nos minimè repugnantes habuiſſent: Quum verò vnà cum Apollonio philoſophiam ludibrio habeant, eámq; ab omni vetuſtate conſtitutam cum Arceſila penitùs labefactent, nullo modo audiendi, aut ferendi ſunt. At ſicut Dicæarchus & Ariſtoxenus, quia

difficilis

difficilis erat animi quid aut qualis esset intelligentia, nullum omnino animum esse dixerunt: Ita isti, quorum obtusa acies philosophiæ insignes fructus aspicere nequit, nullum esse omnino philosophiæ vsum clamitant. Verum enimuerò, habeat philosophia suam laudem, sit vitæ dux, morum magistra, virtutis columna, & ei tanquam reginæ solium suum tribuatur. Tua tamen laudes nullæ erunt, nulla te manebit laurea, nullum hic est tuum inuentum, nullum tui acuminis specimen, nisi velis tanquam ignauus miles de spolijs aliorum sudore partis gloriari, & latronum more aliorum bona, alijs impressis notis, tanquam tua venditare. Siccine vero? quid ita tandem? noui ego (mi amice) animi tui indolem, nullámq; (vt ingenuè dicam, quod longa me docuit experientia) φιλοπμίαν in te contemplari potui: & quamuis nulla benefacta lucem reformident, ea tamē semper laudabiliora duxisti, quæ sine venditatione & populo teste facta sunt, nullúmq; theatrum virtuti conscientia maius iudicasti. Cuius rei vel hoc vnicum satis est argumenti, quod non (sicut illi philosophi de contemnendâ gloriâ scribentes sua nomina libris apposuerunt) voluisti hoc tuum opus tuum in fronte nomen gerere, sed publicum potiùs commodum quàm priuatam gloriam respiciens, incerto malsuisti librum prodire authore, quàm nos certâ carere vtilitate. Gloria autem indiuidua virtutis comes, vide, vt te quamuis fugientem sequatur. Neque enim nihili est tua industria æstimanda, quamuis alterius vestigijs insititisti, nec parui ducenda sunt tua vigilia, licet alterius opere prius elucubrata fuit ista Academia. Aurum & argentum alunt ipsa terræ viscera: illis tamen nonnihil debemus, quorum sudore ista metalla effodiuntur. Omne ferè genus mercaturæ aliquibus in locis suâ sponte nascitur; suo tamen honore minimè spoliandi sunt mercatores, quorum cum periculo vitæq; crebrâ iacturâ, tanta nobis bona comportata sunt. Sit itaque Primaudayi aurea ista Academia, illius sit pretiosissima hæc supellex; tibi tamen aliquid interea laudis relinquatur, cuius industria nisi sese opportunè interposuisset, Anglis nostris nihil inde emolumenti redundasset. Neque est quòd quispiam ægrè ferat, si philosophia Græcâ ac Romanâ veste vt plurimum induta, iam incipiat Britannico quoque vestitu incedere. Bonum enim (vt pulchrè philosophus) quò communius, eò melius: & philosophia ipsa, soli haud dissimilis, in omnes terrarum orbes radios suos disseminare cupit. Argiuorum res gestæ celebres factæ sunt primò ab Homero: neque tamen lusit suam operam Virgilius, cùm easdem suo carmine cele-

celebranit. Philosophia diu Graciæ regionibus & septis inclusa permansit: nunquam tamen consenescet Ciceronis laus, qui eam ipsam Latinis literis illustrauit. Et grata (vti spero) memoria tuos labores prosequentur omnes, quibus factū est, vt Academia ista, Gallicis antea circumscripta terminis, Anglis iamtandem innotescat. Macte igitur virtute (charissime amice) & maiores tibi addant spiritus ista primitiæ ad maiora, si insta se offerat occasio, suscipienda. Spero etenim aliquando euenturum, vt, sicut in philosophico certamine vires tuæ se exeruerint, ita etiam in Theologico puluere pari saltem fœlicitate exspatientur. Interim bene vale. 13. Octobr.

Tui studiosissimus,
G. L.

TO THE MOST CHRISTIAN KING OF FRANCE AND POLONIA, HENRIE the third of that name.



IR, if we credit the saying of *Plato*, Commonwealths begin then to be happy, when Kings exercise Philosophie, and Philosophers raigne. The wise man speaking more diuinely, exhorteth kings to loue and to seeke after wisdome, that they may raigne vpon earth righteously, and in heauen eternally. And truly from wisedome and philosophie, as from a liuely fountaine, floweth the gift of gouerning by good lawes and good example, of defending by proweſſe, and of nouriſhing by wisedome and prouidence, which are the bands of all perfection requisite in an excellent and absolute prince, that desireth to gouerne his kingdome according to pietie and iustice. These three great and excellent gifts depending of God, as euerie other grace doth, one of those meanes whereby he vseth most commonly to inrich them that haue the raines of worldly gouernment in their hand, is to imprint in their harts a loue and desire of learning and sciences. But bicause they cannot so perfectly vnderstand them, by reason of their great and burdensome charge, as priuate men may, who quietly enioying the fruit and benefit of their kings labors, addict themselues to no other profession, their maiesties are so much the more pricked forward to loue, to inquire after, and to honor such their subiects, as are best able to set before their eies those vertuous and learned instructions that are drawen out of the fountains of arts and disciplines. This mooued *Antigonus* king of Macedonia to write thus to *Zeno* the philosopher: *I am assured that I excell thee in the goods and fauour of fortune, and in the renowne of such things, but I know withall, that thou art far aboue me, and goest beyond me in that true felicitie, which consisteth in the knowledge and discipline of studies. Therefore I desire earnestly that thou wouldest come vnto me: wherein I pray thee denie me not, that I may enioie thy conuersation and companie, as well for mine owne profit, as for the profit of all the Macedonians my subiects. For he that instructeth a prince, doth also profit as many as are vnder his charge.* This selfesame loue of knowledge was the cause, that all the festiuall ornaments of that great louer of vertue *Ptolomie Philadelphus* king of Egypt, were graue questions as well of pie-

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tie as of phloſophie, which he propounded to be handled and concluded by thoſe learned men, whom he ordinarily maintained in his traine. Sir, the example of theſe two noble kings ſhining wholy in you, who greatly loue and fauour learning, and the profeſſors thereof, and open the gate of that holie and vertuous diſcipline, which was ſo much cheriſhed by ancient men, that they might daily be inſtructed the better in the dutie of their charges, doth promiſe to your good ſubiects and vaſſals, that by the grace of God they ſhall ſee vnder your raigne, the euill of thoſe ſiniſter effects defaced, which haue iſſued from theſe long troubles and ciuill wars. Wherof all men haue conceiued a more certaine hope, bicauſe they ſee, that you labor with a holie zeale and good affection, to reſtore pietie and iuſtice to their former ſtrength and beautie, which were in a maner buried in France: and that you haue glorioufly crowned that worke, which that great king *Francis* your grandfather did happily begin, to the end that arts and ſciences might flouriſh in this kingdome. The diner of that prince of famous memorie, was a ſecond table of *Salomon*, vnto which reſorted from euerie nation ſuch as were beſt learned, that they might reape profit and inſtruction. Yours, Sir, being compaſſed about with thoſe, who in your preſence daily diſcourſe of, and heare diſcourſed many graue and goodly matters, ſeemeth to be a ſchoole erected to teach men that are borne to vertue. And for my ſelfe, hauing ſo good hap during the aſſemblie of your Eſtates at Blois, as to be made partaker of the fruit gathered thereof, it came in my mind to offer vnto your Maieſtie a diſh of diuers fruits, which I gathered in a Platonicall garden or orchard, otherwiſe called an ACADEMIE, where I was not long ſince with certaine yoong Gentlemen of Aniou my companions, diſcourſing togither of the inſtitution in good maners, and of the means how all eſtates and conditions may liue well and happily. And although a thouſand thoughts came then into my mind to hinder my purpoſe, as the ſmall authoritie, which youth may or ought to haue in counſell amongſt ancient men: the greatnes of the matter ſubiect, propounded to be handled by yeeres of ſo ſmall experience: the forgetfulnes of the beſt foundations of their diſcourſes, which for want of a rich and happie memorie might be in me: my iudgement not found ynough, and my profeſſion vnfit to ſet them downe in good order: briefly, the conſideration of your naturall diſpoſition and rare vertue, and of the learning which you receiue both by reading good authors, and by your familiar communication with learned and great perſonages that are neere about your Maieſtie (whereby I ſeemed to oppoſe the light of an obſcure day, full of clouds and darknes, to the bright beames of a very cleere ſhining ſonne, and to take in hand, as we ſay, to teach *Minerua*) I ſay all theſe reaſons being but of too great waight to make me change my opinon, yet calling to mind manie goodlie and graue ſentences taken out of ſundry Greeke and Latine Philoſophers, as alſo the woorthie examples of the liues of ancient Sages and famous men, wherewith theſe diſcourſes were inriched, which might in delighting your noble mind renew your memorie

with those notable sayings in the praise of vertue and dispraise of vice, which you alwaies loued to heare: and considering also that the bounty of *Artaxerxes* that great Monarke of the Persians was reuiued in you, who receiued with a cheerfull countenance a present of water of a poore laborer, when he had no need of it, thinking it to be as great an act of magnanimitie to take in good part, and to receiue cheerfully small presents offered with a hartie and good affection, as to giue great things liberally, I ouercame whatsoeuer would haue staied me in mine enterprise. For I assured my selfe thus much of your bountifull & roiall greatnes (which I craue in most humble maner) that you would measure the gift and offer of this my small labor, not according to the desert thereof, or by the person of one of your baseſt seruants and subiects, who presenteth it vnto you, but according to the excellencie of those things, which you shall see handled in this Academie, and according to the seruiceable and most affectionate desire, wherewith I dedicate and consecrate both goods and life to your seruice. I beseech God, Sir, to preserue your Maiestie in great prosperitie, increase of honor, and continuance of a long and happie life.

At Barre in the moneth of
Februarie, 1577.

Your most humble and most obedient seruant and subiect,

Peter de la Primaudaye.

THE AVTHOR TO THE READER.

THE PHILOSOPHERS teach vs by their writings, and experience doth better shew it vnto vs, that to couet and desire is proper to the soule, and that from thence all the affections and desires of men proceede, which draw them hither and thither diuersly, that they may attaine to that thing, which they thinke is able to lead them to the enioying of some good, whereby they may liue a contented and happie life. Which felicitie, the most part of men, through a false opinion, or ignorance rather of that which is good, and by following the inclination of their corrupted nature, do seeke and labor to finde in humane and earthlie things, as in riches, glorie, honor, and pleasure. But forasmuch as the enioying of these things doth not bring with it sufficient cause of contentation, they perceiue themselues alwaies depriued of the end of their desires, and are constrained to wander all their life time beyond all bounds and measure, according to the rashnes and inconstancie of their lusts. And although they reioice for a little while at euerie new change, yet presently they loath the selfesame thing, which not long before they earnestly desired. Their owne estate alwaies seemeth vnto them to be woorst, and euerie present condition of life, to be burdensome. From one estate they seeke after another, so that now they withdraw themselues from the seruice of princes, and mislike publike charges, and by and by they blame the priuate life, labouring that they may be imploied. They forsake one countrie to go and dwell in another, and suddenly they desire to returne againe into their former waies. They that haue neither wiues nor children, seeke and wish for them, and when they haue them, they desire oftentimes nothing more than to be rid of them: and soone after ye shall see them married againe. Haue they heaped vp great store of wealth, and increased their reuennes by halfe so much more? they desire notwithstanding to make it altogither as much. The soldier seeketh to be a captain: from a captaine to be maister of the campe: from maister of the

 campe

campe to be lieutenant to the king: then he would gladly make himselfe king. The seelie Priest would be a Curate: from a Curate, Bishop: from a Bishoppe, Cardinall: from a Cardinall, Pope: and then would commaund Kings and soueraigne Princes. Kings are not contented to raigne ouer their owne subiects, but bende themselues alwaies to enlarge their limits, to make themselues (if they can) the onely Monarchs. Briefly, all men whose harts are set vpon worldly goods, when they are come to this estate of life, they would attaine to that: and being come thereunto, some other newe desire carieth them farther, so that this mischiefe of continuall, vncertaine, and vnsatiable lustes and desires doth more and more kindle in them, vntill in the ende death cut off the thred of their inconstant, and neuer contented life. This commeth to passe, bicause the alteration of an Estate and condition of life plucketh not out of the mind that, which presseth and troubleth it: namely, the ignorance of things, and imperfection of reason. But they, who through the studie of wisedome are furnished with skill and vnderstanding, and know that all humane and earthlie things are vncertaine, deceitfull, slipperie, and so many allurements vnto men to drawe them into a downe-fall and destruction, they I say, doe laie a farre better and more certaine foundation of their chiefe Good, contentation, and felicitie. For they are so farre off from being caried away, as worldlings are, with the desire of greatnes, riches, and pleasure, that they rather desire lesse than they haue, contemne them, and so vse them as though they had them not. And deliuering their soules by the grace of God, from all those perturbations, which besiege them in the prison of their bodies, they lift vp their wishes and desires, yea they refer al the ends of their intents & actions to this only marke, to be vnited and ioined to the last end of their soueraigne Good, which is the full & whole fruition of the essence of God, that their holy affections might be at once fulfilled and satisfied, by enioying that diuine light, through a most happie & immortal life, when they shal be vncloathed of this body of death, & of all concupiscences & passions, & reioice in such a felicitie, as neither eie hath seene, nor eare heard, nor euer entred into the hart of man. Moreouer we ought to know, if we haue neuer so litle iudgmēt & reason, that in al worldly things how great & goodly soeuer they seeme to our carnall

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eies & sences, there is such a mixture of bitternes & dislike ioined with the fruition of them, that if we could diuide the euil from that which of the ignorant sort is called good, & weigh them one against another, there is no doubt but the bad part would easily weigh down what goodnes soeuer could be found amongst them. But how shal we call that good, which is so mingled with euill, which oftentimes hurteth more than it profiteth, and which being possessed abundantly, cannot yet keepe the possessor thereof from being wretched and miserable? What contentation can a man find therein, seeing that such a Good commonly slippeth away as soone as it is receiued, and alwaies worketh an vnsatiable desire thereof? What felicitie shall we expect and looke for in the fruition of that thing, which waxeth old and perisheth, and which men are alwaies afraid to loose? Now I pray you, who can doubt iustly, but that the qualitie and nature of riches, of glorie, of honour and pleasure is such? Whereupon we must conclude, that man can finde no goodnes, contentation or happines, in any thing that is earthly and mortall. Besides, who knoweth not sufficiently the poore estate of mans life, which in the fairest of his race commeth to nothing in the twinkling of an eie, so that all his bodily shewe and brightnes turneth suddenly into putrefaction? Who doth not try more than he would, how full his life is of sharpe griefes, and pricking miseries, and how it is assaulted with continuall troubles? With how many percing cares doth it abound, and what griping griefes doe pursue it? Briefly, as a wise Grecian said, hauing but the bare name of life, it is in effect and truth a continuall paine. And truly that thing hath no beeing in deede, which changeth without ceasing, as the nature of man doth, which neuer continueth in the same estate, no not the least moment that is. I would gladly aske of thee who readest this, or doest meane to reade it, what day, or what hower thou hast passed, or now passest ouer, since thou hadst any iudgement or knowledge, wherein thy body hath not felt some griefe, or thy hart some passion? As there is no sea without tempest, warre without danger, or iourney without trauell: so there is no life without griefe, nor calling without ennie or care: neither did I euer see or know that man, who hath had no cause to be grieued, or to complaine. Doth not experience daily teach vs, that no man liuing can make choise of any estate void of all trouble, or flie one inconuenience, but that he is in

danger to fall into another? Is it not also most certaine, that a sudden ioy or prosperitie, is but a fore-warning or signe of some griefe & heauie calamitie at hand? But what? Shall we for all this think man so miserable, that sailing all his life time in stormes and tempests, he cannot possibly attaine to any safe hauen against the rage of them? Shall we in such sort depriue him, (during the time of his being in this world) of all Good, contentation and happines, as if there were no meanes to auoid, or at leastwise to mollifie the mishaps and miseries of mankind, that he faint not vnder the heauy burden of them? Wherefore then do wise men by so many learned writings inuite vs diligently to seeke after, and with a burning zeale to embrace holy vertue, saying, that by hir alone a man may liue happily and contentedly in euery calling, and may enioy therein the soueraigne Good, through the tranquillitie and rest of his soule, purged of perturbations by Philosophy? Was it in vaine and fruitles, that an infinite number of famous personages, whom Histories, the mother of antiquitie set before our eies, imploied so great trauell, passed infinite watchings, forsooke and contemned riches, pleasures, honors, and worldly commodities, to get and treasure vp vertue only? And why do we, after their example, despise all these things, and spend that which we account most pretious, I meane time, that we may be adorned and cloathed with vertue, if it cannot make vs hit that marke, which euery one so much desireth and seeketh after with such great paine and labour, namely, that they may enioy some chiefe Good in this world, and lead thereby a contented and happy life? Be not ouertaken (friendly Reader) with this smal difficultie, which perhaps might cause a grosse and feeble head not well instructed in wisedome, to stagger and depart out of the right way. Now, although the heauenly word onely hath the perfect and sound knowledge of wisedome, bicause he is that eternall wisedome it selfe, yet man being his workmanship, & aided with his grace, must not leaue of to seeke for, & to require earnestly of him that gift of the knowledge & participation of the secrets of that incomprehensible truth, (so farre foorth as he may and shall be necessary for him) that his soule thereby may obtaine hir permanent and lasting happines. Moreouer, albeit our soueraigne & chiefe Good, our perfect contentation and absolute felicitie be onely in heauen in the enioying of that diuine light, yet we must not in the meane while, (albeit we

cannot

cannot fully posſeſſe that) leaue of to ſeeke without ceaſing, or giue ouer in any ſort to keepe and follow that good and infallible way of vertue, which cauſing vs to paſſe ouer quietly, and to ſuſtaine with ioy of ſpirite the miſeries of mankind, and appeaſing the perturbations of our ſoules, from whence proceed all the euils that torment vs, and making them void of all damnable effects, will teach vs to lead a pleaſant, peaceable & quiet life, & to effect all things woorthy & beſeeming this certaine hope, that we ſhal one day (by the grace of God) be framed a new in that eternal, moſt happy, & contented life. Let vs therefore account this world, and all the riches thereof, as a thing belonging to an other, as a ſtraunger and nothing appertaining to thoſe men, who beyng regenerated by the ſpirite of grace haue profited well in the ſchoole of wiſedome. Let vs not ſeeke for friendſhippe vpon earth: let vs not couete after riches, glory, honour and pleaſure, which none but fooles doe extoll, deſire and wonder at. Wee are not of this worlde, but ſtraungers onely therein, and therefore let vs ſet all worldly things behinde vs, and account them vnwoorthie the care of our immortall ſoules, if we meane not to periſh with the worlde by ioyning our ſelues there-unto. Let vs forſake it, I ſay forſake it boldly how precious ſoeuer it bee, that we may aboundantly treaſure vp that great, ſweete and durable wealth, I meane vertue, which is honoured, loued, and deſired for it ſelfe onely, which is the true and wholeſome medicine for diſeaſed ſoules, the reſt of the mynde oppreſſed with care, the cauſe (by the will of GOD) of that chiefe Good wherein the principall ende of the ſoule conſiſteth, and the onely aſſured guide which leadeth to the Hauen ſo much deſired of euery one, namelie, the contentation of minde. Which thing this preſent Academie doth not onely ſet before our eyes, but alſo doth ſaue and keepe vs beyng already entered into this Hauen of ſafetie, againſt all tempeſtes, if wee will our ſelues, and not ſpare our labour to reape profite of thoſe learned and wiſe inſtructions that are here giuen vnto vs by the preceptes of doctrine, and examples of the lyues of auncient, vertuous, and famous men. For firſt of all wee ſhall learne hereby to know our ſelues, and the ende of our beyng. Secondly, wee ſhall bee inſtructed in good maners, and taught how we may liue well and happily in euery eſtate and condition of lyfe whatſoeuer. Yea we ſhall finde

This commendation of vertue is chiefly to be vnderſtood of faith the roote of all good vertues.

in the baſeſt and loweſt eſtate, which of the ignoraunt and com-
mon ſort of people is oftentimes called miſerable, as much ioy and
happineſſe, as a Monarch can be partaker of in the fruition of his
greatneſſe, yea much more than he, if he bee wicked: bicauſe
vice in all Eſtates maketh the poſſeſſour thereof wretched, and
contrarywiſe, Vertue maketh euery condition of life happy. More-
ouer wee ſhall ſee in this Academie, that euery one louyng and
fearing GOD may obtaine this ineſtimable Good *of vertue,*
and thereby remayne a Conquerour ouer the perturbations of his
ſoule, which breede all his miſerie, remembring this poynt al-
wayes, ſo farre foorth as the fraile nature of man, ayded by the
Author of all goodneſſe can attayne to this perfection. Wee ſhall
learne here how we ought to gouerne our ſelues wiſely and duetie-
fully in all humane actions and affaires, and in all charges and
places whatſoeuer, either publique or priuate whereunto we ſhall
be called. We may note here cauſe of the ſubuerſion and ruine
of many Empires, Eſtates and Common-wealths, and of the glit-
tering ſhew and glory of infinite others: as alſo the cauſe of the
wretchedneſſe and deſtruction of a great number of men, and
what hath lift vp others, and crowned them with honour and
immortall prayſe. We ſhall bee taught here the gouernement of
a houſe and familie, the maner of the education and inſtruction
of children, the mutuall duetie of married couples, of brethren,
of maſters and ſeruauntes, how to commaund, and how to obey.
We ſhall ſee here the order and eſtabliſhment of policies and ſu-
periorities: what is the duetie of the Heads of them, of Prin-
ces and Gouernours of nations, as alſo what the duetie of their
ſubiectes is. Briefly, both great and ſmall may drawe out from
hence the doctrine and knowledge of thoſe things which are moſt
neceſſarie for the gouernement of a houſe, and of a Common-
wealth, with ſufficient inſtruction how to frame their life and ma-
ners in the moulde and paterne of true and holy vertue, and how
by meanes thereof, (the grace of GOD woorking in them)
they may runne the race of their dayes in ioy, happineſſe, reſt
and tranquillitie of ſpirite, and that in the middeſt of greateſt
aduerſities, which the vncertaintie and continuall chaunge of hu-
mane things may bring vpon them. Nowe bicauſe the ſequele
compounded of the ſundrie treatiſes and diſcourſes of this A-

cademy,

cademie, will ſufficiently inſtruct thee in all things aboue mentioned, as it promiſeth in the fore-front and title thereof, I will not dilate this matter any farther, but only deſire of thee (Reader) patiently to heare theſe Academicall ſtudents, from the firſt of their diſcourſes vnto the laſt. Their intent was only (as thou maieſt vnderſtand more at large in the entrance of their aſſembly) to teach themſelues, and next euery one according to their abilitie, the inſtitution of good maners, and rule of good liuing, for all ordinarie and common eſtates and conditions of life in our French Monarchie, to the ende that euery member of this politike body (brought thus low with euils, and beaten with tempeſtuous ſtormes) might ſomewhat helpe and profite it by their counſels and inſtructions. And this thou mayeſt do (friendly Reader) if thou takeſt payns to read well, to vnderſtand better, and (which is beſt of all) to follow the precepts, inſtructions and examples, which thou ſhalt find here: as alſo, if thou bringeſt hither a good will and cheerefull diſpoſition, voyd of all malicious enuy, which at this day is commonly practiſed by moſt men of this our age (who like to malicious Cenſorers) buſie themſelues rather in ſeeking out what to bite at, and to reprehend in other mens workes, than to draw out, and to commend that which is good, or to aſſay to make them better. Beſides, thou ſhalt haue ſomewhat to commend in the order of theſe diſcourſes, and in the maner of teaching which is in them. For after the handling of that knowledge which is eſpecially neceſſary for man, all theſe vertues follow which he ought to imbrace, and thoſe vices which he is to ſhun. Next, he is inſtructed in that which concerneth houſe-keeping: then in that which hath reſpect to eſtates and policies, & laſt of all how he may die well, after he hath liued well. As for the maner of teaching, which is diligently obſerued by theſe Academikes, thou ſhalt ſee that firſt they prayſe that vertue, or diſprayſe that vice which they propound to themſelues to diſcourſe vpon, that they may moone and frame mens minds as well to hate the one as to deſire the other. Then they define that whereof they diſcourſe, that the end of the preſent ſubiect may be better knowen. Afterward, they giue precepts to find out the meanes wherby to attaine to that which is Good, and to eſchew the euil. Laſtly, they adde examples, which are liuely reaſons, and of great waight to moone men with delight to embrace vertue and to flie vice. Now if thou thinkeſt that too

little

*litle is ſpoken, conſidering the goodly and large matter here propounded, it is not bicauſe they knew not that the excellencie of euery thing put foorth here is ſo great, and the reaſons ſo abounda*nt *that a man might well make a booke therof by it ſelfe, as many learned men haue done, but the chiefe ſcope and drift of theſe Interſpeakers, was to diſcourſe briefly of ſuch things as are neceſſarily required in the inſtitution of manars, and of a happy life. Neuertheleſſe it may well be, that that which thou findeſt not ſufficiently followed in one place may be learned in another, if thou lookeſt vnto the end. Moreouer they who are here named, and who mind to retaine alwayes the name of diſciples, neuer purpoſed or preſumed to ſet downe reſolutions, or to appoint lawes which are neceſſarily to be kept, and may not be changed in any wiſe by thoſe that are cleere-ſighted, according to the occurrence & benefit of the eſtate of this Monarchie, but grounding their counſels and inſtructions vpon the ſoundeſt and moſt approoued opinion of the writings of learned men, both of auncient and late times, and vpon ſuch as drew neereſt to the infallible rule of the holy ſcriptures according to the ſmall meaſure of graces giuen them from aboue, they haue left to euery one (following therein the ancient ſchoole of the Academikes) libertie to compare the motiues of the one ſide, with the reaſons on the other, that the truth of all things might be diligently ſearched out and inquired after, that none through any head-ſtrong conceit ſhould be wedded to priuate opinions: and that afterward choiſe might be made of the beſt, and of ſuch as are moſt certain, therby to order and rule all intents and actions, and to referre them to the perpetuall glory of that great Lord of Hierarchies, who is the onely cauſe and chiefe fountain of all* Good, *contentation, and happineſſe.*

Spe certa quid melius?

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THE FIRST DAIES WORKE of this Academie, with the cauſe of their aſſemblie.

WHen GOD by his infinite and vnſpeakable goodnes, beholding with a fatherly, bountifull, and pitifull eie our poore France (which moſt cruel againſt it ſelfe, ſeemed to run amain moſt furiouſly to throw it ſelf headlong into the center of ſome bottomleſſe gulfe) had ſent from heauen the wiſhed-for newes of peace in the midſt of ciuill and domeſticall armies, (which a man might ſay were of purpoſe prepared for the finall ouerthrow of this French Monarchie, that hath floriſhed ſo long time) ſparing by his heauenlie grace and fauor, and that in deſpite of them, the bloud of thoſe men, who held foorth their right hand to cut off the left, among manie, who touched with the loue of their countrie, and with true zeale to pietie, reioiced at this ſo well liking and healthfull newes, fower yong gentlemen of Aniou, who came togither to ſerue their Prince, and to ſacrifice their liues, if need required, for the welfare and ſafetie of the Common wealth, were none of the laſt that ſought out one another, and met togither to teſtifie ech to other (as their mutuall kindred and ſworne frendſhip did inuite them) the ioy, which filled their ſouls, ariſing of ſo happie and vnlooked for ſucceſſe and alteration of affaires: to the end alſo that they might giue glorie and praiſe to him, who for the benefit of his, knōweth wel how to take order euen in thoſe things, which according to the iudgement of men are deſperate and paſt recouery. And that which gaue them greater occaſion to reioice for this peace, and ſo diligently to ſeeke out one another was this, bicauſe contrarie to hope, they ſaw the meanes offe-

red them to returne home, and to continue an exerciſe that greatly pleaſed them, which not long before the laſt fal of France into troubles they had happily begun. Now to let you (readers) vnderſtand what this exerciſe was, theſe fower gentlemen being of kin, and neere neighbors, and in a maner of one age, were by the care and prudence of their fathers brought vp and nouriſhed togither from their yoong yeeres in the ſtudie of good letters, in the houſe of an ancient wiſe gentleman of great calling, who was the principall ſtocke and roote of theſe fruitfull buds. This man by reaſon of his manifold experience, and long abode in ſtrange countries, knew that the common corruption of French youth, of it ſelfe inclined to pleaſure, proceeded chiefly from the ouer great licence, and exceſſiue libertie granted vnto them in the Vniuerſities of this Realme, as well through the fault and negligence of the gouernors and tutors in them, as alſo bicauſe of the euill gouernment of the townes at this day. He knew alſo that they were no leſſe abuſed, who thinking to auoide this dangerous downe-fall at home, did ſend their children to ſtudie abroad amongſt ſtrangers, where the traffike and merchandiſe of miſchiefs is more common and eaſie to be made, bicauſe they feare not that newes will preſently, or ſo ſpeedily be caried to their parents, as if they were neere vnto them. Oh how well woorthie of eternall praiſe is the prudence of this gentleman, bringing to my remembrance *Ereocles* one of the moſt noble Ephories of Lacedemonia, who freely anſwered *Antipater* asking fiftie pledges, that he would not giue him children, leaſt if they were brought vp farre from their fathers, they ſhould change the ancient cuſtome of liuing vſed in their owne countrie, and become vicious: but of olde men and women, he would giue him double the number, if he would haue them. Wherevpon being threatened by this king, if he ſpeedily ſent him not of the youth: we care not (quoth he) for threatenings. For if thou command vs to do things that are more greeuous than death, we will rather chooſe death: ſo carefull were the men of old time, that the dreſſing

ſing and trimming of theſe yoong plants ſhould not be out of their preſence. But let vs go on with our matter. This good and notable old man hauing ſpent the greater part of his yeeres in the ſeruice of two kings, and of his country, and for many good cauſes withdrawen himſelfe to his houſe, thought that to content his mind, which alwaies delighted in honeſt and vertuous things, he could not bring greater profit to the Monarchie of France, than to lay open a way and meane to preſerue and keepe youth from ſuch a pernicious and cancred corruption, by offering himſelfe for example to all fathers, and ſhewing them the way to haue a more carefull eie in the inſtruction of their children, and not ſo lightly to commit them to the diſcipline of vices, by the hands of mercenarie and hired ſtrangers. And this was begun vpon theſe fower yoong gentlemen, whom he tooke to his owne houſe, by the conſent of their parents, offering himſelfe to the vttermoſt of his power, to helpe their gentle nature, which appeered in them woorthie their anceſtors, by training it vp, firſt in the feare of God, as being the beginning of al wiſedome: ſecondly, in humane learning and knowledge, which are neceſſarie helps to liue well and happily, to the benefit of the ſocietie of men. To this end, after that he himſelfe had ſhewed them the firſt grounds of true wiſedome, and of al things neceſſarie for their ſaluation, according to the meaſure of grace giuen him from aboue, and as their age could conceiue them, he labored earneſtly to haue in his houſe ſome man of great learning, and wel reported of for his good life and conuerſation, vnto whom he committed the inſtruction of this yoong Nobilitie. Who behaued himſelfe ſo wel in his charge, that not greatly ſtaying himſelfe in the long degrees of learning, which being ordinarie, and vſuall in our French Colledges, are often more tedious (beſides loſſe of time) than profitable to youth, after he had indifferently taught his ſchollers the Latine toong, and ſome ſmackering of the Greeke, he propounded for the chiefe part and portion of their ſtudies the morall philoſophie of aucient Sages and wiſe men, togi-

ther with the vnderſtanding, & ſearching out of hiſtories, which are the light of life: therein following the intent and will both of him that ſet him on worke, and alſo of the parents of this Nobilitie, who deſired to ſee their children, not great Orators, ſuttle Logitians, learned Lawiers, or curious Mathematicians, but onely ſufficiently taught in the doctrine of good liuing, following the traces and ſteps of vertue, by the knowledge of things paſt from the firſt ages vntill this preſent: that they might refer all to the glorie of the diuine maieſtie, and to the profit and vtilitie as well of themſelues as of their country. And yet in the meane while theſe noble & toward youths were not depriued of other exerciſes meete for them, which (as the diuine *Plato* ſaith) are very profitable for this age, and helpe much to quicken the ſpirits of yoong men, and to make their bodies which are weake by nature, more ſtrong and apt to ſuſtaine trauell: as namely, to ride horſes, to run at the ring, to fight at barriers, to applie themſelues to all kind of weapons, and to followe the chace of beaſts. All which exerciſes this wiſe and ancient Knight did intermingle with their earneſt ſtudies by way of recreation, himſelfe ſtanding them in ſteade of a maiſter. For in ſuch exerciſes he was as fully furniſhed as is to be wiſhed in a man of valure and actiuitie, inſomuch that he was more expert than many of our time, who make no other profeſſion. Now this ſchoole hauing been continued for the ſpace of ſixe or ſeauen yeeres, to the great profit of this nobilitie of Aniou, the fower fathers on a day tooke their iournie to viſite this good old man, and to ſee their children. And after the vſuall welcome, which is betweene kinſfolks and friends, they diſcourſed togither of the corruption, which then was in all eſtates of France, wherevpon they foreſawe (as they ſaid) ſome great ſtorme at hand, if euerie one did not put to his helping hand for the correction and reformation of them, but chiefly the ſecular power authoriſed of God for this purpoſe. They alledged for witnes of their ſaying many examples of ancient eſtates, common-wealths and kingdoms,

doms, which were fallen from the height of glorie and excellencie into a generall subuersion and ouerthrow, by reason of vices raigning in them vnpunished. And thus continuing their speech from one thing to another, they fell in talke of the corrupt maners that might particularly be noted in all, and those maintained by authoritie and with commendation, insomuch that both great and smal endeuored to disguise vice with the name of vertue. In fine they were of opinion to heare their children discourse heervpon, that they might know and iudge, whether they had profited so wel in the institution of good maners (the rule of good life) by folowing of vertue, and by the knowledge of histories (the patterne of the time past for the better ordering of the time present) as their maister, who was present at the discourses of these ancient gentlemen, did assure them, by intermingling the praises of his schollers in the midst of their graue talke, and vaunting that they were well armed to resist the corruption of this age. For truly vertue purchased and gotten by practise, is of no lesse power against all contagion of wickednes, than preseruatiues well compounded are of force in a plague time to preserue in good helth the inhabitants of a countrie, and as heeretofore that famous physicion *Hippocrates* preserued his citie of Coos from a mortalitie that was generall throughout all Grecia, by counselling his countrymen to kindle many fires in all publike places, to the end thereby to purifie the aire: euen so whosoeuer hath his soule possessed, and his hart well armed with the brightnes and power of vertue, he shal escape the dangers of corruption, and eschew all contagion of euill maners. But returning to the intent and desire of our good old men, bicause they had small skil in the Latine tong, they determined to haue their children discourse in their owne natural toong, of all matters that might serue for the instruction and reformation of euerie estate and calling, in such order and method, as themselues with their foresaid maister should thinke best. For this purpose they had two howers in the morning granted vnto them, wherein they

ſhould be heard, and as much after dinner, which was to each of them one hower in a day to ſpeake in. You may gheſſe (gentle readers) whether this liuely youth did not beſtow the reſt of the day, yea oftentimes the whole night vpon the well ſtudying of that which they purpoſed to handle, and with what cheerfulnes of hart, and willingnes of mind they preſented themſelues before the honorable preſence of their fathers, who were ſo greatly delighted in hearing them, that for the moſt part in ſtead of fower howers a day before mentioned, they beſtowed ſixe or eight. For after they had heard the two firſt diſcourſe one morning, they had not the patience to refer the reſt of that matter vnto the afternoone, when the other twain of their children ſhould be heard, but commonly commanded them preſently to enter the liſts, and to proceed, as being iealous ouer their glorie in regard of their companions. In this commendable maner of paſſing their time they continued certaine daies. But the ſudden and ſorrowfull newes of the laſt frantike returne of France into ciuill war brake vp their happie aſſemblie, to the end that theſe noble youths, betaking themſelues to the ſeruice due to their prince, and to the welfare and ſafetie of their countrie, might make triall of their firſt feates of armes, wherein they wanted neither readines, nor valure of hart, which being naturally in them was alſo increaſed by the knowledge of philoſophie. The ſtudie whereof reſembling (as *Plato* ſaith) to a ſeparation of the ſoule from the bodie, ſtandeth wiſe men in ſtead of a n exerciſe to die without feare, when dutie requireth it, and cauſeth them to eſteeme of death, as of the cauſe of the true and perfect good of the ſoule. For which reaſon, *Socrates, Xenophon, Architas, Thucidides, Thales, Epaminondas*, and a million of other famous men, learned philoſophers, and hiſtoriographers hauing charge of armies, neuer doubted, or feared in any ſort to offer themſelues cheerfully vnto all perils and dangers, when the queſtion and contention was for publike benefit and ſafetie, and in a iuſt war, without which a wiſe man neuer ought to fight. Yea I dare boldly ſay, that the greateſt,

greatest, and most famous exploits of warfare, were atchieued for the most part by them and their like. Which serued well for a spurre to our yoong Angeuins to cause them to vndertake this iournie with ioy and cheerfulnes of spirit, being resolued to follow with all their might the examples of such great and notable personages, as histories, the treasurie of time, did call to their remembrance. When they were in the campe, each of them according to his particular affection ranged himselfe vnder sundry cornets of great Lords and good captaines. But, as we said in the beginning, after news of the peace proclaimed, which was so greatly looked for, and desired of all good men, they labored foorthwith to meete togither, knowing that their ioint-returne would be acceptable to their friends, especially to that good olde-man by whome they were brought vp. Moreouer they deliberated with themselues as soone as they were arriued at the old mans house, to giue their fathers to vnderstand thereof, to the end they might be certified from them, whether it were their pleasures to haue them reiterate and continue in their presence the morall discourses begun by them, as we learned before, that they might bee refreshed with the remembrance of their studies, and thereby also keepe fast for euer those good instructions, which by the daily trauell of so manie yeeres they had drawen out of the fountaine of learning and knowledge. As it was deuised by them, the execution therof followed, so that all these good old-men being assembled togither, taking vp their first order, and conferring anew of the same matters, daily met in a walking place couered ouer in the midst with a goodly green Arbour, alotting for this exercise from eight to ten in the morning, and from two to fower in the afternoone. Thus they continued this exercise for the space of three whole weekes, which make eighteene daies works, besides the three Saboth daies, set apart by them, that they might rest and cease from their studies, and attend the better to the chiefe point of that holie daies institution, which is to the contemplation, and consideration of the works of God,

of his law, and of his praiſes. During which time it was my good hap to be one of the companie when they began their diſcourſes, at which I ſo greatly woondred, that I thought them worthie to be publiſhed abroad, as well to enrich our French toong with an infinit number of graue ſentences, and ſpeeches worthie to be remembred, being drawen out of the fountaine of Greeke and Latine arts and diſciplines, through the incredible labour of theſe youths, louers of vertue, as alſo to awake and ſtirre vp by their example all the Nobilitie with a ielouſie and emulation of glorie, gotten by the ſame vertue. For onely vertue is able to guide and conduct gentlemen to honor, for the obtaining whereof (as they ſay) they contend and fight ſo often, and can alſo reſtore them to the fruition of their firſt rights of authoritie, and goodlie priuileges, whereby (as we read of the ancient Romans) ſuch as were moſt worthie amongſt the Nobilitie were choſen to attend vnto theſe three things: namely, to the ſeruice of God, which is to gouerne, as the ſcripture ſpeaketh: ſecondly to the adminiſtration of lawes and iuſtice, which is the piller of kingdoms: and laſtly to the tuition and defence of the Common-wealth by armes, which is the aſſurance therof againſt all practiſes and aſſaults of the enimie. Of which three excellent adminiſtrations, neceſſarie for the eſtabliſhing and maintenance of all eſtates and common-wealths, the moſt part of our Nobilitie retaineth the laſt onely, which likewiſe they ſeeme to deſpiſe in a maner, ſubmitting to their great ſhame, by reaſon of their ignorance and weltring in delights and pleaſure, their conſcience, honor, goods, and life, to the opinion and iudgement of thoſe whom nature and right had ſubiected to them. But marke how we deuiſed to proceed in our diſcourſes: to wit, that three of vs one after another ſhould vtter ſome ſentence or memorable ſaying, in the praiſe of that vertue, or diſpraiſe of that vice, whereof we were reſolued to ſpeake, and that the fourth ſhould make a whole diſcourſe of that matter. Which being ended, he ſhould begin the firſt propoſition of the ſecond treatiſe, and two

others

others should followe him therein : then the last should make the second whole discourse for that morning. Likewise in the afternoone, the same partie was to lay open that matter, which was to be intreated of, and two others continuing it, one of those, who in the morning did onely propound, should discourse in his turne : and then giuing vnto his companions new matter subiect, he which as yet had not discoursed at all, was to handle it, and so to make an end for that day. And thus all fower of vs followed the same order daily, vntil euerie one in his course had intreated according to appointment, both by the precepts of doctrine, as also by the examples of the liues of ancient Sages and famous men, of all things necessarie for the institution of maners, and happie life of all estates and callings in this French Monarchie. But bicause I knowe not whether, in naming my companions by their proper names, supposing therby to honor them, as in deede they deserue it, I should displease them, (which thing I would not so much as thinke) I haue determined to do as they that play on a Theater, who vnder borrowed masks and disguised apparell, do represent the true personages of those whom they haue vndertaken to bring on the stage. I will therefore call them by names very agreeable to their skill and nature : the first, ASER, which signifieth *Felicity:* the second, AMANA, which is as much to say as *Truth:* the third, ARAM, which noteth vnto vs *Highnes:* and to agree with them as well in name, as in education and behauior, I will name my selfe ACHITOB, which is all one with *Brother of goodnes.* Further more I will call and honor the proceeding and finishing of our sundrie treatises and discourses with this goodlie and excellent title of *Academie*, which was the ancient & renowmed schoole amongst the Greeke Philosophers, who were the first that were esteemed, and that place where *Plato, Xenophon, Polemon, Xenocrates*, and many other excellent personages, afterward called Academiks, did propound & discourse of al things meet for the instruction and teaching of wisedome: wherin we purposed to followe them to our power, as the sequele

quele of our diſcourſes ſhall make good proofe. Begin then (gentle readers) to heare that which we ſpake concerning Man in the firſt daies worke, vſing theſe or the like ſpeeches.

Aſer, Felicitie: Amana, Truth: Aram, Highnes: Achitob, Brother of goodnes.

Of Man. Chap. 1.

WHen I dire& my flight now and then (my companions) euen vnto the heauens, and with the wings of contemplation behold their wonderfull greatnes, their terrible motions, being contrarie and without ceaſing, the liuely brightnes, rare beautie, and incomparable force of the ſun and moone, their vnchangeable courſe, one while cauſe of light, and by and by after of darknes, the infinite number of goodlie ſtars, and of ſo many other cœleſtiall ſignes: and from this excellent and conſtant order of all theſe things, as one rauiſhed and amaſed, when I withdraw my ſpirite lower into the elementarie region, to admire and wonder at the ſituation and ſpreading of the earth amidſt the waters, both of them making one round maſſe or lumpe, which in the midſt of this great firmament occupieth the roome but of a pricke or tittle in reſpe& thereof: beſides, when I acknowledge in this earth and water as many ſundrie and moſt beautifull plants, and kindes of earthie and waterie creatures, as there are graines of ſand on the ſea banks: and when I delight my ſelfe in the varietie of minerals & pretious ſtones, conſidering the forme, qualitie,

qualitie, and vertue of each of these things: briefly, when I admire the diuersitie of times and seasons, the continuall spring of fountaines, the certaine course of riuers, and generally, so manie wonderfull works vnder the cope of heauen, I cannot maruell enough at the excellencie of Man, for whom all these things were created, & are maintained and preserued in their being and mooving, by one and the same diuine prouidence alwaies like vnto it selfe.

AMANA. There is nothing more certaine than this, that all things whatsoeuer either the eie can behold, or the eare heare, were created for the benefit, profit, and vse of man, and that he was made excellent aboue all things to rule ouer them: yea the very Angels are sent to minister for their sakes, which shall receiue the inheritance of saluation. Hebr. 1.

ARAM. Oh vnspeakable and heauenlie goodnesse, which hast created man little lower than thy selfe, and crowned him with glorie and worship. But tell vs I pray thee (ACHITOB) more particularly, what this great and principall worke of nature, *Man*, is, to what end his being was giuen him, and how he hath shewed foorth the fruits thereof. For it must needes be, that there is something in him greatly to be woondered at, seeing all things were created to serue and obey him. Psalm. 8.

All things were created for man.

ACHITOB. Truely yee haue reason (companions) to begin our happie assembly with that knowledge, which we ought to haue of our selues, as being the storehouse of all wisdome, and beginning of saluation: wherof we may haue an assured testimonie from that father of Philosophie *Socrates*, who beholding the first precept written at Delphos in that temple of *Apollo*, which was so renowmed throughout Græcia, namely, *Know thy selfe*, was foorthwith driuen into a very deepe cogitation, and being rapt with contemplation of spirit, he began from that time forward to doubt and to inquire of himselfe. Whereupon contemning that way, which all the Philosophers of his time, who busied themselues about nothing, but onely in finding out the causes of naturall things, and in disputing

To know our selues is true wisedome.

puting curiously of them, he gaue himselfe wholie to the knowledge of himselfe, I meane of his soule, which he maintained to be in deed man, and by disputuation to intreat of the soueraigne good thereof, and of vertue. By which meanes the gate of wisedome was opened vnto him, wherein he profited in such sort, that according to the oracle at Delphos, he was called of all men the wise, the iust, the prince of Philosophers, and father of Philosophie. And surely out of his sayings, which being more diuine than humane, were written by his disciples, all other Philosophers haue drawne their knowledge. *Heraclitus* another excellent man, minding to giue out in speech that he had done some notable act, woorthy of himselfe, said: I haue sought my selfe. Which beginning truely is verie necessarie for man, as being a guide to leade him to the true knowledge of God, which is a heauenly gifte of God, and peculiar to his. And this is learnedly taught vs by the same *Socrates*, where he saith, *that the dutie of a wise man is to seeke out the reasons of things, that in the ende he may finde that diuine reason wherby they were made: and hauing found it, may worship and serue it, that afterward he may enioy it, and reape profite thereby.* Moreouer he addeth, *that the perfect knowledge of ones selfe, which consisteth in the soule, is in such sort ioined with the knowledge of God, that the one without the other cannot be sincere and perfect.* And for the same reason, *Plato*, his disciple, who for the excellencie of his writings was surnamed the *Diuine*, saith, *that the perfect dutie of man is, first to know his owne nature: then to contemplate the diuine nature: and last of all to bestow his labour in those things, which may be most beneficiall to all men.* Ignorance of a mans selfe (saith *Lactantius*) and the want of knowledge wherefore and to what end he is borne, is the cause of error, of euill, of leauing the right way to follow the crooked, of wandring out of the plaine way to walke in the ragged and vneeuen way, or vpon a dangerous and slipperie mountaine: and lastly, of forsaking the light to walke in darknes. Now if we account it a shamefull thing to be ignorant of those things which belong to the life of man, surely the not

The soule is truly man.

Socrates was called the father of Philosophie.

Socrates said that the knowledge of God and of our selues must be ioined together.

Wherin the dutie of man consisteth.

Ignorance of our selues the cause of much euill.

not knowing of our ſelues is much more diſhoneſt. Let vs then conſider what man is, according to that meane knowledge, which by the grace of God we are endued withal, not ſtaying in thoſe curious definitions, which the Philoſophers haue made. Man is a creature made of God after his owne image, iuſt, holy, good and right by nature, and compounded of ſoule and body. I ſay of ſoule, which was inſpired of God with ſpirite and life, and of a perfect naturall bodie, framed of the earth by the ſame power of God. In this ſort man had his beeing of the eternal workmaſter of the whole world, of whom he was created by his incomprehenſible goodnes, to be made partaker of his immortalitie and permanent felicitie, for this onely ende to ſet foorth the glorie of his Creator, and to ſpeake and do thoſe things that are agreeable vnto him, through the acknowledgement of his benefits. From which ende man being fallen of his own free wil through ingratitude and diſobedience, was bereaued of all thoſe ornaments, which he had receiued before of God, and in ſteede of righteouſnes and holines, all iniquitie, filthines and vncleannes entred into him: wherby he was made the ſlaue of ſinne and of death, from whence all thoſe miſeries had their beginning, wherewith the life of man is ouerwhelmed. His ſoule alſo, was wrapped with infinite hurtfull paſſions, and perturbations, which worke in it a continuall diſquietnes, and his body became ſubiect to innumerable trauailes, and violent vntowardnes. Of which corruption the ancient Philoſophers had great and aſſured knowledge, but the firſt and true cauſe therof, which was ſinne, and the voluntarie fall of man, with his reſtoring vnto grace by the vnſpeakeable goodnes and mercie of his Creator, from whence he was fallen, were alwaies hidden from them, (as we ſhall ſee anon) as alſo from an infinite number of men, who liuing holily according to the world neuer had the perfect knowledge of God in his eternall ſonne. As for any good thing whatſoeuer they vttered, or found out, it came through earneſtnes of ſtudie, by diſcourſing and conſidering in the reaſonable part of

What man is. Gen. 1. Col. 3.

The ende of mans being.

of their ſoule, of thoſe things which offred themſelues to their minde. But foraſmuch as they were not wholy ouerwhelmed in euery part of reaſon, and yet had no knowledge of the heauenly word Ieſus Chriſt, they vttered many things contrarie one to another: and in the midſt of their great and woonderfull skill (according to that ſaying of the Scripture, *who hideth his ſecrets from the prudent and reueleth them to babes*) they had a continuall troubled ſpirit, wandring here and there aſwell in the ſeeking out of themſelues and of the cauſes of naturall things, as of thoſe things which are aboue nature. And truely, the reaſon of man, naturally ingraffed in his hart, which ſo farre foorth as he is man, and according to his habilitie and maner of life he imitateth and followeth, is diuers from that which by ſpeciall grace from aboue commeth to the elect, accompanieth them, and helpeth them in all their actions. This is full of faith, and of vndeceaueable aſſurance of eternal promiſes: the other, weake, troubled and woonderfully hindred, wherin a man can neuer haue any certaine reſolution. This is that which cauſed *Ariſtotle*, who was *Platoes* diſciple, and prince of the Peripatetike ſchoole, to ſay, that the more knowledge a man hath, the greater occaſion of doubting was offred. Neither can we iudge otherwiſe but that the ſame reaſon of trouble and doubting mooued the aboue named *Heraclitus* that great Philoſopher, to ſpend his life in continuall weeping, howſoeuer he alleageth wiſely, that it was for the compaſſion he had of mans nature, both for that the life of men conſiſted in nothing but in miſeries, as alſo becauſe all the labours wherein they exerciſed themſelues, ſeemed vnto him to be woorthy of great commiſeration and pitie: namely, ſeeing that they being farre wide of iuſtice, did yet through too greedie deſire make themſelues ſlaues vnto all couetouſnes and vainglorie. This alſo was an argument of inconſtancie and wauering in *Democritus*, who neuer came abroad amongſt men, but he laughed vnmeaſurably at all their works and deeds. Howbeit herein he ſaid truely, that the life of man was vanitie and follie, and that

There is a double reaſon in man.

Heraclitus wept continually.

Democritus alwaies laughed.

that all their luſtes and deſires were fonde, and woorthy to be laughed at. But ſuch extremities of laughter and weeping are not ſeemely in him, who is well inſtructed in the ſtudie of Philoſophie, and in the certaine knowledge of himſelfe: which thing theſe Philoſophers ſo earneſtly laboured to attaine vnto, as we ſhall ſee anon, after we haue learned what other ancient men haue thought of the nature and ſtate of man. What other thing (ſaith *Pindarus*) is man, than the ſhadow of a dreame in ones ſleepe? Whereby he ſheweth the vanitie of man by an excellent manner of ſpeaking, verie ſignificantly vttering his meaning. For what thing is leſſe than a dreame, yea than the ſhadow of a dreame? *Homer* hauing compared mortall creatures together, both in reſpect of their continuance, as of the maintenance of their life, crieth out, that of all thoſe which walke on the earth and draw breath, there is not one more miſerable than man. *Timon* the Athenian deteſting much more than al theſe the imbecility of mans nature, vſed and imploied all his skill to perſwade his countrimen to abridge and ſhorten the courſe of their ſo miſerable life, and to haſten their end, by hanging themſelues vpon gibbets, which he had cauſed to be ſet vp in great number, in a fielde that he bought for the ſame purpoſe, vnto whoſe perſwaſions many gaue place. *Plinie* rehearſing the great miſeries wherewith man commeth into this world, and the manifold labors wherin he liueth, ſaide, that it were good for a man not to be borne at all, or elſe ſo ſoone as he is borne, to die. It was a cuſtome amongſt the Scythians to weepe at the birth of their children, and to reioice, and make a ſolemne feaſt at the death of their parents. Now as the opinions of theſe philoſophers heere named by vs, who being deſtitute of the light of God, and of true religion had no other foundation but their owne humane and weake diſcourſes, are to be reiected for incloſing all mankind in ſuch a vile and abiect eſtate, ſo on the other ſide we muſt take heed, that we enter not into that preſumptuous opinion of many others, who endeuour to lead man to the conſideration of his dignitie

The iudgement of Philoſophers concerning the nature of man.

Pindarus.

Homer.

Timon.

Plinie.

The cuſtome of the Scythians.

dignitie and excellencie, as being endewed with infinite graces. For they perſuade him, that through the quicknes of his vnderſtanding, he may mount vp to the perfect knowledge of the greateſt ſecrets of God and nature, and that by the only ſtudie of philoſophie, he may of himſelfe, following his owne nature become maiſter of all euill paſſions and perturbations, and attaine to a rare and ſupreme kinde of vertue, which is void of thoſe affections: that being thus exempted and freed from all vice, he may lead a moſt happy and perfect life. This did the Stoike philoſophers with one conſent maintaine and teach, ſaying: Whoſoeuer receiued their doctrine, if in the morning he were very wicked, in the euening he ſhould become a very good man: & if he laid himſelfe downe to ſleepe, being ignorant, vicious & poore, the next morning he ſhould ariſe wiſe, vertuous, rich, happie and iuſt. *Zeno*, *Seneca*, *Diogenes*, *Chryſippus*, and infinite mo, otherwiſe endewed with moſt fruitful doctrine, as we ſhall vnderſtand heerafter, were of this opinion. Inſomuch that *Chryſippus* ſaid, that *Dion* the chiefeſt man for knowledge in Syracuſa, was no leſſe vertuous than his god *Iupiter*, to whom they attributed perfect diuinitie. *Seneca* alſo boaſted that he had receiued life by the benefit of God, but to liue wel, from himſelfe. Thus whileſt they granted to mans power ſuch an excellent and diuine diſpoſition, they lift him vp in a vaine preſumption, in pride and truſt in himſelfe, and in his owne vertue, which in the end cannot but be the cauſe of his vtter vndoing. We therefore holding the meane betweene theſe two contrarie opinions (as the perfection and goodnes of all things conſiſteth in mediocritie) and continuing to ſpeake of man as we haue alreadie begun, do ſay, that the knowledge of himſelfe is very neceſſarie for him, and that hauing perfectly attained therunto, he hath cauſe both to be humbled greatly, as alſo to glorie and reioice. Firſt to humble himſelfe through the ſence and feeling of his vanitie, peruerſnes & corruption, in which reſpect he ought to hate and be diſpleaſed with himſelfe, bicauſe he beholdeth his deſtruction and condemnation ingrauen in his conſcience.

The preſumptuous opinion of the Stoiks.

The end of the knowledge of our ſelues.

conſcience. Secondly, he is to glorie in the knowledge of God, which inſeparably followeth the other, after he hath learned this, that in the mercie of God he may recouer that which is wanting in himſelfe, hauing once beene made and faſhioned of God, who is altogither pure, wiſe, true, good and almightie, to the end he might be partaker of his glorie. For the obtaining heerof, he had giuen vnto him from the beginning (as truſtie guides) godlines, holines, and religion: godlines, to the end he might knowe thereby, that he had God for his father: holines, to yeeld vnto him continuall glorie and praiſe: and religion, to keepe him in a continuall meditation of his grace and benefits, and to ſerue him for an indiſſoluble bond to knit him to his Creator, who threatened him with death, if he did the contrarie. But our firſt father through ingratitude and diſobedience, forſaking thoſe heauenlie guides to follow his owne free-will, depriued himſelfe and all his poſteritie of that promiſe of eternall life, that was made vnto him. Whereupon being dead to his firſt life, which was moſt happie and innocent, through his offence and peruerſnes of his ſin, he began from that time forward to liue a mortall life, ſo that his bodie and ſoule became ſubiect to infinite miſeries and damnable infirmities, which draw vpon them the condemnation of eternall death. Notwithſtanding God, whoſe goodnes and mercie are endles, reeſtabliſhed and aſſured the ſucceſſion of his immortall inheritance vnto thoſe, whom it pleaſed him by grace to make dead to ſin and aliue to himſelfe, through the ſatiſfaction of his wrath made by the innocencie of his eternall ſonne, purging them in his bloud, and opening vnto them by him the gates of heauen, after he hath renewed them in righteouſnes, holines and innocencie, that they may follow after godlines and religion. And knowing that man ſo fraile and weake, might eaſily fall downe vnder the heauie burden of thoſe miſeries and calamities, whereunto the corruption of his nature made him ſubiect, and wherein by reaſon of hereditarie ſinne he ſhould remaine during this mortall life, as alſo that thoſe

The wilfull fall of man.

The reſtoring of man.

furious and continuall passions, which are mingled togither in his soule, being ioined to the common infirmities of his bodie, would be of too great force to throwe him againe headlong into destruction, this infinite mercie of God appointed, that from the beginning there should remaine in the spirite of man a little sparke of light, which driueth him to a naturall loue of the truth, and to a desire to inquire after it, yea which pricketh and prouoketh him not to sleepe altogither in his vices. This weake instinct being awaked, stirred vp, holpen and disposed by the pure grace, vertue and power of the author of all goodnes, draweth and moueth a Christian, regenerated by the holie Ghost (after knowledge of himselfe, and hatred of that which is in him) to seeke after and to couet with a speciall hartie desire, that goodnes and righteousnes whereof he is void, and that glorious libertie of which he depriued himselfe. Furthermore, the same heauenlie grace blessing this holie desire of the man regenerate, causeth him to draw out of the doctrine of holie scriptures that wherewithall he may, if not heale perfectly his wicked inclinations, yet at the least containe and represse them in such sort, that they breake not out into any damnable execution. He teacheth him also to receiue the infirmities of his flesh as fatherly chastisements for his sin, and as necessarie means to exercise him, and to keepe him in awe. And lastly, for the vpshot and perfection of all happines and felicitie in this world, he instructeth him how he may lead a quiet and peaceable life in beholding the woonderfull works of the diuinitie, which he is to adore and honour, and in the amendement and correction of his maners naturally corrupted, by squaring them after the patterne of vertue, that so he may be made worthie and fit to gouerne humane affaires, for the profit of manie: and at length attaine to the perfection of a wise man, by ioining togither the actiue life with the contemplatiue in the certaine hope and expectation of a second, immortall and most blessed life. Whereunto also the precepts and discourses of learned and ancient philosophers, may serue for our instruction

All men naturally haue some loue and liking of the truth.

Effects of Christian regeneration.

The perfection of a wise mans life.

instruction and pricking forward: as also the examples (which are liuely reasons) of the liues of so manie notable men, as histories, the mother of antiquitie, do as it were represent aliue before our eies. And this in my iudgement is sufficient generally to vnderstand of Man, seeing we are heerafter to discourse more particularly of both his principall parts, the bodie and the soule.

Of the bodie and soule.

ACHITOB. THe bodie and soule are so knit and conioined togither, that nothing can separate them but death the destroier of all, which through sinne, and for the iust punishment thereof entred into the world. And this is no sooner done, but that whatsoeuer we see of man vanisheth from before our eies: the earthie part returning into the masse of earth frō whence it came, according to that saying of *Aristotle*, that *All things are resolued into those things whereof they are compounded:* likewise, that which is spirituall and inuisible goeth into an eternall immortalitie from whence the being thereof proceeded.

ASER. Truly this knitting togither, and coniunction of the bodie and soule is a most wonderfull thing in nature, yea, as manie of the philosophers say, against nature: seeing the soule, which is light, is contained within the bodie being heauie: that which is of celestiall fire, within that which is cold and earthie: that which is inuisible within that which is palpable: that which is immortall, within that which is mortall. But what? Where is the sence of man, which is able to comprehend the reason of the doings of that great Maister-builder of the vniuersall frame? Yea there is more. For during this coniunction, as all things that mooue within this generall globe are maintained by agreeing discords, euen so of necessitie there must be such a harmonie betweene the bodie and the soule, that by the helpe of the one, the other subsisteth

The wonderfull coniunction of the bodie and soule.

All things are preserued by agreeing discords.

and abideth, and that through their continuall ſtriuing ſometimes the one, and then the other be in the end obeied.

AMANA, Thou telleſt vs heere of a wonderful ſtrange thing, that that which is ſpirituall and immortall ſometime obeieth that which is mortal, and made of a corruptible lumpe. But I vnderſtand thee well. This proceedeth of the imperfection and imbecillitie of our nature. For (as *Socrates* ſaid) if we were perfect philoſophers we would neuer agree with our ſelues, but reſiſt continually. Now following this matter, make vs to vnderſtand more particularly (ARAM) what the bodie and ſoule are, what properties they haue, and what is the excellencie both of the one and the other.

The definition of a bodie.

ARAM. With a good will my companions, and firſt I will begin at the definition of a body. A body (as the Philoſophers ſay, ſpeaking generally of all things that haue bodies) is that which may be deuided and meaſured after three ſorts, in length, in breadth, and in deapth. Or according to others, a bodie is a maſſe or lump, which, aſmuch as lieth in it, reſiſteth touching, and occupieth a place. A body (ſaith *Plato*) is that which being in his proper place is neither heauie nor light, but being in a ſtrange place firſt inclineth ſomewhat, then is driuen and caried forward either with heauines or lightnes. Hereupon, both he and other Philoſophers diſcourſe, learnedly and profoundly of the particular nature of al bodies, of the earth, of the fire, of the aire, of the water, and of all other both ſimple and compound bodies, and of their contrarie motions. But ſeeing all thoſe diſcourſes are at this preſent without the compaſſe of our Academy, let vs ſimplie with more profite, and that according to the ſcripture, define the body, which we haue vndertaken to handle. We ſay then, that the body is fleſh, that euery affection of the fleſh is deadly, and that the works therof are vncleannes, pride, fornication, enmity, debate, wrath, contention, enuy, murder, gluttonie and ſuch like: and therfore that the bodie is made of mortall matter, of as ſmall continuance as a

Gen. 6. Rom. 8. Gal. 5. The works of the fleſh.

veſſell

veſſell of earth, ſinning without ceaſing, and endeuoring that that which is ſhut vp within it, ſhould pleaſe it. Notwithſtanding we ought not to neglect and contemne the woonderfull frame of this heauenly plant, as *Plato* calleth it, ſaying, that the roote thereof is in the head drawing towards heauen: ſeeing, as in a little world, we may behold therein the excellencie of the woonderful works of God, and that in ſo great meaſure, that the wiſeſt and moſt eloquent men could neuer ſet them foorth ſufficiently. And if we cal to minde how by his almightie power he framed him at the firſt of a peece of earth, we ſhall not neede to ſtand long heere to inquire and ſearch out, how he could be ingendred and faſhioned in his mothers wombe, how he receaued nouriſhment and life, and laſtly, how he came into the light. As for example, how the ſixe firſt daies after his conception, he is nothing but milke: the nine following, blood: twelue daies after, fleſh: and howe in the eighteene next enſuing, he is faſhioned, at what time the fruite beginneth to liue, and to haue ſence, which is the fiue and fortieth day after he was conceaued. Theſe are ſecrets of nature, which may ſeeme as incomprehenſible, and beyond the capacitie of man, as his firſt creation. For what greater maruell can there be, than that of a little drop of mans ſeed there ſhould be engendred bones, ſinewes, vaines, arteries, ſimilar and inſtrumentall partes, skinne and fleſh, and that all theſe ſhould be framed in that kinde, figure, and ſimilitude, which we daily ſee in men, who are all created after that maner? What neede we then to make an anatomy of all the chiefeſt partes of the body of man, when as the conſideration of the leaſt of them, which peraduenture may be found to be moſt neceſſarie, will ſuffice to rauiſh vs with admiration? What ſuperfluous thing can be noted in the bodie? What ſmall parcell is there, which the nobleſt part may want conueniently, and which is not partaker of euerie euill diſpoſition thereof? What thing is there in the whole nature thereof, which doth not ſatisfie that dutie verie profitably, whereunto it is borne and appointed, which moo-

Man is a little world. Gen. 3. Of the conception and faſhioning of man. Of the excellencie of the bodie, and of all the parts thereof.

neth not of it ſelfe, which either doth, ſuffereth or diſpoſeth of it ſelfe otherwiſe than is moſt expedient and meet for it owne benefite, and for the reſt of the frame of man? The progreſſe and growth thereof from day to day, from houre to houre, and that of all the parts together of this principall worke at one inſtant, euen from the firſt houre of his being vntil his whole perfection, are they not more heauenly than humane things? What is more woonderfull vnder the cope of heauen, than the coniunction and ſubiection of the naturall ſences vnto the bodie, I meane, of the ſight, ſmelling, hearing, taſte and touching, whereby (ſaith *Plato*) the common ſence, which is as it were a generall receptacle, conceaueth al outward things? What an excellent propertie in man is it, to voide from him a profitable ſuperfluitie of his nouriſhment, from whence the cauſe of the preſeruation of mankinde proceedeth? The articulate and diſtinct voice, proper to him onely, is it not woorthy of great maruell? What greater ſecret of nature could rauiſh the minde of man more with admiration than amongſt the infinite multitude of men in the world, to conſider the variety of their geſtures, and diuerſity of their countenances, that hauing al but one and the ſame forme, yet not one almoſt reſembleth another? And when in ſo great varietie, two are found reſembling in all points one another, as we read of ſome, euen of ſundry nations, who haue been taken indifferently one for the other, is it not a ſtranger matter? How maruellous is it, that all men hauing a toong wherewith they ſpeake and ſing, yet we ſeldome ſee that the ſpeaking and ſinging of one reſembleth the ſpeech and tune of another, whereupon it commeth to paſſe, that friends and familiars oftentimes acknowledge and vnderſtand one another by their ſpeech and voice before they ſee ech other? Who will not admire this great ſecret in the hand of man, that a hundred thouſand writers may write the ſame thing, with the ſame inke and like pen, and that with three and twentie letters, which haue each his owne figure and ſhape, and yet the writings ſhall not reſemble one another ſo, but that

Great ſecrets of nature.

The diuerſitie of mens voices and writings.

that euery writing may be knowne by his hand that wrote it? Briefely, what is there in the whole body of man, that is not full of rare beautie? This is ſufficient for the matter in hand, now let vs come to the ſoule, which is much more noble, and infuſed into the body by God the Creator, without any vertue of the generatiue ſeed, when as the parts of the body are alreadie framed and faſhioned. This alone can lead vs to the knowledge of God and of our ſelues, or rather as *Socrates* ſaid, we ſhall neuer vnderſtand perfectly what the ſoule is, except we firſt know God, and behold it in him, as in a true glaſſe, who onely can repreſent it vnto vs. Let vs then ſee what the ſoule is, according to the ſayings of the ancient Philoſophers. *Thales Mileſius*, one of the ſages of Græcia, who floriſhed in Athens in the time of *Achab* king of Iuda, was the firſt that defined the ſoule, affirming it to be a nature alwaies moouing it ſelfe. *Pythagoras* (the light of his time, and the firſt that tooke vnto himſelfe the name of a Philoſopher, bicauſe all thoſe, who before him were addicted to the contemplation of the diuinity, & of the ſecrets of nature, cauſed themſelues to be called by the name of Mages and wiſemen, which he would not haue ſpoken of himſelfe, ſaying, that this diuine and lofty title of Wiſe, was proper to God onely, and that it farre paſſed all humane ability) I ſay this excellent man *Pythagoras* affirmed that the ſoule was a number moouing it ſelfe. *Plato* ſaith, that it is a ſpiritual ſubſtance moouing it ſelfe by harmonicall number. *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that the ſoule is the continuall act or moouing of a naturall and inſtrumentall bodie, that may haue life. Or elſe, according to others, it is the light of the ſubſtance, and in perpetuall motion. They diuide it likewiſe diuerſely, and make many parts therof. The ſoule (as *Pythagoras* ſaid) is compounded of vnderſtanding, knowledge, opinion and ſence, from which things all knowledge and Arts proceed, and of which man is called reaſonable, that is, apt to diſcourſe by reaſon. *Plato* ſaith, that there are three vertues in the ſoule belonging to knowledge and vnderſtanding, which for this cauſe are called

The ſoule is infuſed not traduced.

The definition of the ſoule.

Pythagoras was the firſt that was called a Philoſopher.

The diuiſion of the ſoule.

Plato maketh fixe parts of the ſoule.

cognitiue or knowing vertues: namely, reaſon, vnderſtanding and phantaſie. Vnto which three others are anſwerable appertaining to appetite: namely Will, whoſe office is to deſire that which vnderſtanding and reaſon propound vnto it: Choler or Anger, which followeth that, that reaſon and phantaſie offer vnto it: and Concupiſcence, which apprehendeth whatſoeuer phantaſie and ſence obiect vnto it. *Ariſtotle* maketh another diſtinction of the ſoule, ſaying, that one part of it is voide of reaſon in it ſelfe, and yet may be guided by reaſon: and that the other part is of it ſelfe partaker of reaſon. And in another place this Philoſopher ſaith, that there are three thinges from whence humane actions proceed, namely ſence, vnderſtanding and appetite. Many others both ancient and late writers make foure parts of the ſoule: Vnderſtanding, reaſon, anger & deſire. The vnderſtanding lifteth the ſoule vp to heauen to the contemplation of diuine & intellectual things. Reaſon guideth the ſoule by prudence in all her functions. Anger is ruled and moderated by the vertue of magnanimitie: and deſire is gouerned by temperance. Of theſe a very harmonicall Iuſtice is framed, which giueth to euerie part of the ſoule that which belongeth vnto it. But the moſt ſenſible, common and true opinion, which the wiſeſt amongſt the Philoſophers had of the ſoule, is that which diuideth it into two parts onely, vnder which all the reſt are compriſed: the one being ſpiritual and intelligible, where the diſcourſe of reaſon is: the other brutiſh, which is the ſenſuall will, of it ſelfe wandring and diſordred, where all motions contrarie to reaſon, and all euill deſires haue their dwelling. Amongſt all the philoſophical diſcourſes of the ſoule, written by theſe great perſonages, this error is verie great, when they attribute ſuch a ſtrength and power to reaſon (which they ſay is reſident in the ſoule as a lampe to guide the vnderſtanding, and as a queene to moderate the will) as that by it alone a man may wel and iuſtly gouerne himſelfe. Now although we know that this reaſon of man is of it ſelfe, wholy depraued & corrupted, yet we may ſay wel enough, that

Ariſtotle diuideth it in two parts.

Foure parts of the ſoule.

The beſt diuiſion of the ſoule.

that the ſoule, which is ſpirit and life cannot be diuided, being immortall: bicauſe whatſoeuer is diuided, diſſolueth and parteth a ſunder, and whatſoeuer is diſſolued, periſheth. Neuertheles it may be ſaid to be compounded and made ſubiect (during the coniunction thereof with the body) to theſe two principall parts, *of vnderſtanding and will.* The vnderſtanding ſerueth to conceaue and comprehend all things propounded vnto vs, and to diſcerne and iudge what we ought, either to approoue and allow, or what to refuſe and reiect. The will is that which executeth and bringeth to effect, whatſoeuer the vnderſtanding iudgeth to be good, and contrariwiſe flieth from that, which it reproueth and condemneth. And herein we agree with the Philoſophers, that the vnderſtanding, vnder which we comprehend the ſence, is as the gouernour and captaine of the ſoule, and that the will dependeth of it. But withall we ſay, that both the one and the other are ſo corrupted and altered from their nature, (the vnderſtanding being obſcured and dimmed with the clouds of darknes, by reaſon of the firſt mans ſinne deſcended vpon all his poſteritie through hereditarie and naturall filthines, and the will in ſuch ſort corrupted by this diſobedience, and ſo weakened and made feeble to all goodnes) that if there be none other guide comming from aboue to teach the vnderſtanding, and to direct and leade the will, I meane, regeneration by the ſpirite of God, both of them cannot but do euill, drawing the ſoule with them to vtter ruine and perdition, by cauſing her to conſent to the law of her members, which are the bodie and fleſh, ful of ignorance, of obſcure darknes, of frowardnes, miſerie, calamitie, ignominie, ſhame, death, and condemnation. Notwithſtanding, if in the corruptible, heauie and groſſe lumpe of the bodie, within which the ſoule is contained, we found matter of praiſe and of the contemplation of heauenly things, what ſhal we ſay of that which is immortal, which in a moment in hir diſcourſes and cogitations, goeth through the whole heauen, compaſſeth the earth about, ſaileth all ouer the ſea, without which the body mooueth

The ſoule cannot be diuided but is made ſubiect to two parts.

Both parts of the ſoule are corrupted.

Rom. 7. 23.

The properties of the ſoule.

mooueth not at all, and all the beautie thereof turneth ſuddainly into putrefaction? This onely can make a man happie both in this and in the other life, by reaſon of the treaſures of wiſedome, the vnderſtanding whereof is proper vnto it: yea this is the onely inſtrument whereby a man may behold the diuine nature. This is inuiſible, and cannot be perceiued by any naturall ſence: this is contemplatiue and actiue at one and the ſame time: this beholdeth vniuerſall things, and practiſeth particulars, vnderſtanding the one, and feeling the other. This hath for the actions and operations of her eſſence and nature, Will, Iudgement, Senſe, Conceauing, Thought, Spirite, Imagination, Memorie, Vnderſtanding and Reaſon: and for her incomparable beautie, ſhe hath Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude and Iuſtice, without which the excellent order of all humane things would be changed into diſorder and confuſion. This is that moreouer, which being illuminated with wiſedome, bringeth foorth the fruites of loue, ioy, peace, long ſuffering, gentlenes, goodnes, faith, meekenes, temperancie. Briefely, to conclude our preſent ſpeech, we may well ſay that the ſoule is ſo great and diuine a thing, that it is a verie hard matter to comprehend it by reaſon, but altogither incomprehenſible by the outward ſence: and that all mans felicitie, as well preſent as to come, dependeth of the ſoule, when, being regenerated (as hath been ſaid) and made free and voide of al wicked perturbations (as neere as the nature of man can approch to perfection) her humane contentation and delight is onely in vertue, and in the hope and certaine expectation of a more ſound and perfect vertue, by the renuing and changing of this mortall life into that which is immortall and moſt bleſſed: as S. *Paule* exhorteth vs hereunto, ſaying, Let vs reioice in the Lord: both bicauſe our names are written in heauen (as Chriſt ſaith) and that our modeſty, meeknes and goodnes may be knowne to all men. Moreouer let vs learne that in the woonderfull compoſition, coniunction and diſpoſition of the ſoule & bodie, there is matter whereby to draw man greatly to the

The actions of the ſoule.

The beautie of the ſoule.

Gal.5.22.23.

The true delight of the ſenſe.

Phil.4.4.

Luke.10.20.

the consideration of the chiefe ende, for which he was first placed in the world, namely to glorifie his Creator in godlines, holines and religion. He ought therefore both to serue him with all the parts of his body, not abusing them in any sort, but keeping them pure and cleane, to be made members of the glorious body of his eternall Sonne in the resurrection, and also to praise and glorifie him with all the gifts and graces of his soule, not defiling it with vncleannes and vice, that she may, by the same diuine grace, returne vnto the full fruition of that most happy essence and nature from whence she had her being. In the meane while let vs learne that as the bodie vseth many instruments wherof it is compounded, and which are proper vnto it, so the soule, being much more noble, excellent and diuine ought to vse the bodie and all the parts therof: and that the soule is the organ and instrument of God whereby he worketh in vs, and lifteth vs vp to the contemplation of his diuine nature.

How a man ought to vse both body and soule.

Of the diseases and passions of the bodie and soule, and of the tranquillitie thereof. Chap. 3.

ARAM. ONe of the ancient philosophers vsed to say, that no liuing creature was worse to man than man himselfe, bicause, albeit he hath dominion ouer all things, yet he cannot rule himselfe, nor his desires. Experience causeth vs but too much to knowe the truth of this saying. For who can doubt in any sort heerof, seeing blessed S. *Paule* himselfe confesseth, that he did not the good thing which he would, but the euill, which he would not, and that in his flesh there dwelt no goodnes? So vndoubtedly we haue both bodie and soule compassed about with so many pernitious passions, that it is very hard, yea altogither vnpossible, that what good thing soeuer is in vs should not faint and sinke vnder their heauie waight without a speciall and diuine grace.

Nothing woorse to man than man himselfe.

Rom. 7. 18. 19.

There is no good thing in the flesh of man.

ACHI-

ACHITOB. Truly this is no vaine ſpeculation, nor vnprofitable to man: as alſo for a man to know, that he is as it were tied in this world to al vncertaine things, which he, being mortall by nature, cannot any way ſhun and auoid, without the helpe of God. He which is in health expecteth ſicknes: he that is ſicke, health. Doth any one deſire in his mind any thing? Before he enioyeth it, his deſire is often changed into another. In a word, no man abideth ſtill in one and the ſame eſtate. And therfore *Plato* calleth man a mutable creature, as if he meant to ſay, that he is eaſily altered and changed.

Man is a mutable creature.

ASER. The change which this diuine philoſopher meant (if I be not deceiued) hath relation principally to the conditions of the ſoule, which, being filled with infinite perturbations, faſtened in the midſt of it with the naile of pleaſure and griefe, is carried away with inconſtancie and vncertaintie into a ſtreame of troubleſome paſſions, which if they be not cut off and maiſtred by reaſon, draw a man into vtter deſtruction. But giue vs to vnderſtand (AMANA) more at large of theſe paſſions of the ſoule, and of the way to remedie them: and if you thinke good, you may ſpeake ſomewhat of thoſe of the bodie.

Pleaſure and griefe the cauſe of paſſions.

AMANA. Amongſt the innumerable euils, which the deſire of pleaſure and feare of griefe, ingrauen in the moſt ſecret parts of our ſoule by our firſt corruption, bring to man, this is the greateſt and moſt pernitious, that they make ſenſible things more euident and plaine vnto him than things intelligible, and conſtraine the vnderſtanding to iudge more by paſſion than by reaſon. For vſing, through the ſence of pleaſure or trauell, to attend to the erronious, vncertaine, and mutable nature of the bodie, as to that which is ſubſiſting and ſubiect to ſight, he remaineth blind, and looſeth all knowledge of that which truly is and ſubſiſteth, namely, of the light of the ſoule, which is diuine and immortall. Moreouer, applying himſelfe wholie to the ſenſuall and vnreaſonable will, which is that part of the ſoule that proceedeth of the corruption thereof, he laboureth with all his might to quench and choke

choke that weake inſtinct of the ſoule, which aſpireth vnto the true Good, from whence ſhe perceiueth hir ſelfe to haue fallen. And this he doth with ſuch force and power, that if God ſtrengthen not the ſoule, and reaſon the diuine guide, accompanie hir not, without doubt ſhe yeeldeth to ſuch mightie enimies: and then (as we haue ſaid) ſtaying himſelfe wholy in things ſubiect to ſight, he appeereth too carefull and curious in ſeeking to decke that, which belongeth to the bodie: but as for the ſoule (whereof all humane felicitie dependeth) bicauſe ſhe is inuiſible, and not ſeene of him, it is the leſt of his cares to furniſh hir with that which ſhe ſeeketh and deſireth, and which is neceſſarie for hir. Wherupon in the end it commeth to paſſe that the leſt ouerthwarts and diſcommodities of his fleſh ſeeme very greeuous aud burthenſome to a man, but as for the incurable diſeaſes, which ouerwhelme his ſoule, he doth not ſo much as feele them. Now to the end we may vnderſtand more particularly that which is heer propounded vnto vs, we will handle in order, and as briefly as we may (this matter being very large) the diſeaſes and paſſions of the bodie and ſoule, with the remedie which we are to deſire and ſeeke after. And firſt we will ſpeake a word of the diſeaſes of the bodie, next of the naturall and neceſſarie paſſions thereof, albeit we will intreat of the paſſions of the ſoule, as of our chiefe matter ſubiect. Concerning the maladies and euill diſpoſitions of the bodie, one *Hippocrates*, one *Galen*, nay infinite others skilfull in phyſicke, are not able to deſcribe them exactly, much leſſe preſcribe certaine and ſure remedies. But ſeeing it is not my purpoſe or profeſſion to ſtay long heere, neither yet neceſſarily belonging to the cauſe of our aſſemblie, I will content my ſelfe to ſpeake theſe few words by the way, that we ought to take euerie bodily infirmitie as a fatherly chaſtiſement of our ſins, and as a neceſſarie meane to awaken vs, to warne vs of our dutie, and to keep vs in awe. Beſides, one principall cauſe of all bodilie diſeaſes proceedeth ordinarily from vices, which are the proper inheritance of man, and with which we defile our ſelues continually.

Man is more carefull of his body then of his ſoule.

The ende, cauſe, and remedie of bodily diſeaſes.

nually. Therefore if we heale our ſoules, we may cure our ſelues of the moſt of them: and as for others, which come by defect of nature, or by ſome other hidden cauſe, we haue the counſell and helpe of phyſicions, whom willingly and diligently we ſeeke after. There are beſides theſe, certaine naturall and neceſſarie paſſions in the body, properly belonging vnto it, euen from the firſt creation therof, which are not to be condemned, neither can be taken away, but with the aboliſhing of mans nature: as the deſire of drinking, eating, ſleeping, & ſuch like, which onlie by the direction of reaſon are to be freed from all ſuperfluitie. But it ſtandeth otherwiſe with the diſeaſes and paſſions of the ſoule, deriued from our firſt corruption, and driuen forward by ſinne, being plentifull and rich, which without compariſon are far more dangerous than thoſe of the bodie, more hard to be perceiued & knowen, more headſtrong and vneaſie to cure, and which is worſe, man is very ſlothfull in ſeeking out a remedie for them. And for the moſt part thinking that he hath found ſome remedie, through want of skill and ignorance he falleth into a worſe eſtate than he was in before, and as we commonly ſay, from a gentle ague into a peſtilent and burning feuer. But firſt we will generally define this word, *Paſſion*, according to the opinion of thoſe philoſophers, who were endewed with greateſt light. Paſſion is euerie naturall and actuall motion in the ſoule. This motion is of two ſorts: the one weake, good and holie, aſpiring and reioicing in that which is truly good: the other verie ſtrong, euill and pernitious, coueting with a diſordered deſire, and delighting with an immoderate ioy in a good falſly ſo imagined. The matter of theſe motions are opinions, affections, and inclinations, which being conſidered in their owne nature, are through ſinne wicked and corrupt throughout the ſoule, yea the bloſſome and roote of them proceed from our owne ſubſtance, to the end (as *Plato* ſaith) that no man ſhould thinke God to be the cauſe of euill. Now albeit theſe paſſions thus defined by the philoſophers are many in number, yet drawing neerer

Naturall paſſions.

The definition of paſſion.

to

to the truth we may comprehend and diuide them all into two principall kinds. The firſt kind ſhall be that which we beleeue by faith: the other according to our opinions and affections. Vnder the firſt we comprehend that which euerie one beleeueth, thinketh, and deſireth concerning diuine and heauenlie things, as of true righteouſnes, of the immortalitie of the ſecond life, and of the iudgement to come. Vnder opinions and affections is comprehended whatſoeuer reſpecteth and concerneth earthlie things, this life, maners, gouernment of a houſhold, of a common wealth, and generally al humane inclinations and actions. As touching that which we beleeue by faith, we are led thereunto, and ſtirred by the weake inſtinct and feeling of the diuine nature imprinted in euery ſoule, which after a ſort mooueth man to aſpire vnto, and to deſire the true and ſouereigne good, and which, being more power-full, and of greater efficacy in ſome than in others, cauſeth the better ſort to delight alſo in the ſame good. Neuertheles it is proper to euery mans vnderſtanding, not to hold a ſtedfaſt and ſure way in ſeeking out the truth, but to wander aſide into diuers errors (as a blind man that walketh in darknes) and to fill it ſelfe rather with lies, and with a continuall deſire and curioſitie of new, vnprofitable, and ſuperfluous things, than to content it ſelfe ſimplie with the truth, inſomuch that finally it miſſeth of all. But to the end we be not of this number, we ought to hold faſt the infallible rule of the holie ſcriptures: which gift we are to aske, hope, wait, and ſeeke for in the onely grace and mercie of that Spirit which indighteth them, and to looke for the full opening of theſe treaſures in the ſecond and eternall life. As for the ſecond kind of our paſſions, properly called perturbations according to the philoſophers from whence all the euils and miſeries of mankinde proceed, and whereof we minde chiefely to ſpeake, they are but affections and inclinations, which come from our will, corrupted by the prouocations and allurements of the fleſh, and which wholy reſiſt the diuine nature of the reaſonable part of the ſoule, faſtening it to the bodie (as

Plato

The diuiſion of paſſions.

All men haue naturally a deſire of happines.

No man by nature can finde out the right way that leadeth to happines.

The word of God ſheweth vs the right way to happines.

Of the perturbations of the ſoule.

Plato ſaith) with the naile of pleaſure. Which paſſions the mind of man commonly beholdeth cleerly enough, when it applieth it ſelfe thereunto, if it be not altogither peruerted and depraued: yea by the grace and helpe of God, the mind is able to confirme it ſelfe againſt any paſſion through the diſcourſe of reaſon before it be in force, and during the vehemencie thereof, to fortifie it ſelfe againſt it. And although the paſſion be contrarie to reaſon, and haue (for hir onely ſcope) pleaſure, and the feare of griefe, which can preuaile greatly with man, yet reaſon by the meanes of Gods grace, can both eaſily conſtraine, maiſter and compell all paſſions in ſuch ſort, that they ſhall take no effect, and alſo bring to paſſe, that whatſoeuer is raſhly deſired, ſhall be ouercome by the diſcourſe of prudent counſell. And for this cauſe we ſay, that the firſt motions are not in our power, but that the euent and iſſue of them is in ſome ſort. Likewiſe reaſon doth not wholie quench and extinguiſh all paſſions, which cannot poſſibly be performed in the nature of man, but repelleth and hath the vpper hand of them, as the precepts of doctrine, and infinite examples of the liues of ancient heathen and pagan philoſophers do learnedly teach vs. Which thing as it ought to cauſe many at this day to be aſhamed, who vaunt themſelues of the name of Chriſtians, ſo it condemneth them in a fault not to be excuſed before the iuſt iudgement of God, bicauſe thoſe men, being deſtitute of the perfect knowledge of God, which they ſay they haue, far excelled and ſurpaſſed them in the bridling, ouercomming and killing of ſo many peſtiferous paſſions as compaſſe the ſoule about, as we may handle elſewhere, and ſee examples thereof worthie of eternall remembrance, when we ſhall diſcourſe particularly of vertues and vices. In the meane while we may learne of *Cicero* (the father of Latine eloquence, whoſe skill in ioining philoſophie with the art of Rhetorike, was excellent, and who, in my iudgement, handleth this our preſent matter more profitably than any other of the ancients) that all the aboue named euill paſſions are perturbations, which if they be not maiſtered by

The ſcope of our paſſions.

The ancient heathen may riſe vp in iudgement againſt many Chriſtians in theſe daies.

by reaſon, depriue man of the ſoueraigne good of the ſoule, which conſiſteth in the tranquillitie therof. Moreuer he ſaith, that through ignorance & baſenes of minde, they proceed onely of the opinion of good or euill, either preſent or to come, which we imagine to be in the vnperfect and tranſitorie things of the world, and which are accompanied vnſeparably either with good or euill. In reſpect of good things, we are caried away with a vehement deſire or coueting of them, beſides an immoderate ioy in them: in regard of euil things, we are oppreſſed with feare and ſorrow. And theſe are the foure ſprings of all vices & ſins wherein men plunge themſelues during this life, and vnder which all perturbations are comprehended, which fill the ſoule with endleſſe trouble and diſquietnes, cauſing man to liue alwaies vncontented, and to finde euery preſent kinde of life burthenſome, and ſo to ſeeke after and to deſire another. But as fearefull men, (ſaith *Plutark*, that excellent philoſopher, & ſchoolemaſter to that good *Traian*) and they that are at ſea, ſubiect to caſting, thinking they ſhalbe better in one place than in another, go from the ſterne to the ſtem, then to the bottom of the ſhip, afterward to the higheſt part, fró thence go into the skiph, and in the end returne into the ſhip, without any amendment of their euil, becauſe they carrie alwaies about with them both feare & griefe: ſo the alteration of life, & of worldly conditions and eſtates into others, doth not purge, but rather increaſe the perturbations & diſeaſes of the ſoule, if firſt the cauſe of them, I meane ignorance of things, & the imperfection of reaſon, be not taken out of it. Theſe are the miſchiefes, which trouble both rich and poore: theſe are the miſeries, which wait vpon great and ſmal, bond and free, yoong & old. Thus is the ſpirit of ſick perſons vexed, and that continually. One while the wife is troubleſome, the phyſition vnskilfull, the bed vneaſie, the friend that viſiteth importunate, he which viſiteth not, proud: but being once healed, they finde that whatſoeuer was irkſom vnto them before, now pleaſeth them. But that which health doth to the diſeaſed body, the

The originall, nature and effects of perturbations.

All perturbations are contained vnder theſe foure heads, Deſire, Ioy, Feare, Griefe.

An excellent compariſon.

The cauſe of the diſeaſes of the ſoule.

Reaſon is the medicine of the ſoule.

ſame thing reaſon worketh in the ſoule of a prudent man, by curing the paſſions and perturbations thereof, and by cauſing him to reſt ioyfull and contented, in what eſtate and condition ſoeuer he be. Let vs note moreouer, (which we touched in the beginning of this preſent diſcourſe) that all theſe paſſions of the ſoule are much more dangerous than thoſe of the bodie, bicauſe the moſt hurtfull paſſions of the bodie, are firſt ingendred of thoſe in the ſoule. For the bodie yeeldeth it ſelfe ready to ſerue the deſires, appetites, and pleaſures of the ſoule, which being ouercome and in the power of fleſhly prouocations, procureth in the end deſtruction to them both. But contrariwiſe, the ſoule being ruled by reaſon, reſiſteth mightilie all corporall paſſions, and is nothing at all, or verie little made partaker of their euill diſpoſitions: whereas on the other ſide the bodie is conſtrained to alter and change with euery infirmitie of the ſoule. If the minde be troubled, what cheerefulnes can be ſeene in the face? The diſeaſes of the bodie hinder not the ſoule from effecting all good & vertuous actions: yea many haue brought forth the fruits of wiſe philoſophers and great captaines, when they were vexed with diſeaſes, which they could neuer do, at leaſt verie few of them, that were corrupted and defiled in ſoule. And therfore *Democritus* ſaid very well, that it was much more conuenient and meet for a man to haue care of his ſoule, than of his bodie. For if the ſoule be perfect, ſhe correcteth the naughtines of the body, whereas the ſtrength & diſpoſition of the body without the vſe of reaſon, hurteth both the ſoule and it ſelfe. Moreouer, that the paſſions of the ſoule are harder to be perceiued and knowne, and conſequently more vneaſie to be cured, who doth not eaſily feele it, being greeued but in the leaſt part of his bodie? yea what griefe doth not of it ſelfe ſufficiently appeere, either by ſome inflammation, or by the colour of the viſage, or by ſome other outward ſhew? But how many do we ſee, whoſe ſoules are extreemly ſicke, ſpoiled and corrupted with vice, and yet being depriued of all feeling they thinke themſelues to be the ſoundeſt men in the

A ſound ſoule correcteth the naughtines of the bodie.

the world? And that they are headstrong and vneasie to be cured, we may know by this, that the body is in the end so farforth obedient, that if reason be vrgent vpon it, she forceth euen the naturall passions of hunger, thirst and sleepe, & findeth out besides a thousand remedies to help it self. But when the passions of the soule haue once beene grounded and rooted within it, without resistance they haue such pearcing pricks, that oftentimes they presse & ouerwhelme all reason, which is their onely medicine and preseruatiue. And yet to fill vp the measure of all miserie, such is the froward nature of man, that he is much more slothfull to seeke out this remedy of the soule, than that of the bodie, as we touched in the beginning of this present discourse. Moreouer, the iudgement of reason being oftentimes diseased within him, is the cause, that when he thinketh to finde health, he encreaseth his euill, and falleth into those inconueniences, which he desired most of all to eschew. Example hereof we haue in those, who, being led onely with a desire of glory and honor, obtaine nothing by their dooings, if we consider them well, but shame and dishonor. The like may be said of all the other diseases of the soule, which commonly are accompanied and followed with effects contrary to their endes and desires. What remaineth then, seeing we perceiue the dangers to be great, which follow al the perturbations of the soule, but that, knowing it to be more easie not to receiue them, than to driue them out being receiued, we preuent them, and hinder them from taking liuely roote within our soules, by making reason (which, as *Hesiodus* saith, is a diuine guide, and wisedome inspired from aboue) so strong and powerfull, that it may be able, by the grace of God, to resist al the assaults of vnbrideled desires, and the froward affections of this flesh? But behold yet a better and more certaine remedie: namely, that being assured, that all perturbations are but opinions drawne from our will, through a iudgement corrupted with the affections of this flesh, we labor by good and sound reasons to ouerthrow and confound these false and erronious opinions,

The passions of the soule are headstrong, and hard to be cured.

The passions of men commonly bring foorth effects contrarie to their purposes.

Reason, is wisedome inspired from heauen.

A remedie against passions.

perſwading our ſelues that whatſoeuer we imagine to be good or euill in the world (which is the cauſe that our minds are depriued of their reſt and quietnes) is indeede neither good nor euill, and ſo conſequently, that it ought not in any ſort to breed paſſions within vs. Hereof the ſequele of our diſcourſes ſhall (by the helpe of God) giue vs to vnderſtand more at large, and furniſh vs with examples of pernicious effects, which proceed from all the paſſions of the ſoule. We will here by the way note their force, hauing learned out of Hiſtories, that they haue oftentimes ſet vpon the harts of men in ſuch violent maner, that ſome *through deſire, ſome for ioy: thoſe by feare, others by griefe* haue ended their liues. *Diagoras* the Rhodian, and *Chilon* hearing that their children had wonne the price at the games of Olympus, felt ſuch a motion in them of the ſpleene, that they were ſtifled with laughter. *Herennus* the Sicilian, as he was led priſoner, for being a copartner in the conſpiracie of *Caius Gracchus*, was ſo aſtoniſhed, & oppreſſed with the feare of his iudgement to come, that he fell downe ſtarke dead at the entrie of the priſon. *Plautius* the Numidian looking vpon his dead wife tooke it ſo to hart; that caſting himſelfe vpon the dead body, he aroſe no more, but was there ſtifled with ſorrow. As for extreme deſire or coueting, there is nothing that ſo greatly mooueth or carieth away the minds of men, or that commeth neerer to their deſtruction, than this fooliſh paſſion indangereth their life. *Galeace* of Mantua ſaying oftentimes to a damſell of Pauia whom he courted and made loue to, that he would ſuffer a thouſand deaths for hir ſeruice, if it were poſſible, was in ieſt commanded by hir to caſt himſelf into the riuer: which he preſently performed, & was drowned. But we ſhal alleadge more fitly ſuch teſtimonies of the fond effects of deſire, and of all the perturbations of the ſoule, when we diſcourſe more particularly of euery vice that proceedeth from them. In the meane time I would gladly aske this queſtion of him, that is moſt ignorant, vicious, and carnall, whether he will not grant vertue to be a good of the ſoule. There is none ſo impudent

Examples of death by ouergreat ioy.

Herennus died for feare.

Plautius through griefe.

The effects of deſire.

dent whose conscience would not compell him to confesse the same. And yet no man is caried away with too great a desire of vertue, neither doth any reioice therein too excessiuely, after he hath obtained it. Likewise there is none that feareth so vehemently, least he cannot obtaine hir, as that the feare thereof driueth the soule out of his place and rest. For no man can fall into this feare, least he should not becom vertuous, except he be very desirous to be so indeed: and none can haue this desire, except reason, guided with heauenly light, and doing her dutie in him, had wrought the same: but reason thus qualified must needs be an enimy to all perturbations. Thus we see that no man, through feare of not being vertuous, is ouertaken with perturbations. The like may be saide of sorrow. For albeit a man be greeued bicause he is not vertuous, yet his minde is not excessiuely disquieted, seeing this desire is neuer in him, but when reason commandeth according to hir diuine nature, by causing vs to knowe our selues. Whereby we cleerly perceiue that perturbations neuer arise in vs for that which is the true good of the soule, but onely for that which fooles do falsely call good, and which the philosophers call the goods of the bodie and of fortune. But these being naturally subiect to corruption, and, as we haue alreadie said, inseparably accompanied with vehement desire, vnbrideled ioy, feare and griefe, (as we shall see more at large when we handle them hereafter) are vnworthy to be cared for by the immortall soule, neither may or ought they to be called goods bicause they are possessed, much lesse euils, when they are wanting. If we be thus perswaded, we shall be masters ouer all perturbations, not esteeming that which is mortall and fraile, worthy to be either wished for, or delighted in. Hereof it will come to passe, that our soule and spirit shall be quiet, and reason, which knoweth how discerne good from euill, wil deale with vs as a good husbandman, and vine dresser dealeth with his tree and vine, when he cutteth off the dead branches and vnprofitable twigs, to the end that all noisome sap and moisture

Vertue is alwais without excessiue passion.

The nature of worldly goods.

may be taken away. And thus ſhall we be taught to deſire and do that, which we ought, and euery contrarie inclination ſhall be weakened, not taking effects, and the ſoule ſhall fulfill hir dutie, in commanding abſolutely ouer all the prouocations of the fleſh, and in quenching them ſo ſoone as they do appeere. For as they that haue healthful bodies, (ſaith *Epictetus*) eaſily indure both cold and heate: ſo they that haue a ſtaied and ſetled ſoule, haue the dominion ouer anger, griefe, ioy, and all their other affections. Then ſhall we liue happily, not being terrified with any feare, nor vexing our ſpirits with any longing or tedious deſires, nor being tormented with any luſtes and diſordred affections, and laſtly, not ſuffering our ſelues (being drunken with fugred poiſon) to be ouercome and bound vnder the yoke of pleaſure. This ſhall we learne by the ſtudie of Philoſophie, which is a certaine remedie, and a ſound medicine for euery vice and paſſion, and is able to inrich and cloath vs with reaſon, which is ſuch a beautifull, perfect and profitable ornament.

A wiſe ſoule gouerneth the affections.

What it is to liue happilie.

Of Philoſophie. Chap. 4.

ANNA. THe life of man (ſaid *Pythagoras*) is like to that generall aſſemblie of Græcia at the Olimpyan games, where manie carried with glorie and ambition, preſented themſelues at thoſe exerciſes, that they might beare away the crowne and prize: others led with couetouſnes, came thither to traffike, ſelling and buying merchandiſe: and a third ſort of men, more praiſe worthie and noble came thither alſo, who ſought not after vaineglorie, or couetouſnes, but carefully marked whatſoeuer was done in that aſſemblie, that they might reape profit and commoditie thereby. So men comming into this world, as into a faire or mart, ſome giue themſelues to ambition and vaineglorie, others to couetouſnes, and to heape vp treaſure. But they that are of a more diuine nature, ſequeſtring themſelues from worldlie affaires,

The common drift of men.

faires, meditate vpon heauenlie things, and thereupon faſten the ſcope of their intents, deſires and wils. Diuine *Plato*, ioining action with contemplation in a happie and perfect life, ſaith, that next to the glorie of God we muſt haue regard to do that which is profitable for the Common-wealth. Which excellent opinions of theſe two philoſophers are comprehended vnder this onely word of practiſing philoſophie, and that art, which giueth vs the precepts thereof, is called philoſophie, whoſe worke and effect (as *Seneca*, *Neroes* ſchoolmaiſter ſaid very well) is to find out, and to knowe the truth both of diuine and humane things. Iuſtice, pietie, religion, yea the whole companie of vertues neuer depart from hir. She teacheth vs to adore and ſerue God, and to loue men.

What men ought chiefly to ſeuell at.

The worke of philoſophie.

ARAM. Surely philoſophie is the mother and continuall ſpring of all good knowledge. For ſhe teacheth vs to knowe good and euill: ſhe prouoketh vs by the vprightnes of reaſon to flie this thing, & to do that, cauſing vs to liue as wiſe and prudent men, ioyfull and contented in euery eſtate, whereupon ariſeth the ſound reſt of the ſpirit. Moreouer, the excellencie of this knowledge (as *Plato* ſaith) is ſo great, that it is but one and the ſame thing to be a king, a gouernor of a Common-wealth and a philoſopher: bicauſe the roiall, ciuill, and philoſophicall arts are compounded of the ſame matter, namelie, of iuſtice and prudence.

ACHITOB. Philoſophie cannot ſufficiently be praiſed, ſeeing that whoſoeuer obeieth hir may paſſe his daies without tediouſnes. For the true ſcope thereof is to ſeeke to glorifie God in his woonderfull works, and to teach a man how to liue well, and to helpe his neighbor. Which perfection cannot be attained vnto without a ſpeciall and heauenlie grace, and that after the knowledge of the fountaine from whence all goodnes commeth. And this hath beene the cauſe, as I thinke, why ſo many great philoſophers, knowing certainly wherein the true and perfect felicitie of man liuing in this world conſiſted, namely, in the tranquillitie of the ſoule, and labouring continually to

The proper end and ſcope of philoſophie.

roote out, or at leaſt to weaken al the perturbations ther-
of by the vprightnes of reaſon, and to engraffe vertue
therein, yet could neuer perfectly enioy this ſouereigne
Why the philoſophers could neuer attaine to the ſouereigne good in this life. good, which they ſo much deſired, bicauſe they were ig-
norant of the fountaine from whence it proceeded, which
is, the grace and mercie of our God in his beloued ſonne.
And albeit their life was maruellouſly quiet, and void of
many vices, yet it ſtandeth vs in hand (if we be Chriſtians
in deed) to lead, without compariſon, a more happy, con-
tented and excellent life, and to exerciſe philoſophie ac-
cording to that true wiſedome, which our Lord Ieſus
Chriſt teacheth vs. But I thinke ASER is prepared to
ſpeake of this matter, and to diſcourſe thereof more at
large vnto vs. Let vs harken then what he will ſay.

ASER. That which preſently offereth it ſelfe to bee
handled, requireth truely a farre better ſpirit than mine.
Notwithſtanding, that I ſeeme not to ſhun thoſe liſts, into
which we entered willingly, I purpoſe according to my
weake iudgement, to tell you firſt what philoſophie is,
what good commeth vnto vs by it, the meanes to learne
it, and to profit thereby, how a man may know he hath it,
and how he muſt ſhew foorth the fruits thereof: and laſt-
ly how we ought to contemne all things that we may ob-
taine it, after the example of ſome ancient Sages, whom
The definition of philoſophie. we will alledge. Philoſophie is a loue or deſire of wiſedom.
Or otherwiſe, it is a profeſſion, ſtudie, and exerciſe of that
wiſedome, which is the knowledge of diuine and humane
things, and which properly belongeth to him, who onely
is ſufficient of himſelfe, and is wiſedome it ſelfe, namely, to
God. *Pythagoras* was the firſt that gaue the name to philo-
ſophie, which being diuided as well by him, as by other
ancient philoſophers into diuers and ſundrie arts and ſci-
The diuiſion of philoſophie. ences, we may diſtinguiſh into two generall parts onely:
into the *Contemplatiue part*, and into the *Morall*, which ſom
call *Actiue*. We will make two kinds of the *Contemplatiue*,
Diuine, and *Naturall*. As touching the diuine part, it is that
Of diuine philoſophie. higheſt and moſt vnchangeable knowledge, whereunto
we muſt wholy refer the end of our being, and the ſcope

of

of all our purpoſes, ſtudies, and actions, namely, to be able to know and to glorifie the Creator and preſeruer of the whole world. Of this eternall knowledge, which *Socrates* called *Wiſedome*, we ſay with *Iuſtin*, who was both a philoſopher and a martyr, that all louers of Chriſtian faith ought to endeuor not to be ignorant, no not of any point belonging to the knowledge and perfect keeping of God his commandements, but eſpecially they muſt haue in ſingular recommendation his ſeruice and true worſhip. As touching the abſolute and perfect knowledge of heauenlie myſteries, they ought to deſire the vnderſtanding of them ſo far foorth as they are able, and according to the gift and meaſure of graces, which ſhall be giuen them from aboue. But if the eie of their ſoule dazell in the conſideration of them, it ſhall be ſufficient to honor and admire them with due reuerence, and to beleeue them ſtedfaſtly, knowing that mans vnderſtanding is not able to attaine to the exquiſite knowledge of ſo high myſteries.

How we muſt behaue our ſelues in ſearching out the ſecrets of God.

Naturall philoſophie conſiſteth chiefly in the Mathematiks, which are diuided into many parts and particular ſciences, of which the moſt of them ſeeme to manie not greatly neceſſarie, as that which intreateth of the nature of the heauens, of the ſunne, of the moone, of their motions, meaſures, & of the naturall cauſes of al things. Which oftentimes ſerueth rather to content the curioſitie of hawtie ſpirits, than to make them better, inſomuch that ſometimes, by ſpeculations, and by vaine and friuolous queſtions, they ſeeke out the naturall cauſes of things ſo curiouſly, that in the end they ſtriue to finde out another beginning of all things than God: whereby at length they remaine deceiued and confounded in their knowledge, as both the writings of ſo many ancient philoſophers, and alſo the life of many in our time do proue vnto vs. Neuertheles, there are ſome parts of the Mathematiks neceſſarie to be knowen for the great profit that may come vnto vs by them, as Phyſicke, Arithmetike, Geometrie, and others. But the ſubiect of our Academie will not ſuffer vs to handle all theſe ſciences at this preſent. I will

Of naturall philoſophie.

ſay

ſay thus much onely by the way, that we ought ſo to rule and direct the profeſſion of all naturall philoſophie, that we vſe it not before we haue been well and ſufficiently inſtructed in the ſcare and knowledge of God, and of all things that concerne a good and happie life, and that vaineglorie ſhould not be the end of that ſtudie, but that it ſhould rauiſh vs more and more in the contemplation of the works of that great maiſter-builder of the whole frame, to the end to glorifie him in greater meaſure. And yet we muſt aboue all things beware, that we fall not into that curſe of the prophet, which he denounceth againſt thoſe, who being deſtitute of Gods grace by reaſon of their ſinnes, giue themſelues to ſoothſaying, and to ſeeke after ſorcerers, magitians, and calculators of natiuities, which things we ſee are too common amongſt vs: inſomuch that he is iudged as it were miſerable, that knoweth not his Horoſcope, from whence ſo many abuſes, inuocations, and curſed charmes haue proceeded by little and little. Let vs ſhun ſuch vaine knowledge, proper to infidels and Atheiſts, and refer our euents and iſſues (which albeit we knew before, yet could we not aſſure our ſelues that we ſhould auoid them) to the onely prouidence and direction of God. It remaineth now to intreate of the other part of philoſophie, called Morall. Of this, I thinke *Socrates* the wiſe man meant to ſpeake, when he ſaid, that philoſophie conſiſted not in learning manie things, or in medling with many arts, but in the perfect knowledge of iuſtice, prudence, and of all other morall vertues. He addeth further, that this philoſophie worketh two things in our mind, the one in purging it as well of perturbations, as of falſe opinions, and the other, in cauſing it to returne into the right way by reaſons and exhortations drawen from earthly and ſenſible formes to ſuch as are ſpirituall, which are incloſed within our ſoules, that by them we may be led to God, the Idea and paterne of all good. This is that morall philoſophie, which we haue vndertaken to handle in all our diſcourſes, and which is ſo neceſſarie for the life of man. For as the vntamed horſe by reaſon of his ouer-

A rule to be kept in naturall philoſophie.

Againſt ſorcerers, magitians and birth-gazers.

The iſſue of all things is to be referred to the prouidence of God.

Of morall philoſophie.

God the Idea of all good.

ouer-great wildnes is not profitable for any thing: ſo he that is drawen away by his affections (which philoſophie onely can moderate) is vnprofitable and vnworthie of all companie, and of all gouernment either publike or priuate. It is philoſophie that teacheth vs the doctrine of good life, and cauſeth vs to know our miſeries, and the meanes whereby we may be deliuered from them. She it is that frameth in our vnderſtanding the iudgement of reaſon, and learneth vs to lead a life agreeable to doctrine: ſhewing vnto vs what true honeſtie is, what perfect beautie, and what in truth and in deed is profitable. She repreſſeth all euil paſſions and perturbations of the ſoule, appeaſeth the vnſatiable deſires therof, deliuereth it from all feare, and from all earthlie carefulnes, filling it with tranquillitie, conſtancie, aſſurance, magnanimitie, and ſufficiencie. She purgeth pride, preſumption, ambition, choler, reuenge, couetouſnes, iniuſtice, and in a word, ſhe it is, that (by the meanes of reaſon guided by the heauenly ſpirit, which teacheth vs reaſon, and giueth it vnto vs for a law) frameth all the maners and behauior of man according to the paterne of vertue, by ingraffing it in his ſetled ſoule, as his onely permanent good, and by cauſing him to do that willingly, which others (as *Xenocrates* ſaid) do by compulſion, and for feare of lawes. We are by philoſophie inſtructed at large in that dutie and obedience, which we owe to our parents, ſuperiors, and lawes: and taught how much we ought to loue and honor one another, our wiues, our children, our brethren, yea al thoſe that are not of our bloud. She it is (ſaith *Cicero*) that containeth the diſcipline of vertue, of dutie, and of good life: ſhe is alſo the art and miſtreſſe of life. Briefly, by philoſophie we are taught that perfection, which concerneth all the actions and dealings of men, euen from thoſe who are placed in the gouernment of monarchies, kingdomes, commonwealths, cities, and nations, vnto the leſt that liueth vnder them. For ſhe teacheth the one ſort how to command well, and the other to obey well, and to maintaine themſelues vpright in euerie eſtate and condition of life, in the alteration

The benefit that commeth by philoſophie.

Philoſophie is the art of life.

alteration either of proſperitie or of aduerſitie, yea euen to ſhew themſelues conſtant in contrarie things, by ſhunning pleaſure & ſuſtaining griefe, by deſpiſing glorie and enduring contempt. And to this effect, one of the wiſe Hebrew interpreters, being demanded by *Ptolemie Philadelphus* king of Egypt, what it was to exerciſe philoſophie, anſwered, that it was to reaſon well and directly, to reape great profit by all things that happen, not to be carried away by luſt, to contemn all vanities proceeding of worldly pleaſures, and to be guided in euery action by a certaine mediocritie. Now ſeeing it is out of queſtion that the fruit and commoditie of morall philoſophie is ſuch and ſo great, let vs in the next place conſider where and how we may learne it, that we may put it in practiſe. There is nothing more true than this, that it dependeth in ſuch ſort of the former, which we called contemplatiue and diuine, or rather is ſo ioined vnto it, that without this, it can neuer but be vnperfect in man, ſeeing the feare and knowledge of God is the beginning and perfection of all wiſedome. Moreouer, it is ſo well and perfectly taught vs in the word of God, that nothing more may be added or deſired. Neuertheles the doctrine ioined with examples, which we may draw out of hiſtories, and from the liues of wiſe men, by things that haue beene done in deed, is of great force and efficacie in the ſoule to draw and moue it with delight to ſeeke to reſemble them. For when as man, naturally deſirous of glorie and immortalitie, ſhall ſee, that philoſophers and vertuous men, who were ſo much commended and renowmed, are as it were reuiued againe in theſe daies, after ſo many ages paſt, he will be thereby awakened and pricked forward by this ielouſie of glorie, which by nature is in him, to deſire and bring to paſſe all great matters woorthie to be remembred, to the end he may deſerue the like praiſe and commendation. Therfore we ſhall reape no ſmall profit heereby, yea it will be vnto vs as an entrie to a happie and holie life, and as a guide to ſacred contemplations, if we earneſtly imbrace and exerciſe our ſelues in the reading and ſtudie of good authors,

What it is to play the philoſopher.

Where and how philoſophie is learned.

True philoſophy is to be found in the word of God.

who

who teach vs the precepts of good life: to whom (as *Alexander* the great ſaid, ſpeaking of his maiſter *Ariſtotle*) we find our ſelues no leſſe boūd & beholding, if we throughly taſte their doctrine, than to our owne fathers (without offence vnto them be it ſpoken) of whom we haue onely our life and being. But bicauſe the excellencie & highnes of this part of philoſophie, called morall (which is for the correction of life and maners) is ſuch and ſo great, that the ſound and perfect knowledge therof is very hard, and ſeeing that good beginnings in all great matters are alwaies the difficulteſt part of them, we muſt lay a good ground of our enterpriſe, if we meane to attaine thereunto, and then aſcend vpward from one degree to another. The chiefeſt and moſt neceſſarie foundation muſt be a perpetuall and feruent loue of the truth, and of eternall things, ioined with the ſeparation of lies, and of the deſire of temporall things far from vs. Secondly, theſe particulars are (as *Plato* ſaith) very neceſſarie for vs: a liuely and ſharpe wit, a nature apt to cōtemplation, likewiſe graue, prompt, hardie to execute, and prouident of publike commoditie. But aboue all things the knowledge of the true God is infinitely neceſſarie for him that will be a philoſopher, bicauſe that, as all things without the enioying of their vſe and goodnes, are poſſeſſed without profit: ſo to haue knowledge of arts and ſciences without the vnderſtanding of the true God, is friuolous and vnprofitable. Yea no man can do any thing that good is, whether it be in priuate or publike affaires, if by reaſon he knoweth not what that is, which ought to be called good. But in this thing we ſhall be well inſtructed (God willing) by the ſequele of our diſcourſes. Thirdly, we muſt continue without ceaſing the ſtudie of this morall knowledge, as *Cicero* the father of eloquence doth familiarly teach vs, ſaying, that in our ſtudies we are to vſe ſome intermiſſion onely, for the recreation both of bodie and mind in all honeſt ſort, but we muſt neuer leaue and forſake them altogither. Neither ought theſe intermiſſions to be of any long continuance, bicauſe vice alwaies watcheth to ouer-run vs ſo ſoone

How much we owe to good authors.

The chiefe foundation of al philoſophie.

Neceſſarie points for a philoſopher.

We muſt learne alwaies.

ſoone as we let our ſelues looſe vnto idlenes, to the end to ſtir vs vp through the intiſements of the fleſh, to followe our naturall imperfections. Much leſſe ought we, through preſumption of our ſelues, and confidence in our owne vertue and ſufficiencie, altogither to forſake the profeſſion of this ſtudie, as they do, who thinke themſelues ſuch great doctors, that nothing may be added to their knowledge. Of theſe men we may truly ſay, that they neuer had the true knowledge of this morall philoſophie, wherein the more we profit, the more we ſhall deſire to learne: and whether we be yoong or old (as *Socrates* ſaid) we ſhall alwaies find what to learne, and be occaſioned to diminiſh all vaine opinion of our ſelues, ſeeing this is one of the moſt notable effects thereof, to purge all pride and preſumption. For as thoſe veſſels (ſaith *Plutarke*) wherin we put liquor, do let out the void aire according to the meaſure of that which goeth in: ſo when the ſoule filleth it ſelfe with certaine and true goods, vanitie voideth and giueth place. This is that which *Plato* ſaith in theſe words: *The more reaſon a man getteth by philoſophie, the more pride and arrogancie he looſeth.* We haue a notable teſtimonie hereof in *Antiſthenes*, who after he had heard *Socrates* diſpute, tooke ſo great pleaſure, and found ſuch deepe skill therein, that albeit he was very learned, and had a great number of ſchollers, yet he willed them to ſeeke another maſter, becauſe he purpoſed to learne himſelfe. And by reaſon of the diſtance of place where he dwelt, he came twice a day aboue three miles on foote to heare *Socrates*. Likewiſe *Plato* ſhewed well how ſmally he preſumed of his exceeding great knowledge, when not contenting himſelfe therewith, after the death of his maſter *Socrates* he made a voyage through Egypt, and after into Italy, to heare and conferre with the beſt learned of thoſe countries, and to learn that which he knew not before. Which zeale of his and burning deſire vnto wiſedome being ſo laudable, God ſo recompenced, that none of the Ethniks (except *Socrates*) euer came neere vnto his diuine knowledge of eternall things. We ſee then how we muſt be the diſciples

Againſt preſumption and ſelfe-liking.

A fit compariſon.

Antiſthenes, an example of great loue to knowledge.

Plato.

diſciples of philoſophie all our life time. Now as there is nothing, wherin a maſter builder reioiceth ſo much, after he hath laid a good foundation of ſome great worke, as to ſee the progreſſe and proceeding thereof: ſo after we haue laid our firſt happie reſolution (as is ſaid) of attaining to the knowledge of philoſophie, and haue taſted of the firſt principles of hir holeſome fruits, it will turne to our great contentation, and occaſion of proceeding, when we ſee and perceiue that we profite and amende by this ſtudie. This will appeare vnto vs by the conſideration of our preſent works and actions, being compared with the former, and by the diminiſhing and qualifiyng of our wicked paſſions and naturall inclinations, which the profeſſion of this ſcience will vndoubtedly worke in vs. For as we take it for a good ſigne when a diſeaſe remooueth into ſome parts of leaſt account: ſo when our vices are changed into more meeke and ſoft paſſions, it putteth vs in hope that we ſhall wholy deface them afterwarde. The right and perfect way hereunto is to enter deepely into our ſelues, and to take a perfect and ſound knowledge of our naturall, hurtfull and moſt vehement inclinations by comparing one with another. Next, as a good and expert Phiſition before he dealeth with dangerous diſeaſes, beginneth with gentle preparatiues, we are firſt to correct leſſer faults, that after we may the eaſier ouercome the greateſt. For it is certaine, that by ſuch an exerciſe and cuſtome of keeping our ſelues from things that are after a ſort excuſable, yea that are permitted and lawfull, it will be farre more eaſie for vs afterward to amend & abſtaine from vnlawfull things. After we haue thus reformed our ſelues, we ſhall wholy forſake ſmall imperfections (which will be eaſie for vs to do) and make no more reckoning of little offences, as thoſe which we ſhall auoid altogither. From thence we ſhall come to conſider and to diſcouer better the nature and cauſe of our greater and more hurtfull paſſions, together with their vglines and deformitie. Then labouring to diminiſh their force by eſchewing prudently the cauſes of them, and by cutting off one branch

How we may know whether we profit in philoſophie.

A good way to ouercome great faults.

now,

now, and then another, we ſhall in the end woonder to ſee how reaſon perfecteth in vs hir office of commanding abſolutely ouer all the perturbations of our ſoule, I meane ſo farre foorth as humane frailtie aided by God, can (as I ſaid before) attaine to perfection. Then may we truely call our ſelues Philoſophers, when by our owne example we make it knowne, that the life of man at all times, in al places, in all paſſions, and generally in all affaires receiueth the vſe of Philoſophie. Now after we haue well profited through ſo great diligence & watchfulnes, through ſuch induſtry of minde and continuall ſtudie, I meane after we are become better than we were before, by reaſon of the tranquillitie of our ſoules purged from perturbations, we muſt be carefull that this our commoditie redound alſo to others, as the commandement of God and natural dutie binde vs thereunto. Then (I ſay) we ſhall haue attained to the perfection of this goodly knowledge, when we are ſeruiceable to our neighbors, brethren and countrimen, not of vaine glory, or for terreſtriall riches, but for the loue of vertue onely, which of it ſelfe is a goodly recompence for it ſelfe, being ioined with a happy expectation of heauen. But let vs note farther for the laſt point of our diſcourſe, (whereof I haue already briefely ſpoken) that one of the ſureſt meanes, which we can take to come to a true knowledge of Philoſophie, is, not to eſteeme at all, but rather to contemne whatſoeuer is ſubiect to corruption, and is in the power of variable fortune, as the Philoſophers vſe to ſpeake: namely, vainglory, worldly wealth, and other earthly goods, foraſmuch as the deſire of getting, keeping and increaſing them is that which carrieth vs away moſt, and which hindreth euery other good and vertuous inclination. Therefore let vs freely forſake all ſuch things, let vs withdraw our mindes from all bythoughts, and diſpiſe all earthly diſcommodities: yea let vs patiently ſuſtaine all greefe, that we may yeelde our ſelues wholy to the ſtudie of Philoſophie, which is the cauſe of ſo many good things. *Crates* the Theban forſooke his patrimonie of eight talents (which according to the common

When we may be called Philoſophers.

The perfection of Philoſophie.

The contempt of worldly goods neceſſary in a Philoſopher.

Crates.

common computation amounteth to foure thousand, eight hundred crownes) that being deliuered from the care of houſ-keeping, and of guiding his goods, he might follow the ſtudie of philoſophie with greater libertie. *Anaxagoras* for the ſame cauſe ſuffered his lands to lie waſte, and after long ſtudie returning to his houſe, and finding it altogether fallen into ruine and deſolation, he ſaid, if theſe things had not periſhed, I had periſhed: as if he had ſaid, that he ſhould neuer haue gotten the treaſure of knowledge, which was the ornament of his minde, if he had giuen himſelfe to gaine and to gather goods. *Democritus Abderita*, being verie rich (as may be gathered by the feaſt which his father made to that innumerable armie of *Xerxes* who came into Græcia, which conſiſted, as *Herodotus* writeth, of more than two millions of fighting men) gaue all his patrimonie to his countrey, reſeruing to himſelfe but a little ſome of money to liue withall, that he might haue the more leaſure to ſtudie philoſophie, for which cauſe he went to dwell at Athens. *Euclide*, of the towne of Megara, being verie deſirous to heare *Socrates* dwelling at Athens, betweene which two cities the warre was ſo cruel, that no Citizen of the one citie durſt be ſeen in the other, without ineuitable danger of death if he were knowne, had notwithſtanding ſo great loue to wiſedome, that although he were an Ethnick, and doubted of a ſecond life, yet he preferred the deſire of knowledge before the care of his life, and being apparailed like a woman, went once in two daies to Athens and abode there all night to heare *Socrates*, who commonly ſpent the moſt part thereof in diſcourſing of wiſedome, and then returned againe about the break of the day. Now to conclude our preſent treatiſe, we will hold this, that onely philoſophie can giue vs certaine knowledge, & teach vs how we may inioy in this life our onely & ſoueraign good, which is the reſt and tranquillitie of our ſoules. Yea the is vnto vs in ſtead of a guide to lead vs to the eternall fruition of our ſupreame and euerabiding good, which is promiſed, and purchaſed by the blood of the immaculate Lamb in

Notable examples of loue to Philoſophie.

Anaxagoras.

Democritus.

Euclide.

Philoſophie only teacheth vs to know our chiefe good.

that ſecond and moſt happie life. And, as *Plato* ſaid, ſpeaking by the mouth of *Socrates*, that they onely ſhal attaine to the kingdom of heauen with God, who end their daies in this life purged by philoſophie, ſo ſhall it be by the vnſpeakable loue of this eternall wiſedome, that we ſhall be purged, clenſed and ſaued. Yea through the expectation of this bleſſed felicitie we may a great deale more perfectly than did all thoſe great and ancient philoſophers, lead a contented, ioyfull and quiet life, void of all perturbations and feare, for aſmuch as they knew the iuſtice of God onely, and not his mercy, which is aſſured vnto vs in his beloued ſonne. Moreouer they were ignorant (notwithſtanding their philoſophie) of the chiefe point of his iuſtice, namely of the beginning of all things and of their end, which the word of God teacheth vs together with the truth of that permanent happines of the ſoule, whereof they had but a ſhadow in their life. Heerof our Lorde Ieſus Chriſt himſelfe hath left good and ſure pledges in the depth of our harts, ſaying that he gaue and left his peace with vs, his peace (I ſay) in our ſoules, and not with the world. Therefore it appeereth ſufficiently, that nothing is ſo much to be deſired, whether we regard profite to our ſelues, or ſeruice to the whole bodie and ſocietie of our brethren and countrimen, as the ſtudie of philoſophie, which is the knowledge of life, and the true medicine and tillage of the ſoule whereby all vertue is taught vs.

The true cauſe of ioy and tranquillitie in a Chriſtian ſoule.

The end of the firſt daies worke.

THE SECOND DAIES WORKE.

Of Vertue. Chap. 5.

ASER. AMongst the infinite number of them that were honoured with this faire name and excellent title of Philosopher, which is as much to say, as a louer of wisedome, there were three principal sects, that contended together by generall rules; but especially about the souereigne good and felicitie of man: namely, the Academiks, the Peripatetiks, and the Stoiks. The best of them all, and they which came neerest to the knowledge of the truth were the Academiks, whose first authors were *Socrates* & *Plato*, who, as we heard yesterday, alwaies taught, that our true good consisted in the tranquillitie of the soule, void of all perturbations, & in stead of them adorned and enriched with all vertue, which is the proper substance and matter of philosophie, & therfore called the onely permanent good of the soule.

What this word Philosopher meaneth.

There were three chiefe sects of philosophers.

AMANA. I can not but greatly commend this paradox of the Stoiks, that *There is no good but vertue, nor euill but vice, which is the contrarie vnto it.* And to go a little further, following their opinion and the opinion of many ancient wise men, I say, that *The vertuous man onely is free and happie*, yea although he were in *Phalaris* bull: and that *The vicious man onely is a bond-man and vnhappie*, albeit he had the riches of *Crœsus*, the empire of *Cyrus*, and the glorie of *Alexander*. For great callings are nothing where the mind is not content, and where the hart pricked with desire troubleth the tranquillitie of the soule.

Who are happie and who vnhappie.

ARAM. Riches (saith *Pythagoras*) are no sure pillers, and glorie is lesse certaine. Likewise beautie, and the disposition of the bodie, magistracies and honors are all of no force: but *Prudence*, *Magnanimitie*, and *Iustice* are an-

Worldlie goods are of no force.

kers of greateſt ſtay, which cannot be plucked vp by any tempeſt. For it is the will and law of God, that vertue onely ſhould be mightie and firme, all other things being but toyes and fooleries. But we muſt now learne of thee ACHITOB, that which is neceſſarie for vs to know concerning this excellent diſpoſition of the ſoule.

ACHITOB. The diſputation concerning the good of man hath indeed alwaies been great amongſt the learned, ſo that as well their diuers opinions, as their arguments would ſtay vs heere with too long a diſcourſe, eſpecially ſeeing they are vnneceſſarie for vs, who ſeeke onely to be inſtructed in the truth. Now that we may attaine heerunto, and to the perfect vnderſtanding of that matter, which is heere propounded vnto vs, we will heere ſet downe this Maxime, or principle, confeſſed of al the greateſt and moſt ancient philoſophers, and agreeable to that truth, which is taught vs in the holie ſcriptures, that *There are two ſorts of goods, the one which is the laſt end, the other is the meanes to attaine thereunto.* The firſt is the ſouereigne, ſupreme, moſt perfect, and eternall good, which we expect and hope for in the immortalitie of the ſecond life, when we ſhall enioy that true and abſolute felicitie, which neither eie hath euer ſeene, nor eare heard, neither hath entred at any time into the hart of man. That which we call the meanes whereby we come to the firſt is vertue onely, whereof we are now to ſpeake, and which is the proper effect of our regeneration by the ſpirit of God dwelling in vs. Firſt then let vs conſider what vertue is, alſo the diuiſion, fountaine, incomparable excellencie, and inuincible force thereof, with thoſe woonderfull effects which it worketh in him that poſſeſſeth hir: wherein alſo we will ſee ſome notable examples of ancient men. Vertue (as the philoſophers ſay) is a diſpoſition and power of the reaſonable part of the ſoule, which bringeth into order and decencie the vnreſonable part, by cauſing it to propound a conuenient end to it own affections and paſſions, wherby the ſoule abideth in a comely and decent habit, executing that which ought to be done, according to reaſon.

Two ſorts of goods.

Vertue is the effect of regeneration.

The definition of vertue.

But

But to ſpeake more briefly, Vertue is a proportion and vprightnes of life in all points agreeable to reaſon. The diuiſion thereof is altogither like to that of philoſophie. For they are ſo linked togither, that it is all one to be vertuous, and to be a philoſopher, the one being the matter and ſubſtance of the other. Vertue therefore is diuided into *Contemplatiue* and into *Morall*. The eternall Wiſedome by the operation of his ſpirit, guideth and lifteth vp the contemplatiue vertue to hir proper end, which is that happie and immutable knowledge, that concerneth the maieſtie of God. This did *Socrates* call *Religion*, and the greateſt vertue, ſaying further, that the contempt thereof brought vpon men a curſed ignorance, and that no man ought to perſuade himſelfe, that he could finde amongſt the race of men any greater vertue than religion and pietie towards God, whoſe honor is the foundation of euerie good worke, which if it be ouerthrowne, the other parts are as ſoone diſperſed as the peeces of a ruinous building. Yea religion is not onely the head of iuſtice and vertue, but alſo is as it were the ſoule to giue vigor and ſtrength vnto it. From this ſupreme ſcience floweth prudence, which is a worke thereof, appointed to gouerne, rule, and moderate by the meanes of morall vertue, the paſſions and affections of the vnreaſonable part of the ſoule in all mediocritie, by cutting off all exceſſe and defect of thoſe paſſions, and by moderating them between too little and too much, thereby to keepe men from erring. As for example, ſhe holdeth a man within the limits of prowes and valure, leaſt he ſhould caſt away himſelfe through raſhnes or cowardlines: ſhe cauſeth him wiſely to vſe liberalitie, bicauſe he ſhould not be ſpoiled by couetouſnes, or fall into prodigalitie. And that he ſhould not be caſt downe too much in aduerſitie, nor lift vp beyond meaſure in proſperitie, ſhe keepeth him vpright and conſtant both in the one and in the other. Thus doth vertue generally teach a man, by following the reaſon of true prudence, to rule all his inclinations and actions as well for his owne priuate good, as for the profit and vtilitie of humane ſocietie.

Socrates called religion the greateſt vertue.

The dutie of prudence.

The foundation and spring of all vertue.

Whereby it appeereth sufficiently vnto vs, that the foundation of all vertue is that diuine reason, which floweth into our soules from the free goodnes of our God, and which taketh liuely roote by care, studie, and diligence, when the selfe-same grace blesseth our labour. For without this we can do nothing, so that all our meditations and purposes to liue vprightly, continently, and temperately become vaine and friuolous before his maiestie. In this maner, of that excellent reason and wisedome, wherewith the eternall wisedome enricheth vs, that we might know good and euill, prudence is ingendred, which is most necessarie for the gouernment of earthlie things (whereof we will intreat heerafter) and whereby man is enriched with morall vertue, as with an infallible rule of all his works and actions, to the end that fully enioying humane felicitie, which consisteth in good maners, qualities and conditions of the soule, he may bring foorth the fruits and effects thereof to the profit of many. We say then, that all vertue consisteth in mediocritie, as vice doth in excesse or in defect, in regard wherof she is in the midst, albeit in respect of hir selfe, I meane of hir perfect and absolute excellencie she is extreme, and standeth not in need of any increase or diminution. Now as all the imperfections of the soule are called vices and passions, so all their contraries, which serue for remedies vnto them, are named vertues. And although vertue be alwaies one, so that he which hartily imbraceth one part of it is desirous of them all, yet may she be called by diuers names, euen by so many, as there is alwaies in euery good action some particular vertue, that maketh it eminent, and to be seene aboue others. Moreouer, according to the diuers subiects wherein she is, she bringeth foorth diuers effects, conforming hir selfe in some sort to the maners, conditions, and naturall inclinations of those which possesse hir. Heereof it commeth, that some are more apt and constant in some one vertue than others are (for all can not do all things) and that one practiseth it after one fashion, and an other otherwise. Now it followeth, that I handle heereafter distinctly

Wherein humane happines consisteth.

The gifts and graces of God are diuers in men.

distinctly and in order, the pluralitie of vertues, with their seuerall properties. But in the meane while, to speake generally of this pretious and inestimable riches, I meane of vertue, and of the great, worthie, and wonderfull effects, which she bringeth forth in men, first, she is the onely proper and true good of the soule, that can not by any accident be violently taken and caried away. She alone maketh hir possessor happie, causing him to finde euery kinde of life that is sweet, pleasant, and acceptable, contained in hir. Vertue alone, is the onely matter of rest and tranquillitie in the mind, being by reason purged of feare, of trouble, of worldly desire and ioy. Of this liuely fountaine spake *Democritus*, when he said that ioy was ingendered in mens harts, of the mediocritie of pleasure, and of a moderate and temperate harmonie of life. Vertue (said *Thales*) is the profitablest thing in the world, bicause it maketh all other things profitable, by causing men to vse them well. Yea we may say further, that all other gifts and riches remaine vnprofitable and hurtfull, without the ornament of vertue. *Cicero* prooueth by many goodlie reasons, that onely vertue is of it selfe sufficient to cause men to liue well and happily. And surely euery good and vertuous man of what calling soeuer he be, is so happie, if he haue grace to know it, that he need not to wish for any thing with passion or trauell in this life, but rather is content of himselfe in regard of men, and contemneth the care of worldly things, not iudging any thing euil, which necessitie of nature, or rather the ordinance of God bringeth vpon him. And where miseries are doubled, there vertue sheweth hir effects most wonderfully, giuing vs therby to vnderstand, that she consisteth in such things as are most rare and difficult. For which cause hir strength is compared to the date tree, which the more it is pulled downe, the more it returneth vpward: so when vertue is most oppressed of hir enimies she shineth most gloriously. Onely vertue appeareth woonderfull to the minde that is cloathed therewith, and keepeth it from coueting that which others commonly worship, namely, great callings,

The excellencie and propertie of vertue.

Euerie thing is made profitable through vertue.

Vertue compared to a palme tree.

riches, pleaſures and glory. She deſpiſeth the praiſe & flatterie of men, wherunto ſo many others make themſelues ſlaues, & remaineth alwais free in hir ſelfe, & free to euery one, without any other hope of reward, then to be accepted of God, & to effect things meete tobe rewarded eternally in the next life by the liberalitie of God. If we compare worldly goods with vertue (calling that good which vſurpeth that name, & is ſubiect to corruptiõ) firſt, as touching thoſe which the philoſophers cal the goods of fortune, & namely nobility, wherin at this men ſtay ſo much, what is it but a good of our anceſtors? Riches are eaſily loſt, yea cauſeth the poſſeſſor of them to be ſooner loſt: & as for the glorie of the greateſt, yea of al principalitie, it is no leſſe vncertaine. Concerning the goods of the bodie, beauty & comelines is but a flower of ſmall continuance: helth, which is ſo precious, ſoon changeth: ſtrength is loſt by infinit inconueniences. Al bodily pleaſure is vnperfect, & followed of perturbations. But vertue is that onely diuine & immortall qualitie in vs, which, (as *Heſiodus* ſaith) is a ſtable & ſure poſſeſſion both to the liuing and to the dead: ouer which neither fortune, ſlander, ſicknes, old-age nor aduerſitie haue any power: and as for length of time, which diminiſheth all things, it alwaies addeth ſomewhat to vertue, & encreaſeth it. All the other goods aboue rehearſed, are from without a man, working oftentimes deſtructiõ to their poſſeſſors, & commonly coming to thoſe that are leaſt woorthy of them. Onely vertue is the proper inheritance of the ſoule, worketh the hapines therof, and maketh a man alwaies worthy of true glory & praiſe, cauſing him to be honored & eſteemed euen of his enimies. In a word it cannot (as *Cicero* ſaith) be vttered how much vertue ſurmounteth all other things in glorie & excellencie. And if all other goods of men (ſaith *Socrates*) were laid by thẽſelues they would amount in value but to one mote in reſpect of the price of vertue. *Plato* his diſciple ſaith, that the difference of vertue compared with other goods, is ſo great, that if they were put into one ſkale of the balance, & vertue into the other, this would aſcend vp to heauen,

The reward of vertue in the life to come is of the free mercie of God.

Compariſon of worldly goods with vertue.

Nothing hath power ouer vertue.

Vertue cannot be valued.

and

and the other would touch the earth. Moreouer, he wrote foure & fiftie books or dialogues, which did all intreat of vertue, out of which men may reape infinite profite, especially out of those that intreat of a common-wealth, or of lawes. In these books that he might not seeme vngratefull towarde his master *Socrates*, who would neuer write any thing, he bringeth him in rehearsing that, which at other times he had heard him speake. *Stilpo* the philosopher, being in his citie of Megara when it was taken & spoiled by *Demetrius* king of Macedonia, who fauouring him, asked if he had lost any thing that was his, made this answer: No sir (quoth he) for war cannot spoile vertue. And indeede this is that riches wherwith we ought to furnish our selues which can swim with vs in a shipwrack, and which caused *Socrates* to answere thus to one, who asked him what his opinion was of the great king, whether he did not thinke him very happy; I cannot tell (quoth he) how he is prouided of knowledge & vertue. Who may iustly doubt whether vertue alone is able to make a man happie, seeing it doth not onely make him wise, prudent, iust & good, both in his doings & sayings, but also commonly procureth vnto him honor, glorie and authoritie? It was through hir meanes, that *Alexander* deserued the surname of *Great*, by that experience which she gaue him in warre, by his liberalitie in riches, by his temperance in all his sumptuous magnificence, by his hardines and constancy in fight, by his continency in affections, by his bountie and clemencie in victorie, and by all other vertues, wherein he surpassed all that liued in his time. Yea the fame and renowme of his vertues procured a greater number of cities, countries and men to submit themselues willingly vnto him without blowe striking, than did the power of his armie. Wherein this sentence of *Socrates* is found true, *that whole troupes of souldiers, and heapes of riches, are constrained oftentimes to obey vertue.* What said *Darius*, monarche of the Persians, when he vnderstoode both what continencie *Alexander* his enimie had vsed towards his wife, who being exceeding beautifull was taken prisoner by

Why Plato in his works bringeth in Socrates speaking.

Wherein the happines and greatnes of a king consisteth.

What it was that procured to Alexander the surname of Great.

by him, and what humanitie he shewed afterward in hir funerals when she was dead? The Persians (quoth he) neede not be discouraged, neither thinke themselues cowards and effeminate because they were vanquished of such an aduersarie. Neither do I demand any victorie of the gods, but to surmount *Alexander* in bountifulnes. And if it be so that I must fall, I beseech them to suffer none but him to sit in the royall throne and seat of *Cyrus*. Will we haue testimonies of the inuicible force of vertue, and of hir powerfull and praisewoorthy effects in most sinister and vntoward matters? Histories declare vnto vs, that amongst all the vertuous acts, which procured praise and renowme to the men of old time, those were the notablest & most commended, which they shewed foorth at such time as fortune seemed to haue wholy beaten them downe. *Pelopidas*, generall captaine of the Thebans, who deliuered them from the bondage of the Lacedemonians, is more praised and esteemed for the great and notable vertue, which he shewed being prisoner in the hands of *Alexander* the tyrannous king of the Phereans, then for all his victories gotten before. For at that time his vertue was so farre from yeelding any iot to his calamitie, that contrariwise with an vnspeakeable constancie he recomforted the inhabitants of the towne, that came to visite him, exhorting them to be of good courage, seeing the houre was come, wherin the tyrant should be at once punished for his wickednes. And one day he sent him word, that he was destitute of all iudgement and reason, in that he vexed his poore citizens, & caused them to die in torments who neuer offended him, and in the meane time suffered him to liue in rest, of whom he could not be ignorant, that escaping his hands he would be reuenged of him. The tyrant maruelling at his great courage, asked why he made such great haste to die. To this end (quoth he) that thou being yet more hated of God and men than thou art, mightest the sooner be destroied. *Philocles*, one of the most famous Athenian captaines of his time (who caused this law to be made, that the right thombe of all

Examples of the force and effects of vertue, in aduersitie.

Pelopidas.

Philocles.

priso-

priſoners taken in war from that time forward ſhould be cut off, that they might not handle a pike any more, but yet might ſerue to rowe with an oare) being taken priſoner with three thouſand Atheniens in one battell, which *Lyſander* admirall of the Lacedemonians obtained againſt him, and al of them being condemned to die, was demanded of *Lyſander* what paine he iudged himſelfe worthie of for counſelling his country-men to ſo wicked and cruell a thing. To whom he made this onely anſwere with an vnmoueable vertue, *Accuſe not thoſe who haue no iudge to hear & know their cauſe.* But ſeeing the gods haue ſhewed thee this fauour to be conqueror, deale with vs as we would haue done with thee, if we had ouercome thee. Which being ſaid, he went to waſh and bath himſelfe, and then putting on a rich cloke as if he ſhould haue gone to ſome feaſt, he offered himſelfe firſt to the ſlaughter, ſhewing the way of true conſtancie to his fellow citizens. *Anaxarchus* the philoſopher, being taken priſoner by the commandement of *Nero*, that he might know of him, who were the authors of a conſpiracie that was made againſt his eſtate, and being led towards him for the ſame cauſe, he bit his toong in ſunder with his teeth, and did ſpit it in his face, knowing well that otherwiſe the tyrant would haue compelled him by all ſorts of tortures and torments to reueale & diſcloſe them. *Zeno* miſſing his purpoſe, which was to haue killed the tyrant *Demylus*, did aſmuch to him. But what is more terrible than death? Notwithſtanding when did vertue better ſhew hir greatnes and power, then when death laboured moſt to ouerthrow hir, as being reſolued of that ſaying of *Cicero*, that all wiſe men die willingly, and without care, but that the vnwiſe & ignorant are at their wits ende for feare of death? If many, who haue not knowne the true and perfect immortalitie of the ſoule, and ſome, onely led with a deſire of praiſe & worldly glorie, others touched with duty and kindled with a loue towards their countrey, haue ſhewed the increaſe of their vertue in the horrors and pangs of death, what ought they to do, who expect certainely an euerlaſting life? *Phocion*, after he had been

A moſt conſtant death.

Anaxarchus.

A woonderfull magnanimitie.

A wiſe man dieth willingly.

beene choſen generall captaine of the Athenians foure and fortie times, and done infinite ſeruices to the common-wealth, being at length through certaine partakinges and diuiſions ouercome with the weakeſt ſide which he had mainetained, and being condemned to drinke poiſon, was demaunded before he dranke, whether he had no more to ſaye. Whereupon ſpeaking to his ſonne, he ſaide, I commaunde thee to beare the Athenians no rancor and malice for my death. And a a little before this ſpeech, beholding one of thoſe that were condemned to die with him, to vexe himſelfe through impatiencie, what meaneſt thou poore man, (quoth he to him) doeſt thou not thinke thy ſelfe happie that thou maiſt die with *Phocion*? The feare and apprehenſion of death doth aſtoniſh, as we commonly ſay, the ſtouteſt, but not the moſt vertuous. For they know (as *Plautus* ſaith) that he dieth not, who for vertues ſake is put to death. *Callicratides*, Generall of the Lacedemonians, being readie to giue battell to his enimies, the ſoothſaier, after ſacrifice done to the gods ſaid vnto him, that the intrals of the ſacrifices promiſed victorie to the armie, but death to the captaine. Whereunto he anſwered as one without all feare; although he beleeued it as an oracle from heauen, *Sparta conſiſteth not in one man.* For when I ſhal be dead my countrie ſhall be nothing leſſened, but if I recule now and draw backe, the reputation thereof will be diminiſhed. Whereupon ſubſtituting in his place *Cleander*, as ſucceſſor in his office, he gaue battell, wherein it happened vnto him as the ſoothſaier had told him. If we deſire infinite ſuch examples, hiſtories are ful of them, euen of thoſe who loued rather to kill themſelues (which a Chriſtian neuer ought to do, but onely to ſuffer death patiently, if it be offered vnto him) than to commit any thing vnworthie their vertue. *Themiſtocles* being vniuſtly baniſhed from Athens, retired to the king of Perſia, whoſe great fauour and benefits receiued, cauſed to ſay to his children, *We had beene vndone, if we had not beene vndone:* as alſo to promiſe, that he would imploy himſelfe in his ſeruice.

The feare of death doth not aſtoniſh the vertuous.

Callicratides.

Themiſtocles loue to his countrie.

uice. Notwithstanding when he saw the war begun againe betweene this king and the Athenians, wherein he was offered a great charge, he chose rather to hasten his death by a poison which he tooke, than to seeme to be pricked or prouoked with malice against his vngratefull countrie-men, least thereby he should obscure and blot the glorie of so many goodly exploites, triumphes, and victories, which he had obtained. Nowe if death can not stoppe the course of vertue, how much lesse can any other weaker accident do it? Old-age, which diminisheth and consumeth all the strength of the bodie, coulde not weaken the great vertue of *Agesilaus* king of Lacedemonia, who being fower-score yeeres of age, and seeing the glorie of his countrie brought to nothing by that victorie, which the Thebanes had obtained against him, withdrewe himselfe into the seruice of a king of Egypt, and tooke the charge of a captaine vnder him, that through the good seruice he should do him, he might deserue (whereof he assured himselfe) to haue succour of him for his owne countrey affaires. Enuie (saith *Thucidides*) is heard to be ouercome, and followeth great estates and potentates. Honour, glorie and riches, are but firebrandes to kindle it. Notwithstanding the excellencie of vertue oftentimes triumpheth ouer it, so that the enuious are constrained to speake well of vertuous men. We see then cleerely, and haue better experience thereof in our selues if we be decked with vertue, that she is of an inuincible force, and that all things are tamed by hir. For who can doubt that through hir, great empires, monarchies, commonwealths, estats and cities haue much more florished, than through force and might of armes? The sequele of our discourses shall furnish vs with examples hereof. Now to conclude our present matter, knowing that vertue deserueth so great praise in regarde of hir fruits, and of hir woonderfull great effects, we say, that she is the onely good both for honestie, profite and pleasure, between which there is such a coniunction, that they can-

Age hath no power ouer vertue. *Agesilaus.*

Vertue causeth kingdoms to florish.

Vertue is the onely honest, profitable, and pleasant good.

cannot be ſeperated one from another, (as hereafter we may intreat more at large) ſo that the ſeuering of theſe three things to attribute them to other earthly and periſhing goods, is the fountaine of all vice, deceit, and miſchiefe. If then, trouble, loſſe, hazard or danger are to be found in the practiſe and exerciſe of this holie and ſacred vertue (as euen the greateſt worldly happines is counterpoiſed with euill and difficultie) ought we not to diſpiſe all ſuch things, yea death it ſelfe for that happie recompence, which is aſſured vnto vs, not onely of immortall glorie and praiſe (which the men of old time promiſed to themſelues) but alſo of life euerlaſting, whereof the moſt of them were ignorant? Let vs not be like to a little child (for he that is a child in minde differeth nothing from a childe in age) who ſeeing a trifle wherewith he plaieth taken out of his hand, caſteth away for anger that which he holdeth in his other hand, although it be ſome daintie thing and good to eate. But let vs with feruent zeale and burning affection, alwaies imbrace this ſo precious and chaſte beautie, I meane vertue, which alone filleth the life of man, with true, ſound and perfect contentation. Let all things come behinde vertue, after the example of ſo many excellent and ancient perſonages, who ought to make vs bluſh for ſhame, when we conſider, that the care of earthly goods hath the firſt place amongſt vs. *Anacharſis* a Barbarian, being led with the onely loue of vertue, left the kingdome of Scythia to his yoonger brother, & went into Græcia, where he profited ſo well with *Solon*, that he deſerued to be placed in the number of the ſeauen Sages. Now if three things (after we haue asked them of him who only can and will giue them vnto vs) meete togither in vs, namely, *Nature*, *Reaſon*, and *Vſe*, we may by them being directed, illuminated, and guided by the ſpirit of God, attaine to the top of humane perfection in this rich vertue, which being thus grounded (like to a ſtrong and liuely plant) will take ſure footing and roote within vs. If ſhe meet with a good and well diſpoſed nature, that is able to endure labor, & that is tilled by reaſon with the precepts of

Anacharſis forſooke a kingdome that he might the better obtaine vertue.

Three things neceſſarie for the obtaining of vertue.

of philoſophie, whereby it is made firme, mightie, and fruitfull, then vſe and exerciſe will bring foorth the fruits thereof, as well for our owne, as for the common profit of men.

Of Vice. Chap. 6.

ACHITOB. AS he that is ignorant of goodnes cannot loue it, or boaſt (except it be falſly) that he ſeeketh after it, and if he ſhould find it, yet he could not acknowledge it, or reape any profit thereby: ſo he that knoweth not euill, can neuer hate it ſufficiently, much leſſe ſhun it, or keepe himſelfe from falling into the ſnares and ambuſhes thereof, where it lieth in continuall watch to ſurpriſe and ouertake men. Ye ſhall haue very few, but ſay, that they are enimies to euill, and that they labour to driue it as far from them as they can. But what? As they neuer knew what goodnes meant, ſo they knowe as little of the contrarie. Now hauing by our laſt ſpeech declared ſufficiently, that vertue is the onely true good of the ſoule, it is out of queſtion, that vice, which is altogither contrarie vnto it, is the onely euill thereof, and the fountaine of al the miſeries of man, as wel earthly as eternall. Which, that we may more ſurely auoid, and marke better the excellencie and beautie of vertue, by the lothſomnes and deformitie of vice (bicauſe contraries ſet one by another, as blacke neare to white, ſhew themſelues a great deale better) I thinke it will not be to wander beſides the matter, if we beſtow the reſt of our mornings worke in the handling thereof.

The knowledge of goodnes muſt go before the loue of it.

Vice is the onely euil of the ſoule.

ASER. There is no euill in man (as the philoſopers ſay) but vice, if we take that for euill which is offenſiue. Neither doth any thing offend and make a man woorſe, but that which endammageth his ſoule. And in this maner vice onely and ſinne is hurtfull vnto him, yea (as *Plutarke* ſaith) is ſufficient of it ſelfe to make a man miſerable.

What we ought to call euill.

AMANA. As vertue (ſaith *Plato*) is the health and forceable

Vertue is the health, and vice the ſicknes of the ſoule.

forceable vigor of the ſoule, ſo vice is the ſickneſs and imbecillitie thereof, which hauing gotten a habit, maketh a man vicious and corrupt. For it is certaine that if men had ſufficient force and conſtancie to reſiſt vice (which we haue by inheritance) they would follow after vertue. But being ouercome by the looſenes of their ſenſualitie they are led captiues, as it were in a triumph, vnder the yoke of ſin. Let vs then hearken to ARAM, who, I thinke, will not forget to paint out vnto vs this pernitious Hydra with all hir colors, that ſhe may be ſo much the more odious vnto vs.

ARAM. I haue alwaies learned of wiſe men, that this ſaying of an ancient man is moſt true, That there is a hundred times more paine in doing euill, than in well doing: and that vice hath the ſame effect in the ſoule, which the dropſie hath in the bodie. For both of them do plant in man a continuall deſire of that which breedeth his greateſt bane. Whereupon moſt miſerably he ſeeketh after his owne perdition and ruine with paine and trauell, wheras he might paſſe through felicitie in this life, into that life which is eternall and moſt happie. One chiefe occaſion heerof, as I thinke, may be attributed to the ignorance of euill. For what wicked man is ſo dull of vnderſtanding, that, if he knew certainly what vice were, would not with all his might ſeparate himſelfe as farre from it, as for the time he drew neere vnto it? By a ſtronger reaſon it foloweth, that he which truly knoweth it, before it be growen to a habit within him, wil ſhun it more diligently: bicauſe we begin then to hate vices (as *Plutarke* ſaith) when by reaſon we vnderſtand what ſhame and harme commeth of them. Therefore it muſt needs be very profitable for vs to vtter heerin that, which we haue learned by the ſtudie of philoſophie, and that briefly for this preſent, hoping heerafter to intreate more particularly of the principall parts of vice. Firſt we will define it, then conſider the pernitious effects thereof in the ſoule, and the fruits which it bringeth with it: thirdly, declare how it neuer eſcapeth vnpuniſhed: and laſtly, ſhew how we muſt fortifie our ſelues

Vice is like a dropſie.

When we begin to hate vice.

ſelues againſt the priuie watchings and ſnares of ſuch a dangerous and mightie enimie. Vice is an inequalitie and iarring of maners, proceeding from mans naturall inclination to pleaſures and naughtie deſires. This inclination not being reined with the bit of reaſon, guided by the ſpirit of grace, nor ruled by the wiſe declarations thereof, cauſeth a man by little and little to giue ouer himſelfe to all wicked paſſions (the end of one being the beginning of another) whereby he becommeth moſt vnhappie, yea more wild and ſauage than any brute beaſt. *Chryſippus* a Stoike philoſopher, called vice the proper eſſence of vnhappines. And ſurely it is a very perfect workmaiſter of wretchednes, diſpoſing and framing men to all kinde of miſchiefe and miſerie. For after it hath once taken hold of the ſoule, it will neuer forſake it vntill it hath wholie bruſed, ouerwhelmed, and deſtroied it, filling it daily with perturbations and new paſſions, with voluptuouſnes, rancor, enmities, reuenge, murders, anguiſh, feare, fruitleſſe repentance, ambition, couetouſnes, and with all other luſts, which are incurable diſeaſes of the ſoule, after they haue once taken roote therein. For the more they waxe, the more they will grow, vice being (as *Plato* ſaith) of an infinite and endles race. And therefore the aboue named *Chryſippus* ſaid not without reaſon, that to auoid ſo dangerous an enimie, and one that ought to be ſo odious vnto vs, it were better for vs to caſt our ſelues headlong into the ſea, than to ſuffer it to raigne ouer vs. *Plato* alſo writeth, that it is far better for a man not to liue at all, than to liue wickedly, or in ignorance. For ſuch a life can haue no fitter name, than to be called a true ſhadow of death, I meane of eternal death, which followeth the wicked euen at the heeles. *Bias*, one of the Sages ſaid, That no man could iuſtly be termed a captiue, although he were loden with irons, except alſo he were compaſſed about with vices. Moreouer, we ſee that neither ſword nor fire doth carie away a man ſo violently as vice doth. Many haue ſuffered a thouſand outrages and puniſhments with ſuch conſtancie, that tyrants were ſooner wearie of perſecuting

The definition of vice.

The effects of vice.

Vice is of an endles ſtocke.

Although we are to hate vice with a perfect hatred, yet we muſt not kill our ſelues to be rid of it.

The vicious man onely is a captiue.

them, than they of ſuffering. Beſides, they had ſo great power ouer themſelues, that in the midſt of torments they were able to ſtay their voice altogither: inſomuch that one would haue either iudged them to be ſenſeleſſe, or els think that in ſeeing them he did not ſee them. But vice alwaies diſcouereth it ſelfe, and euery where appeereth ſhamefull, infamous, and hurtfull. *Thales* called vice the hurtfulleſt thing in the world, bicauſe that where it is, it marreth and deſtroieth all. Moreouer, it maketh thoſe things, which otherwiſe ſeeme honorable and magnifical, lothſome and vnpleaſant, when it is mingled with them: yea it appeereth ſo much the more infamons, as the nobilitie and authoritie whereunto it is ioined is greater, bicauſe then it diſcouereth better what pernitious and damnable effects it hath. For taking a ſwift courſe by the high way of power, and driuing forward euery wicked affection to execution, it cauſeth choler to be turned preſently into murder, loue into adulterie, couetouſnes into confiſcation, and ſo in other paſſions. But as the vices of the greater ſort are more dangerous, ſo no doubt, ſhame and diſhonor are likewiſe doubled vpon them, bicauſe they are better ſeene and noted, whereby they become more odious and contemptible to euery one. Beſides, their reward lieth at their gate in great meaſure, which will not be long from them. For to whom more is giuen, of him more ſhall be required. And I pray you what greater cauſe of ſhame and bluſhing can that man haue, who being borne to command men of all eſtates and conditions, doth himſelfe obey ſuch vile and abiect things, as are ſenſualitie, ignorance, concupiſcence, & other like paſſions wrought by vice, which being without reaſon, are made to obey and to be ruled by reaſon? Neither are we more to be excuſed than the greater ſort when we follow after ſuch things, bicauſe we are but of meane and ſmall calling. For euery one is borne to command himſelfe, whereunto our chiefe ſtudie and labour ought to tend. We haue further to note diligently, that vice is not onely hurtfull to him that is infected therewith, but alſo that it vſeth him as a miniſter

Nothing more hurtfull than vice.

Vice ioined with authoritie is more hurtfull.

A good leſſon for great men.

miniſter and inſtrument to corrupt and ſpoile others. For you ſhall neuer ſee any wicked man, that laboureth not to make others like himſelfe: which if he cannot do, yet he will ſo thinke of them, and ſeeke to perſuade all others, that they are ſuch, or rather worſe than himſelfe. Wherby it is eaſie ynough to iudge, that this is that, which vndoeth and deſtroieth communalties and Commonwealths, townes and cities, when the gouernors and magiſtrates of them are miniſters of vices. The change of monarchies, eſtates, and kingdoms proceeded alwaies of vice. *Roboam* through want of prudence, *Sardanapalus* through intemperancy and luxurioufnes, the laſt French king of the race of *Clouis* through retchleſnes, *Perſes* of Macedonia thorough raſhnes, with infinite others, whoſe examples we ſhall ſee heerafter, loſt their kingdoms through vices. But that we may yet haue greater occaſion to hate and ſhun this horrible monſter of nature, let vs know that vice chaſticeth it ſelfe. Which is not done onely by mans law, out of which the mightier ſort (as *Anacharſis* ſaid) eſcape as great flies that breake through the ſpiders web, the puniſhment alſo of which may oftentimes be auoided for a time, but euen the paine followeth the offence ſo neere, that it is equall vnto it both for age and time. For from that very inſtant wherein wickednes is committed, ſhe frameth for and of hir ſelfe hir owne torment, and beginneth to ſuffer the paine of hir miſchieuous deede through the remorſe thereof. This is that worme that continually gnaweth the conſcience of a malefactor, and accompanieth his miſerable life with ſhame and confuſion, with frights, perturbations, anguiſh, and continuall diſquietnes, euen to his very dreames, ſo that all his life time he is deſtitute of all tranquillitie and reſt of ſpirit, wherein only humane felicitie conſiſteth. And therefore one of the Hebrew interpreters well and truly anſwered king *Ptolemie*, who asked him how he might be in reſt when he dreamed: Let pietie (quoth this wiſe man vnto him) be the ſcope of all thy ſayings and doings. For by applying al thy diſcourſes and works to excellent things, whether thou

The propertie of the wicked.

The alteration of kingdoms commeth of vice.

Offences are neuer without paine.

How a man may haue continuall quietnes.

sleepest or wakest, thou shalt haue quiet rest in regard of thy selfe. Truly that man feareth nothing, whose soule being free from all notorious crimes, followeth the will of God, who directeth all counsels to good. But (as *Plato* saith) there is nothing that maketh a man so fearefull, as the remembrance of his life passed in shame. Yea presently after the offence (saith *Iustin Martyr*) the conscience of a wicked man is vnto him in stead of an accuser, a witnes, a iudge, and a hangman. This is that, which the scripture teacheth vs in Leuiticus, saying, that the wicked shal tremble at the fall of the leafe of a tree, & that they shall be as if their life hung by a thread. We ought to be perswaded that this violence of mans conscience commeth frō God, who causeth his enimies to feele his iudgement and furie in such sort, that they cannot abide it, but are constrained to condemne themselues. And if our hart condemne vs, God is greater than our hart. Now although the word should wholie faile in this, yet we haue the testimonie of nature imprinted with such characters in our harts, that it did euen compell the ancient poets to finde out and to faigne *Furies*, as reuengers of our sins, which are nothing else but the torments of euill consciences. This is that worme wherof *Esaie* speaketh, which dieth not, but gnaweth and deuoureth them without ceasing. *Caligula*, a most cruell Emperor, neuer had secure and quiet rest, but being terrified and in feare, awoke often, as one that was vexed and caried headlong with wonderfull passions. *Nero*, after he had killed his mother, confessed that whilest he slept, he was troubled by hir, and tormented with *Furies*, that burned him with flaming torches. Let vs not then suppose that, although a wicked act may be hidden and kept close from men, therefore the torment is the lesse, (which a wise man neuer thinketh of, knowing that he ought to be in more reuerence of himselfe than of others) but rather more greeuous within vs, not for the only feare of worldly shame or punishment, but for the apprehension of the iust iudgement of God, from whom nothing is hid. He pursueth the wicked hard at the heeles for the most part,

The force of conscience in the wicked.

Leuit. 26. 36.

Esay. 66. 24.

Examples of tormented consciences in the wicked.

A wise man is ashamed to offend before himselfe.

and

and knoweth how to take vengeance of their iniquitie in due time. And if he defer the punishment, it serueth but to aggrauate their condemnation so much the more vpon their heads, and to make the punishment more horrible, whereof we ought to stand in greater feare, than of any bodily paine, bicause the dolor thereof abideth for euer. He that would go about to repeate heer seuerally al those vices wherewith men may be infected, and wherein we see them commonly wallow, should find their number very great, yea infinite. But (as *Democritus* said) let vs onely lay open that which is within vs, and we shal find there a heap and conserue of many, diuers, and different euils, which haue their originall beginning from thence. For as shadowes follow bodies, so passions and vices follow soules. Heerafter we may discourse more particularly of the greater part of them, and of their proper and peculiar effects, with that iust punishment, which commonly followed them. In the meane time we may learne this, that if custome be of so great force, that (as we say) it ouercommeth nature, it is chiefly to be seene in vice and dissolutenes, which is a gulfe wherein a man may very easily cast himselfe headlong, but it is a very difficult matter, yea vnpossible to withdraw himselfe againe. And (as a wise Romane said) most horrible and execrable offences through vse and custome are made small faults, and are commonly practised. For it is the propertie of vice to be head-strong and contentious, seeking to defend it selfe by reasons, which, although they be altogither vaine and friuolous, yet of great waight in regard of the weake flesh of man, which easily suffereth it selfe to be bound vnder the yoke of sinne. Therefore we are to take good heed, that we suffer not our selues to be surprised by so dangerous an enimie, nor giue him any accesse or entrance into vs: I mean that he should not dwell in vs (for otherwise we know that perfect righteousnes is in God onely) but rather let vs exercise all those things that are contrarie to vice, accustoming our selues in such sort to maister our common and small imperfections (which are but too abundant in the

Why God deferreth his vengeance vpon the wicked.

Custome in sinning is dangerous.

How we should fortifie our selues against vice.

iuſteſt men) that they take no effect, howſoeuer of themſelues they may ſeeme excuſable. By this meanes we ſhall labor euermore to make choiſe of the beſt in all indifferēt things: which will ſtand vs in ſtead of a ſure rampire againſt the tyrannicall raigne of this enimie to vertue. We read of *Pythagoras*, that he accuſtomed himſelfe to abſtain from crueltie and iniuſtice euen towards brute beaſts, by requeſting fowlers, after they had taken birds to let them flie againe. And when he came amongſt fiſher-men he bought their draughts, and after cauſed all the fiſh to be caſt againe into the ſea. Moreouer, he forbad all his diſciples to kill a tame beaſt at any time. After his example let vs abſtaine from all things that may procure vice, and neuer ſuffer ſuch ſpeeches as theſe to paſſe from vs: *What good will this do if that be wanting? Now I will deale in this maner, another time I will do better.* Oh how ſlipperie are ſuch waies, how eaſily doth vice glide away like a ſtreame vnder ſuch pretences? For as a wedge maketh but a ſmal cleft in the beginning, yet afterward the rift being greater ſundereth al in peeces; ſo the ſufferance of vnlawful things how ſmall ſoeuer it be, leadeth men by little & little to an vnmeaſurable licentiouſnes. Moreouer, who can aſſure himſelfe of to morrow, yea of a quarter of an hower? The oracle of *Apollo* anſwered thoſe of Cyrrha, that if they would liue in peace among themſelues, they ſhould make continuall war with their neighbors ſtrangers. So, that we may paſſe the courſe of our ſhort daies in peace, reſt and tranquillitie of ſpirit, and that we fall not into the cruell paw of this aduerſarie to all goodnes, we muſt daily fight againſt him, and neuer giue eare to his heralds and ambaſſadors of peace, which are pleaſures, neglect of dutie, and ſuch other baits, which he preſenteth to vs, to deceiue and beguile vs withal. It is moſt certaine, that vice putteth on a viſard, and goeth diſguiſed and couered with goodly ſhewes that belong onely to vertue, and chalengeth falſely vnto it ſelfe thoſe goods, which indeed and truth man ought to deſire. And being thus clothed, with the helpe of corruptible pleaſures that lightly paſſe away, it yoketh

The humanitie of Pythagoras euen towards brute beaſts.

An excellent compariſon teaching vs not to ſuffer any vnlawfull thing.

We muſt neuer harken to the heralds of vice.

How vice deceiueth men.

yoketh baſe minded men, whoſe care is onely ſet vpon the deſire of earthly things, which it ſetteth before their eies as their felicitie, impudently imputing to vertue all thoſe euils that are in it ſelfe. But they that haue ſufficiently profited in philoſophy through the knowledge of that which is good, and of ſuch things as are truly faire and beautiful, neuer harken to ſuch hurtfull allurements, but rather do as the ſerpent doth, that ſtoppeth hir eares with hir taile, to the end ſhe may not heare the charmes and ſorceries of the inchanter. But if through the neglect of all good admonition, we giue place amongſt vs neuer ſo little to the baits of vice, they may eaſily in the end (as thornes and thiſtles growing neere to good ſeed, do oftentimes choke it) darken all that good inſtinct of nature that ſhall be in vs. *Diogenes* the Cynike, walking one day through that ſtreet in Athens, wherein there were many images of ſuch ancient men, as had beſt deſerued of the Common-welth, asked his almes of them all one after another. Whereat ſome maruelling and demanding of him the cauſe why: I learne (quoth he to them) to take deniall patiently: euen ſo when we can ſo far command our ſelues, as to ſhun all vaine & vnprofitable buſines, wherin this age delighteth, and which ſerue but for allurements and baits to nicenes and pleaſures, let vs not be aſhamed not to follow them, but rather let vs ſay, that we learne to contemne that which is contemptible, and to make choice (according to that ancient precept of *Pythagoras*) of the beſt kind of life that is, to the end, that cuſtome may by little and little make it eaſie and pleaſant vnto vs. To conclude therefore our preſent matter, we ſay that vice, being inſeparably accompanied with a thouſand miſeries, and with vnſpeakeable and exceeding miſchiefs, which draw man into vtter ruine and eternall perdition, may be truly called the onely euill of the ſoule, as that which of it ſelfe is able and ſufficient to make him vnhappy, who receiueth it for a gheſt. And as ſuch a hurtfull thing, we ought to hate and to flie from it, by the meanes of vertue that is contrarie vnto it, labouring by all meanes to haue our ſoules pure and

The prudence of the ſerpent.

Why Diogenes asked his almes of images.

cleane from all wicked deeds, wils, and counſels, and our maners vndefiled, not being troubled or infected with any euill perturbation, wherewith vice alwaies aboundeth and is rich.

Of Sciences, of the ſtudie of Letters, and of Hiſtories. Chap. 7.

ARAM. IT is a vſuall ſpeech in the mouths of men altogether ignorant of the beautie and profite of Sciences, *That the ſtudie of Letters is a bottomeles gulfe, and ſo long and vneaſie a iourney, that they which thinke to finiſh it,* oftentimes ſtay in the midway, and many being come to the end thereof finde their mindes ſo confuſed with their profound and curious skill, that in ſtead of tranquillitie of ſoule, which they thought to finde, they haue encreaſed the trouble of their ſpirit. Vnder this goodly pretence, the moſt part ſay, that it is better not to know much, yea nothing at all: attributing the cauſe of mans imperfection, vnto ſcience. Being thus perſwaded, if they haue alreadie any beginning and entring in learning, they draw backe, and ſeeke to hinder and to turne others aſide from following them. For this cauſe manie fathers ſet not their children to learning, or elſe bicauſe they finde this way of preferment too long and coſtly, & haue other more ſhort and profitable meanes now a daies whereby to inrich them. But both the one and the other are greatly to be condemned, bicauſe we are to ſpare no labor and trauel, that we may get the treaſures of the ſoul indued with reaſon, which are ſciences, wherin al humane felicitie conſiſteth, and which neuer breed vexation of ſpirite. But all wits are not fit and apt to comprehende and conceiue them. Neither doth the corruption of our nature better appeare, than in this, that we loue rather to inrich our ſelues and our children with wicked and periſhing goods, than with true certain and immortal goods, the happie knowledge wherof ſciences and arts do bring vnto

The ſpeeches of ignorant men touching the ſtudie of ſciences.

Why many fathers ſet not their children to ſchoole.

vnto vs. Now hauing through the grace of God receiued this benefit by your liberalitie (moſt honorable fathers) as to haue beene inſtructed in the beſt and moſt neceſſarie points of knowledge, we thought it would not be tedious vnto you to heare vs diſcourſe, that we might ſtirre vp the memorie of our ſtudies, and that the beautie and commoditie of ſciences might worke in our affections a lyking and deſire to continue and to finiſh them.

ACHITOB. Man (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) was created to vnderſtand and to do. For it is neceſſarie that inſtruction go before working. Knowledge begetteth iudgement, and by iudgement men execute all good and vertuous actions. Whereupon it followeth, that the ſtudie of letters is rich, and vndoubtedly giueth vs the knowledge of things. Moreouer nothing may be compared to ſciences, which comfort vs in our life time and cauſe vs to liue after death. Man was created to vnderſtand and to do.

ASER. O ſcience (ſaith *Plato*) how would men loue thee if thou wert knowne? Fire and aire are not more neceſſarie for life, than is the art and rule of good liuing, which is ſhewed vnto vs by learning. And as health is the conſeruation of the bodie, ſo is doctrine the ſafegarde of the ſoule. But we are to vnderſtand more amply of thee (AMANA) what is the greatnes and beautie of ſciences.

AMANA. Whatſoeuer is profitable, not onely for a houſe and familie, for a citie and nation, but generally for all mankinde, may well be accounted deere, precious and woonderful, & as ſo excellent a thing ought to be bought with all that a man hath: eſpecially if it be the true ſubſtance of all happines and felicitie, and the efficient cauſe of prudence, which is an excellent guide for mens actions to make them woorthy of an immortality. What can one deſire more than profite, pleaſure and honor, which are thoſe things wherewith all men are commonly led? The treaſure of Arabia and India may well bring ſome pleaſure to man, but yet alwaies vnperfect: ſeeing all riches is of it ſelfe blind, & bringeth no light to the ſoule, but receiueth hir brightnes from the ſoule when it is framed according

according to vertue. Great and proud armies may by notable victories procure to themſelues renowm and glory, but blame woorthy: a title of honor, but forced and vniuſt, if their enterpriſes are not grounded vpon equitie & iuſtice. The marchant ſailing on large and terrible ſeas, may reape profite by his trafficke, but bought with the perill of his life, and hazard of his certaine patrimonie. Neither can this be done, except he haue firſt laide a good ground of his voiage vpon a ſure diſcourſe of reaſon, and vpon the direction of a good and wiſe pilot. Now of all theſe things, thus poore of themſelues, and begging all their ornaments elſe where, what certain ioy, true honor, or great profite may a man chalenge to himſelfe and not rather looke for a ſodaine change of them into a woorſe eſtate than they were in before, through the inconſtancie and vncertaintie of mans nature? Where then ſhall we ſeeke for theſe great and rare properties, to finde that which of it ſelfe will be vnto vs profitable, pleaſant, and honorable altogither, and that not for an inſtant, but for euer? Truely in ſcience or knowledge, which firſt is able to mollifie mans nature, being before ſauage and wilde, and to make it capable of reaſon: ſecondly, frameth and ſetleth his iudgement, that he may paſſe the courſe of his daies in al tranquillitie of minde to the profite of many: laſtly, cauſeth him to die in honor, with certaine aſſurance of eternall life and happines. It is knowledge that maketh man prudent, (for doctrine bringeth foorth prudence) and worketh vnſpeakable pleaſure in his ſoule. For the ſearching out of the truth is the proper worke and perfection of the ſpirite, neither doth any delight come neere to that which a man taketh in learning. It is ſcience which guideth mens iudgements, whereby their chiefeſt deliberations and counſailes are executed, aſwell in feats of war, as in the eſtabliſhment and preſeruation of lawes, kingdoms, monarchies, commonwealths, cities and peoples: likewiſe in the regiment and gouernment of all worldlie affaires, either generall or particular, which are well or ill guided, according as he that manageth or gouerneth

The benefits which come by knowledge.

The proper worke of the ſpirit of man.

uerneth them is inſtructed. To this purpoſe *Seneca* ſaide, that they, who being deſtitute of knowledge, did learne onely by experience to gouern publike affaires, although they were borne with a diuine and happy ſpirit, yet both late, and to the detriment of their common-wealth, they would in the end become good gouernors of the people. As contrariwiſe, they that ſhould come thereunto being garded with the precepts of knowledge, (ſo they caried a good minde) woulde quickely and without paine become woorthy of their charge. O wiſedome (ſaith *Cicero*) the guide of our life, the onely cauſe of vertue, and enimie tovice, what ſhould, not we only, but euen all the life of men be without thee? Thou haſt builded townes: thou haſt gathered together diſperſed and wandering men that they might liue in a ſocietie of life, and in common friendſhip. Thou compelleſt them to come togither, firſt by keeping all in a houſe and by mariage: then by the comnion vſe of words and ſpeech. Thou haſt beene the inuentreſſe of lawes, and the miſtres of maners and diſcipline. We haue no recourſe but to thee in our afflictions: we craue aide and ſuccour of thee: we put our ſelues wholy into thine armes. Truely one day well and iuſtly ſpent according to thy holie precepts, is to be preferred before an immortalitie of time conſumed in wickednes and vice. With what riches ſhall we furniſh our ſelues rather than with thine, which haſt liberally giuen vs the meanes to obtaine tranquillity in this life, and haſt taken from vs all feare and terror of death? Briefely, we may be aſſured, that ſcience is the onely diuine and immortall qualitie in vs, and that infallible rule, which bringeth both peace and warre to their perfect proportion: without which whoſoeuer goeth about to frame any glorious or happy building, doth aſmuch as if he ſhould vndertake to ſaile in the midſt of the ſea without a rudder, or walke through vnknowne places without a guid. Now the ancients knowing the greatnes & difficultie of knowledge, and that it cannot be obtained (as it falleth out in all great matters) without great paine and trauell, that

It is long ere men without knowledge become good magiſtrates.

The praiſe of wiſedome.

their

their labor might become profitable vnto vs, they I ſaie, who had ſpent their life euen with ſweating, in ſeeking out the ſecrets of nature, and were deſirous to eaſe mans ſtudie, who otherwiſe is inclined from his youth to pleaſure & reſt, haue diuided ſcience for vs into diuers parts. Which they did to this ende, that ſtep by ſtep, according to the nicenes of our ſpirits (euen as our bodies are firſt nouriſhed with milke and then with ſtronger meats) we might finde therein apt and conceiueable foode, and in the ende be made partakers of the ſecrets of perfect wiſedome, euery one according to his capacitie and need, expecting the full vnderſtanding thereof in the immortality of that ſecond and moſt happie life. Firſt then al arts and ſciences handled by reaſon, were diuided into three principall kinds: into Philoſophie, Rhetoricke and Mathematicke. Afterwards, ech of theſe ſciences was diuided into three other parts and kinds, Philoſophie into Moral, Logicall and Phyſicall or Naturall. Rhetoricke, into Demonſtratiue, Deliberatiue & Iudiciall. Mathematick, into Arithmetick, Muſick and Geometry. Since that, for greater facilitie, and that it might be more eaſie to learne, all humane philoſophie hath beene reduced into art, as we haue it at this day, from whence the name of liberall arts came, bicauſe they are woorthy & beſeeming a free man.

The diuiſion of ſciences.

Their names are theſe: Grammer, which is the entrance and beginning of all knowledge: Rhetoricke, which is the art of fine ſpeaking, and of perſwading: Dialectick or Logick, which is to learne the truth of all things by diſputation: Phyſick, which is the ſtudie of naturall things: Metaphyſick, which is of ſupernaturall things: Mathematike, which hath many members, whereof Arithmetick is the firſt, which is the ſcience of numbers, and the foundation of all the other parts of Mathematicke, without which ſcience of Arithmetick, *Plato* denied that any man could be either a philoſopher or captaine generall. Next to that is Geometry, that is to ſaye, the art of meaſuring the ground, very neceſſarie likewiſe for a captaine, and for many other martiall affaires. Then follo-

Grammer.
Rhetorick.
Logick.
Phyſick.
Metaphyſick.
Mathematick and the parts thereof, as,
Arithmetick.
Geometry.

weth

weth Coſmographie and Geography, to know the ſituation of the whole world, euen from the tower of the higheſt heauen, called the firſt moouer, vnto the center of the earth, and likewiſe of the diuers regions therof with their particular temperatures. After that is Aſtronomie, the ſcience that teacheth vs to know the courſe of the ſtarres and planets, which thing practiſe onely might teach vs, I meane ſo much as is neceſſarie for vs, as our firſt fathers were a long time content therewith, vntill the curioſitie of men inuented theſe names of *Saturne*, *Mars*, & others, attributing natures vnto them according to their imaginations, and alſo power ouer our bodies: yea thoſe things that ſhall periſh and are without life, are ſaid to haue power ouer our immortall ſoules. And from thence proceeded iudiciall Aſtronomy, wherewith ſo many good wits are deceiued, and of which ſo many abuſes haue their beginning. Next, Muſick is ſet downe alſo for a member of the Mathematicks, as being a ſcience drawne from numbers, bicauſe that by them harmonicall proportion was found. Laſtly followeth Poetry, which is attributed to Muſick. In this ſhort diſcourſe the woonderfull greatnes of ſcience appeereth ſufficiently, as alſo how hard, yea vnpoſſible it is, to attaine to the perfection thereof through the ſound knowlege of all the parts thereof. Wherefore we are firſt to ſeeke after thoſe that are moſt neceſſarie, and then to deſire a meane vnderſtanding of them all according to the gifts and graces of God beſtowed on our ſoules. But aboue all things we muſt ſhunne that idlenes and rechleſnes which is in many, who by reaſon of the difficultie, which they heare ſay is in ſciences, and diſtruſting themſelues for euer comming neere the skill of ſo many good wits, as haue gone before them, remaine as buried in ignorance, and vnprofitable amongſt men. The greatnes of *Alexander* ſtaied not his ſucceſſours from trying the iſſue and euent of all ſorts of noble enterpiſes. And the woonderfull knowledge of *Plato* could not keep *Ariſtotle* from handling philoſophie as he thought good. He that diſtruſteth his wit and the inuention thereof, ſheweth

Coſmography.
Geography.
Aſtronomy.
Muſicke.
Poetry.
Thoſe ſciences are firſt to be learned, that are moſt neceſſarie.

ſheweth himſelfe too vngratefull. For it ſeemeth he will condemne nature the mother of all things, as though ſhe had put all hir gifts and graces in ſome men, and euer after purpoſed to be idle and barren, hauing no more ſtrength to bring foorth any thing woorthy commendation. We muſt not therefore in this ſort be diſcouraged in the ſearching out of euerie good diſcipline, knowing that thoſe things alſo, which draw neere to perfection are great. But yet for the chiefe part of all our ſtudies, let vs take Morall philoſophie, whereof we haue alreadie diſcourſed, that we may frame our maners according to vertue, and lead and direct our ſelues to that ende, which we deſire, euen to liue well and happily. So let vs practiſe that diuine ſaying of *Plato* ſpeaking by the mouth of *Socrates*, *That more vertue and pietie is required in a philoſopher than knowledge:* and that all ſcience, which is to be required in him, is, that aboue all thinges he worſhip and reuerence God the onely true maſter of wiſedome, and authour of whatſoeuer may be knowne: and that he endeuour to ſeparate his ſoule from his bodie, as much as may be, by contemning pleaſures, ambition, vaineglory and riches, that ſo he may lay hold of the treaſures of immortall life. This we may learne by reading books & writings, which are the inſtruments of wiſedome, and are left vnto vs by learned men for a rule and for inſtruction. By the ſtudie hereof we ſhall attaine to that knowledge of the true and perfect good of man, which conſiſteth in vertue and veritie, the onely nouriſhment, reſt and tranquillitie of the minde. But will we know further what profite we may receiue by the doctrine of ancient men? Let vs onely read that which *Anacharſis* wrote to *Craſus* king of Lidia. Know (quoth he to him) that in the ſtudies of Græcia we learne, not to command, but firſt to obey: not to ſpeake, but to keepe ſilence: not to reſiſt, but to humble our ſelues: not to get much, but to content our ſelues with a little: not to reuenge our harmes, but to pardon iniuries: not to take from others, but to giue our owne: not to take care to be honored, but to labour to be vertuous.

What kinde of knowledge is eſpecially required in a philoſopher.

Anacharſis letter to Craſus touching the ſtudies of Græcia.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, we learne to deſpiſe that which others loue, and to loue that which others deſpiſe, that is pouertie. Behold the faire fruits of ſcience, and of the ſtudie of theſe ancient Sages, to which no treaſures of worldly riches are in any ſort comparable, and which we ought to deſire aboue all things. Moreouer, by this ſtudie of letters, we ſhall be taught to ſearch out diligently the vnderſtanding of hiſtories, which are the treaſury of things paſt, the patterne of thoſe that are to com, the picture of mans life, the tuchſtone of our dooings, the workmaſter of our honor, and as *Cicero* calleth them, the witnes of times, the light of truth, the life of memorie, the miſtres of life and the meſſenger of antiquitie. Hiſtories cauſe vs to beholde that without danger, which ſo many millions of men haue tried with the loſſe of their liues, honor and goods, that we may be made wiſe by their perill, and ſtirred vp to follow the vertue of others, which hath brought them to the top of all felicitie and glorie. Now if we thinke to learne by our owne experience theſe excellent inſtructions which we may draw out of hiſtories, in ſtead of ſo rare treaſures we ſhall know but few things, and thoſe with loſſe & perill amongſt a thouſand aduerſities, from which the vnderſtanding of that which is paſt, ſaueth & deliuereth vs. Prudence gotten by experience is too perilous, and ſo long a comming, that very often a man dieth before he haue obtained it, ſo that he had need of a ſecond life to imploy about it. But we muſt haſten it forward by the ſearching out of things, which haue come to paſſe both before and ſince our time, in the ſtudie both of philoſophie, which is rich and plentifull in worthy examples, and alſo of hiſtories, which are a ſingular gift of God, whereby he would haue his woonderfull works continued in the memorie of men. For this cauſe *Zeno*, being demanded how a man might become happie, anſwered, if he drew neere vnto and haunted the dead: meaning thereby, if he read hiſtories, and endeuored to learne their good inſtructions that haue gone before vs. *Ptolemie* alſo asking one of the wiſe interpreters, wherein a king ought to exerciſe him-

The praiſe and profite of hiſtories.

How a man may become happie.

himſelfe, In the knowledge (quoth he) of things which haue been done, and in reading books of things which daily offer themſelues, or which are fit for preſent affaires, and laſtly in ſearching out whatſoeuer is written for the preſeruation of kingdoms and correction of maners. And truly they that are exerciſed in the vnderſtanding of hiſtories, although they be but yoong, yet in knowledge of worldly matters they become like to the aged and gray-headed: as contrariwiſe they that are ignorant of things done and paſt before their being, remaine alwaies children, and euen within their owne countrie where they were borne, they are in the ſame eſtate in reſpect of knowledge that forreners are. If we yet deſire more teſtimonies from amongſt the ancients, of the honor, loue, zeale, and ardent affection, which they bare towards the ſtudie of good letters, and how the chiefe glorie of all their heroicall and noble acts doth of dutie belong to ſcience, we read of *Phillip* king of Macedonia, that when *Alexander* was borne to him, he gaue thanks to God, not ſo much bicauſe he had this ſonne, as bicauſe he was borne in the time of ſo wiſe a philoſopher as *Ariſtotle* was, whom he made his ſchoolmaiſter. Of him *Alexander* learned many goodly ſciences, as well in philoſophie as in phyſicke, and namely, thoſe Acroamaticall ſciences, that is, ſpeculatiue, and ſuch as could not be learned but by hearing a teacher. Of which *Sciences* this great Monark was iealous, and taken with ſo greedie a deſire, that hearing how *Ariſtotle* had publiſhed certaine bookes, he wrote a letter vnto him in this maner: *Alexander* ſendeth greeting to *Ariſtotle*. Thou haſt not done wel to publiſh theſe bookes of ſpeculatiue ſciences: foraſmuch as we ſhall haue nothing aboue others, if that which thou haſt taught vs priuately come to be publiſhed and communicated to all. For I would thou ſhouldeſt know, that I loue rather to excell others in the vnderſtanding of high and notable things, than in power. How greatly this excellent prince alwaies loued knowledge, appeereth ſufficiently by the exceeding liberalitie and gifts, wherewith he honoured the maiſters and

Wherein kings ought moſt to exerciſe themſelues.

The ſaying of Phulip at the birth of Alexander.

Alexanders letter to Ariſtotle.

and teachers thereof (as we may ſomewhat touch it heer-
after) as alſo in that he alwaies caried *Homers* Iliads about him, which vſually he laid vnder his pillow, naming it the nouriſhment and preſeruer of warlike vertue. *Cæſar* in the midſt of his campe had his commentaries in his boſome, and that time which he ſpared from fighting, he beſtowed in reading and writing, holding a launce in the left hand, and a pen in the right. We ſee in theſe two mightie and ſacred princes, and in infinite other great perſonages both Greekes and Romanes, the woonderfull effects of knowledge, which conducted them to the top of all honor, felicitie, and proſperitie. *Xenophon*, the diſciple of *Socrates* ſerueth for another witnes, who being guided by an vnſpeakable prudence and prouidence gotten in the ſtudie of philoſophie, brought an armie of a thouſand footmen out of Perſia into Greece, going ouer the foords of fiftie riuers, and through the midſt of a hundred thouſand enimies purſuing him, and yet his aray was neuer broken, albeit he fought with them ſundry times. Beſides, if we are deſirous of teſtimonies of the incredible delight, which the ſtudie of any ſcience worketh in mens ſoules touched with the zeale of knowledge, we read of *Nicias* the painter, how he tooke ſuch great delight in his works, that oftentimes he inquired of his ſeruants whether he had dined or no. *Archimedes* drawing his geometricall figures vpon a table, was as it were by force drawne away of his ſeruants, that he might annoint himſelfe with oile (according to their cuſtome) before he did eate: and during the time of his annointing, he would trace new figures vpon his bodie. *Socrates* was ſeene ſtanding a whole ſummers day for the ſpace of 24. houres continually in contemplation and diſcourſing in his mind: which was when he drew this concluſion out of his thoughts, that *There was but one only God, and that the ſoule was immortall.* The Emperor *Charles* the fourth going on a day to a College in Praga, to heare the diſputations of vertue that were there, remained aboue fower howers on foote in hearing them. And when his courtiers, to whom he was wearifom,

His loue to learning.

Iulius Cæſar.

Xenophon.

Nicias.

Archimedes.

Socrates concluſion drawen out of 24. howers contemplation.

Charles 4.

told

told him that it was time to ſup, he anſwered, that *It was no more time for him, and that he had ſupped.* *Robert* king of Ieruſalem and Sicilia, a very learned prince, was ſo affectionated to letters, that he oftentimes ſaid, that if he were to loſe either his kingdoms or his learning, he would chooſe rather to be depriued of them than of knowledge. What greater teſtimonie of loue toward *Science* can one deſire than that of *Ptolemie Philadelphus*, that vertuous king of Egypt, who with incredible charges gathered togither into his librarie fiue hundred thouſand bookes, and purpoſely cauſed ſeuentie and two of the moſt learned and religious men of Iudea to come and tranſlate the holie Bible out of Hebrew into Greeke? And ſurely we ſhould be too vngratefull towards our princes, if amongſt ſo many famous men we ſhould leaue no place for that great Emperor and king *Charlemaine*, who was skilfull in the Greeke and Latine toongs, and who in fauor of thoſe toongs, and of the louers of knowledge, erected the Vniuerſitie at Paris, and that at Pauia, according to the patterne of thoſe places of learning which were at Athens. *Francis* the firſt, a prince of moſt famous memorie, ſo loued and fauored letters, and the profeſſors of them, that he deſerued the name of the reſtorer of ſciences and good arts, ſparing neither care nor meanes to aſſemble togither bookes and volumes of ſundry ſorts, and of all languages for the beautifying of his ſo renowmed a librarie, which was a worthy monument of ſuch a magnificall monarke: whoſe praiſe-worthy qualities we ſee reuiued in our king, treading in the ſelfeſame ſteps. Now to conclude our preſent diſcourſe, we learne heereby to deſpiſe all earthly goods for the obtaining of knowledge, which of it ſelfe is truly profitable, delectable, and honorable altogither, and whereby we are taught how to liue and die well and happily. And bicauſe that arts and ſciences conſiſt of many parts, let vs apply our minds to the ſtudie and contemplation of thoſe which togither with delight do alſo draw vs to that which is our proper and peculiar good, namely, to the knowledge of truth and vertue, which worke in vs alwaies

Robert king of Sicilia.

Ptolemie Philadelphus.

Charlemaine.

Francis I.

waies an affection and zeale to follow them, and cauſe all arts and ſciences teaching other things to be eſteemed baſe, mechanicall, and vnbeſeeming good wits. This did *Antiſthenes* giue one to vnderſtand, who greatly commended *Iſmenius* for an excellent plaier on the flute: it is true (quoth he to him) but otherwiſe he is good for nothing. For elſe had he not been ſo good a minſtrell. So, euerie one applying himſelfe to ſome baſe and vaine art, produceth for witnes againſt himſelfe that labor, which he hath beſtowed about vnprofitable matters, to prooue that he hath beene idle and ſlothfull in learning honeſt and profitable things. And for the laſt fruit and vſe of our ſpeech we ſee heere what great occaſion we haue all our life time to become the diſciples of knowledge, which is ſo high and profound, and to diminiſh all pride and preſumption of our skill, after the example of that wiſe man *Socrates*, who although he were the learnedeſt of his time, and ſo iudged to be by the oracle at Delphos, yet alwaies ſaid, that he knew nothing. And when he was demanded any thing, he would neuer anſwer reſolutely, as if he would haue been beleeued, but doubtingly vſed to ſay, *I thinke ſo*, or, *It may be ſo*. Being therefore deſirous to learne with all modeſtie, let vs endeuor to ſeeke out more and more by trauell and ſtudie, the aſſurance and knowledge of veritie and vertue.

Antiſthenes ſaying touching a flute-plaier.

The modeſtie of Socrates touching his owne skill.

Of the Spirit and of memorie. Chap. 8.

AMANA. HAuing now diſcourſed of the greatnes, beautie, and profit of knowledge, I thinke, that if we were to wiſh for two helps very neceſſarie for the attaining vnto it, thoſe ought to be a ſpirit or mind ready to conceiue, and memorie, firme to retaine: without which two things we ſhall profit our ſelues little, and much leſſe a great many.

ARAM. Thoſe two things, which thou propoundeſt vnto vs would ſeeme woonderfull if they were togither.

Quicke wits commonly want memorie.

For we commonly ſee, that they who haue a readie and quicke wit, for the moſt part want memorie: and they that learne with greateſt difficultie and paine, do beſt retaine and keepe that which they haue once learned.

ACHITOB. This talke of the ſpirit, whereunto you attribute the propertie of comprehending (and yet ſpeake not of the ſoule) is vndoubtedly worthie of great conſideration. For euen when we ſpeake of a yong infant, we ſay by and by, that his ſpirit or wit will grow with his bodie, and of a crooked old-fire, we ſay that his ſpirit waxeth old with him, which in many we ſee oftentimes becommeth altogither dul and vnfit for the ordering & gouernment of affaires. Now that which waxeth old draweth to an end, as the ſcripture it ſelfe teacheth vs concerning times and ſeaſons, which wax old like to mens garments, and are to take end. And yet we know that the ſoule is immortall, and therefore waxeth not old. So that one would thinke, that the ſoule and ſpirit are two diſtinct things, although we ſee euery where the one taken for the other. But let vs heare ASER diſcourſe of this matter, and ſo we ſhall learne what the ſpirit is in the ſoule.

Pſal. 102. 26.

ASER. As the works of the diuine power are altogither incomprehenſible to the outward ſence of man, and very hard to be comprehended by reaſon guided & conducted by grace from aboue, ſo we are not to think much if the knowledge of a mans ſelfe, which is moſt neceſſary, be ſo hardly found out by him, ſeeing his compoſition farre paſſeth all the works of nature, that are viſible and ſubiect to ſight. Now if a man cannot know himſelfe, how ſhould he hope to comprehend greater matters, which are ſupernaturall and hidden in the heauens? And who can rightly boaſt, that he hath the true and perfect vnderſtanding of the chiefeſt part and moſt powerfull beginning of himſelfe, namely of his ſpirite? Who am I, ſaide *Socrates*? Am I a ſubiect compounded of ſoule and body? Or rather a ſoule, that vſeth the body, as a horſeman doth a horſe? Or, is euery one of vs that principall part of the ſoule, whereby we vnderſtand, diſcourſe and do, and all the

It is very hard for a man to know himſelfe.

Socrates opinion concerning man.

the other parts of the bodie but inſtruments of this power: Or if there be no proper ſubſtance at all of the ſoule by it ſelfe, but that it is onely a temperature and complexion of the bodie ſo framed that it hath power to vnderſtand and to liue, am I not a ſauage beaſt, more crafty, bold and furious than euer was the ſerpent Typhon? Or elſe, am I a meeker and ſimpler creature, pertaker of a better eſtate, and voide of pride? All the excellenteſt philoſophers that euer were handled this ſelf ſame matter aſwel as *Socrates*, with incredible trauel and paine, that they may attaine to this knowledge of the nobleſt part in thē, which is the ſoule and ſpirite, taking indifferently the one for the other. But firſt of all this wiſe *Socrates* ſpake excellently of the dignitie and immortalitie of the ſoule, ſaying, that in truth the ſoule is man, and not this mortall maſſe and lumpe of the bodie, which of it ſelfe is no more than a ſimple and baſe inſtrument is in regard of the moſt cunning workeman of any art or ſcience. And for this cauſe giuing vp the ghoſt amongſt his diſciples, and being asked by *Cito* where he would be buried: As for *Socrates* (quoth he to him) take thou no thought or care. For thou canſt not ſtay him, whoſe tombe hath beene from all time readie for him. But concerning that which he leaueth here below, it is not woorthy to be cared for by him. The greateſt thing (ſaid *Periander*) that may be ſaid to be contained in a little place, is the ſoule in a mans bodie. *Empedocles* ſpeaking of the generation of the ſoule ſaith, that neither bloud, nor the vitall ſpirit congealed haue giuen vnto vs the ſubſtance of the ſoule, and the beginning of life. The bodie onely is compounded earthlie and mortall. But the generation of the ſoule is heauenly, being ſent here below as a paſſenger, and ſtranger, or as one that is baniſhed and ſent out of his countrey. Whereupon ſhe continually ſigheth, groneth, and as it were drieth away, (like to a good plant tranſlated out of a good plot of ground into a bad) vntill in the end ſhe returne, and be receiued into hir immortall habitation, after ſhe hath changed hir preſent life, which is vnto hir but as a vaine

The ſoule is truly man.

Socrates anſwer touching his buriall.

Periander.

Empedocles.

Of the generation of the ſoule.

illuſion of ſome dreame; in reſpect of a true, certaine and permanent life. Surely theſe philoſophicall ſpeculations are not vaine and friuolous, but very neceſſarie to lead vs to that happie end of our being, which we ſeeke for. For if we be well inſtructed concerning the great and honorable place and condition, which the ſoule enioieth aboue the bodie, as well in hir immortall generation, as in hir contemplation and action, as alſo that of hir happines dependeth (as before we handled it) the felicitie of the whole frame of man, will we not apply all our principall care, ſtudie and diligence in prouiding ſuch things for hir as ſhe deſireth, and which are meet and healthfull for hir? But we haue further (thanks be giuen to the author of all good) a ſecond & more perfect vnderſtanding of the ſoul, than had all theſe notable heathen men, both in reſpect of the bleſſed immortalitie and alſo of the cauſe thereof. We know alſo that ſo long as ſhe is detained in this mortall priſon of the bodie, & that we are become new creatures by the grace of God, ſhe is diuided into theſe two partes, the ſpirit and the fleſh, betweene which there is a perpetual combat. Yea the fleſh continually offereth to the ſpirit a thouſand temptations, to delight it withall. For the bodie and fleſh conſiſting of mortall and corruptible matter, are but a lumpe of ſinne, and full of wicked deſires, whereas the ſpirit of it ſelfe vertuous and good, and of an immortall eſſence, is of it owne nature enimie to vice and iniquitie: ſo that being ruled and guided by the ſpirite of God, it loueth and deſireth eternall happines, and reioiceth in iuſtice, puritie and holines. And yet the ſoule is not ſo freed from the ſlauerie of ſinne, but that there remaineth in hir many ſteps of the earthly man, ſo that ſhe alwaies carieth about with hir the relickes of the fleſh, whereby hir libertie is ſo much diminiſhed. This is that fight whereof the true children of God haue dailie experience, when they are lifted vpward by the ſpirit, and by the fleſh turned downeward: by the ſpirit they bend with an ardent deſire towards immortalitie, by the fleſh they are caried aſtray into the way of death: by the ſpirit they

The ſoule is diuided into the ſpirit and the fleſh.

The ſpirit of the godlie both by creation and regeneration is enimie to vice.

The fight betweene the ſpirit and the fleſh.

they thinke to liue iuſtly, by the fleſh they are ſtirred forewarde to iniquitie: by the ſpirit they contemne the world, by the fleſh they deſire wordly delights. But in the ende the grace of God cauſeth the ſpirit to remaine ſuperiour, Rom. 8. 7. ſo that his children walke not according to the fleſh, but according to the ſpirit. Whereas if we be left of God to our owne corrupt and peruerſe nature, we haue not ſufficient ſtrength to reſiſt the temptations of this wicked fleſh, but in ſteade of commanding it, we obey it with ſhame and confuſion. And then accuſtoming our ſelues to ſinne, and to conſent to the deſires of the fleſh, the diuine part of the ſoule is ſo weakened, that ſhe hath no more ſtrength or feeling of hir eſſence, which is enimie to vice, but hauing forſaken God, he forſaketh hir, and giueth hir ouer into the power of carnal deſires. So that by this long dwelling in ſinne, being as it were altogither dead, ſhe taketh no more counſaile of reaſon, but followeth after deteſtable vices, and ſuch as are againſt nature. But on the contrarie ſide being guided by the grace of God, after we haue laboured by faſting, watching and praier, to reſiſt the vnpure deſires of the fleſh, al the concupiſcences therof wil at length be ſo tamed and forced, that the ſoule ſhal execute hir office in commanding ouer them abſolutely, and in choaking them ſo ſoone as they ſhall ſpring vp. Therefore it commeth from the ſpirit, that we aſpire continually to our laſt and ſoueraign good, that with a ſinguler deſire of hart, and with all our affection we ſtudie to ſeeke and finde it out, euen with teares and ſighes, by reaſon of thoſe continuall impediments, which the fleſh laieth before vs in following our courſe. Moreouer the ſpirit cauſeth vs to imploy all our might in the ſeparation of the ſoule from the bodie, and in diſpiſing pleaſure, ambition, vainglorie and riches, that we may offer an acceptable preſent, by yeelding vnto him the ſoul, which he hath giuen vs. Which thing cannot be done (ſaith *Plato*) but by keeping it, as much as may be, purged & cleanſed from earthly ſpots, that ſhe may be knowne and acknowledged aboue amongſt hir companions, conſidering that

What we are being left to our ſelues.

no defiled thing ſhall enter into the kingdome of heauen. In this diſcourſe of the ſoule and of the ſpirit thus intermingled, I thinke we may here ſet downe ſome ſpecial difference betwixt them, although vndoubtedly the one is taken indifferently for the other, without any abſurditie, yea they are one and the ſame thing. The difference may be made in this ſort, if we ſay, that the ſoule is common to all things that haue life, as we vſe to ſay, that all beaſts are animated, and haue ſenſitiue ſoules: but that the ſpirite, which is immortall, and capable of reaſon & knowledge, is proper and peculiar to man onely. And it ſeemeth that *Sophocles* would teach vs this diſtinction, when he ſaith, that *The ſpirit is the ſame thing to the ſoule, which the eie is to the bodie.* *Socrates* alſo putting a difference betweene the ſoule and the ſpirit, ſaide, that as euerie ſeditious man is to be baniſhed out of a well gouerned citie, ſo a ſpirit enclined to all miſchiefe is to be remooued from that ſoule, which we would ſaue. Or elſe we may ſay otherwiſe (not diuiding any thing) that the ſpirit is the firſt and principall part of the ſoule, wherein the *Minde, the Vnderſtanding, and the memorie are contained*, which are moſt neceſſary for the direction of all good and vertuous actions, and which ſtand in need of preſeruation, nouriſhing, and exerciſe, and therfore they are ſaid, (not without reaſon) to increaſe & decreaſe in the minde of man. The minde is as a white paper, wherein as a man groweth in age & iudgement, he writeth his cogitations and thoughts, which the ſtudie of letters and learning do affoord him. Vnderſtanding is framed by the knowledge of reaſon, and laſtly memorie followeth & preſerueth it, being the mother of the muſes, and the treaſorie of knowledge. *Plutark* calleth it the hearing of deafe things, and the ſight of the blinde. There is nothing, that ſerueth ſo much to beget and preſerue learning and knowledge, as memorie doth, whereof we haue many examples among the ancients. We reade of *Mithridates* king of Pontus, who was a great enimie to the Romaines, that he had vnder his dominion two & twentie nations, ſpeaking diuers languages, all which he learned

The difference betweene the ſoule and the ſpirit.

The three parts of the ſpirit.

Of Memorie.

Mithridates.

learned and anſwered their ambaſſadours in their owne toongs. Which thing he could neuer haue comprehended without an excellent and happy memorie, which alſo was the cauſe, that *Themiſtocles* knew perſonally and could name all his countrimen, by their proper names. The emperor *Frederick* the 11. ſpake the Greeke, Latin, Hebrew, Arabian, Morisko, Almaigne, Italian and French toong. In our time there was an interpreter of *Sultan Solymans*, named *Gennſbey*, borne in Corfou, endued with the richeſt memorie that euer was. For he ſpake perfectly the Greek toong, both vulgar & learned, the Turkiſh, Arabian, Mooriſh, Tartarian, Perſian, Armenian, Hebrew, Ruſſe, Hungarian, Sclauonian, Italian, Spaniſh, Almaign, Latin and French. It is recorded of *Publius Craſſus*, that at one inſtant he heard fiue ſundry languages ſpoken, and anſwered ech of them in the ſame toong. Whereby we ſee that he was endued with an excellent and quicke ſpirite, apt to conceiue, and with a firme memorie, able to retaine them altogither: and this may be ſeene in many. But the perfection of theſe two great gifts of nature, is a good & ſound iudgement, proceeding from pondering, and from a firme diſcourſe of reaſon lightned by the ſpirit of God, and by the ſame ſpirit purged from error, illuſion, and all vaine opinion, which are vſuall in man, and hinder him from iudging aright of the truth. But to continue our ſpeech of the woonderfull effects of memorie ſo much eſteemed of *Plato*, that he writeth, that we ſhuld leaue of to be men, & become like to the gods, if our memory could retaine and keepe ſo much as the eies can read and ſee. We muſt not here forget to make mention of *Iulius Ceſar*, that great monarke, of whom Hiſtoriographers report, that at one time he cauſed his Secretaries to write vnto foure ſeuerall perſons of ſundry matters, and that oftentimes he would indight a letter to one of his Secretaries, read in a booke, and heare another ſpeake all at one time. *Seneca* rehearſed two thouſand ſundry names, hauing onely heard them pronounced before, beginning at the laſt and continuing to the firſt. By theſe examples we ſee

Frederick.

Gennsbey.

P. Craſſus.

From whence iudgement proceedeth.

Iulius Ceſar.

Seneca.

ſee the greatnes of memorie, wherby we may eaſily iudge how profitable it is for the inriching of the minde with all things neceſſarie to the gouernment of mans eſtate. Yea it is vnto vs a helpe requiſite to ſaluation, as that whereby we keepe in remembrance the gifts and graces, which we daily receiue from the goodnes and fauor of God, to this end, that we ſhould not be vngrateful, but yeeld vnto him glorie and praiſe without ceaſing. Nowe bicauſe one of you (my companions) touched this, that they which haue a ready and quick wit, commonly want memorie, & that they which hardly learne, retaine and keepe better that which they haue learned, I will giue you this reaſon with *Plutark*, that hardnes of beleefe ſeemeth to be the cauſe why men comprehend ſlowly. For it is very euident, that to learne, is to receiue ſome impreſſion: whereupon it followeth, that they which reſiſt leaſt, are ſuch as ſooneſt beleeue. And therefore youth is eaſier to be perſwaded than old folks, ſick than ſound, women than men: and generally the weaker that thing is, which diſcourſeth and doubteth, the eaſier may a man put and adde vnto it, what he will, as likewiſe the ſelfe ſame thing is ſooner loſt and let ſlip away. Some others (as *Iuſtine Martyr* ſaith) haue rendred this reaſon of the quicknes or ſlownes of mans wit, ſaying, that it commeth of the good or immoderate mixture & temperature of the elements, of which our bodies are compounded and framed, and of the ſymmetrie and proportion of the organicall or iuſtrumentall parts ioyned togither in him. And ſurely theſe ſeeme to giue the true reaſon therof. For we ſee many, who in their beginning and firſt age ſhew that they haue a prompt and ſharp wit, but when they come to old age are changed, & become ſlow and dul to conceiue. Which is a great token and argument that a good or bad complexion and conſtitution of the body, is the cauſe of ſuch a diſpoſition, either in quicknes or ſlownes of ſpirit, as the difference of yeeres doth affoord them. Beſides, doe we not perceiue, that they which haue the head ouergreat and ill fauored, whom we cómonly call great blockheads, (bicauſe there is

A good vſe of memorie.

Reaſons why quickeſt wits haue woorſt memories, and contrariwiſe.

is not an equall ſymmetry and moderate proportion betweene that and the other parts of the bodie) are naturally vnapt to conceiue, and to bring foorth any ſenſible and wittie thing? But the reſolution of al this ſpeech ſhall be, that all gifts of the ſpirit are from aboue, & that amongſt all ſorts of men, there are ſome found, that are prompt & wittie to comprehend great and diuine things, by a ſpeciall grace and fauour, which God hath beſtowed vpon them. Some by the gift of the holie Ghoſt haue wiſedom, others knowledge and vnderſtanding of things, and all giuen to euerie one for the profiting both of himſelfe and of his neighbor. Knowing therefore by this preſent diſcourſe, according to the weakenes of our iudgement, the creation and nature of the ſpirit, which is the principall and moſt noble part of vs, and that whereof dependeth and proceedeth all our happines, reſt and felicitie, let vs be carefull and diligent to ſearch it out, and to prouide ſuch things as it deſireth of vs, as helps to that effect, beſtowing all our care, labour and ſtudie, to adorne and deck it with righteouſnes and holines, according to the holie deſire therof, wherin conſiſteth life and peace. And let vs beware that we ſeeke not to feede it with ſtrange meats, which may make it ſorrowfull, and with which our fleſh aboundeth to hir death and deſtruction. But mortifieng all the deadly deſires and affections thereof, let vs labour not to walke any more according to the fleſh, but according to the ſpirit, and let vs know that all weariſomnes and tediouſnes which troubleth the tranquillitie and reſt thereof, proceedeth from the want of experience in affaires, from the want of good diſcourſing, grounded vpon a reſolute and ſetled iudgement, and from the want of skill fitly to apply our ſelues to preſent occaſions. And this is that which troubleth all ſorts and conditions of life, as well rich as poore. But the way to preſerue the ſpirite in reſt and quietnes, is to nouriſh and exerciſe it in the ſtudie of wiſedome, where it learneth reaſon, which of it ſelfe can cure it of all ſorrow, anguiſh and greefe through wiſe diſcourſing, and worke in it a like inclination

1. Cor. 12.

Rom. 8. 1.

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tion and conſtant behauior in euerie alteration of life, cauſing man to liue happie throughout the whole courſe of his life, not without the hope and certaine expectation of a bleſſed immortalitie.

The end of the ſecond daies worke.

THE THIRD DAIES WORKE.

Of Dutie and Honeſtie. Chap. 9.

ASER. ALthough all things were created of diuers natures and properties, and manie of cleane contraries, yet by an incomprehenſible wiſedom they were appointed to refer themſelues to one onely certaine and common end, namely, to ſhew foorth the infinite power and greatnes of their worke-maiſter, ſufficient in the leſt of his works with admiration to rauiſh man, to whom he hath made al things ſubiect. But as in him alone the treaſures of his heauenly graces haue been without compariſon more liberally vnfolded, and that in all fulnes and bountie, as well in regard of the goods and commodities of this life, which he draweth from heauen, from the earth, from the aire, from the water, from beaſts and plants, and generally from all things contained vnder the cope of the firmament, as alſo in reſpect of that vnſpeakable happines and eternall felicitie, which by the ſpeciall grace of God is purchaſed and aſſured to him onely in the immortalitie of the ſecond life, ſo alſo hath God from the beginning

The end of the creation of all things.

vntill

vntill this preſent and for euer, reſerued to himſelfe a particular homage, and that not for a time, or for certaine yeeres of his life, but to continue without intermiſſion from time to time, namely, loue teſtified by obedience, which we may comprehend vnder this onely word of *Dutie*, called by the philoſophers, the welſpring of all vertuous and laudable actions, and the foundation of honeſtie. Therefore I propound this matter to you (companions) to be diſcourſed vpon. What homage we owe to God.

AMANA. The dutie of a good man conſiſteth in his good behauiour towards the chiefe and onely end of his being, compounded of theſe two things, the glorie of his Creator, and the loue of his neighbour. But the laſt vndoubtedly dependeth of the firſt. For without the feare of God, men wil neuer preſerue equitie and loue amongſt themſelues: as contrariwiſe the honoring of his maieſtie teacheth them to liue vprightly one with another. Which is the cheefe end of our being.

ARAM. We ought not to aſſure or fortifie our ſelues with any other bulworke, than to do, to counſell, and to vtter al good and honeſt things, according to dutie, whervnto we are called by nature, not onely for our ſelues, but alſo for the benefit and profit of many. Therefore of thee (ACHITOB) we ſhall vnderſtand more at large what *Dutie* and *Honeſtie* is.

ACHITOB. No treatiſe in philoſophie (ſaith *Cicero*) is ſo neceſſarie as that of *Office* and *Dutie*: foraſmuch as no part of mans life, whether it be in publike or priuate affaires, or in what action ſoeuer it be, either ought or may be deſtitute therof. For therein conſiſteth all honeſtie of life, and, if it be neglected, all infamie. And albeit moſt part of the ancient philoſophers comprehended duty and honeſtie vnder vertue, affirming them to be one and the ſame thing, yet following the opinion of that great orator and philoſopher, who hath handled morall philoſophie in very good order, we may diſtinguiſh them after this ſort, ſaying, that dutie is the end whereunto vertue tendeth, namely, when in all our actions we obſerue honeſtie and comlines. In which diſtinction we ſee neuertheles

ſuch

ſuch a coniunction of theſe three things, Vertue, Dutie, and Honeſtie, that the one is the end of the other, the perfection thereof conſiſting in all three togither. Dutie then is that, which bindeth the ſoule, cheerfully and willingly without force or conſtraint to giue to euery one that which belongeth vnto him: honor, to whom honor: reuerence, to whom reuerence: tribute, to whom tribute: and ſuccor, to whom ſuccor belongeth. This dutie is diuided into two generall kinds: the one is that which appertaineth to the perfect and ſouereigne good: the other concerneth the preſeruation and ſafetie of the common ſocietie of men, and conſiſteth in morall precepts, according to which the behauior of al ſorts of life may be ſquared. As touching the firſt, no doubt but all men are beholding and bound vnto God, both for their being and preſeruation thereof, as alſo for that abundance of goods neceſſarie for this life, which he powreth forth moſt liberally, both on the good and on the bad. Moreouer, Chriſtians are further tied and bound vnto him for the certaine hope of their ſaluation in his eternall ſonne. For all which things he asketh nothing of vs but loue and good-will, teſtified by honor, reuerence, and ſeruice according to his holie ordinance, euery one after the meaſure of gifts and graces, which he hath from aboue: knowing that more is to be required of him to whom more is giuen. This obedience being grounded vpon that rule of perfect righteouſnes, which is giuen vnto vs in the law of God, is the mother and preſeruer of all vertues, yea the beginning and roote of al goodnes. The other part of dutie, which reſpecteth our neighbor, and whereof we are chiefly to intreat in this our Academie, is nothing but charity & loue of our like, as of our ſelues, which is greatly recommended vnto vs in the ſcripture, as being very requiſit vnto ſaluation. This is that dutie, whereby we are bound not to do any thing againſt publike lawes, equitie, and profit, but to be alwaies conſtant in the perfect exerciſe and vſe of vertue, by doing honeſt and ſeemely things for their owne ſakes, and not of neceſſitie and conſtraint.

What dutie is.

The diuiſion of dutie.

What dutie we owe to God and wherefore.

Obedience to Gods law is the mother of all vertues.

What our dutie towards our neighbour is.

We

We are not onely borne (ſaith *Cicero*) for our ſelues, but our countrie, parents, and friends both will and ought to reape ſome commoditie by our birth. For whatſoeuer is vpon earth was created for men, and they for themſelues, that one might aide and helpe another. So that if we will follow nature, we muſt imploy our goods, trauell, and induſtrie, and whatſoeuer elſe is in our power, in the behalfe of common commoditie, and in the preſeruation of humane ſocietie: yea, that man liueth moſt happily, who, as little as may be, liueth to himſelfe. And on the other ſide, no man liueth more diſorderedly, than he that liueth to himſelfe, and thinketh on nothing but his owne profit. This is that dutie, which requireth that for the ſafetie of our parents, friends and countrie, we ſhould offer our ſelues to all perils, not reſpecting our owne profit or commoditie. Neither ought we to eſteeme any thing iuſt and profitable, except honeſtie: which are ſo linked togither, (as the philoſophers ſay) that they can no more be ſeparated than whitenes and cold from ſnow, and heate and light from fire. So that if any man be perſwaded, that the rule of honeſtie and profit is not one and the ſame, he will neuer be without fraud or wickednes. For thinking thus with himſelfe, this indeed is honeſt, but that is profitable for me, he will not feare to breake and rent a ſunder all equitie ordained and appointed either by diuine or humane lawes. And this diuiſion is the fountaine of all vice, falſhood, and miſchiefe. A good man (ſaith *Plato*) may not ſlander, ſteale, or lie for his owne commoditie. Is there any thing then in this world of ſo great value, any treaſure ſo pretious, that ought to cauſe vs to looſe the name of vertuous and iuſt? We ought rather to turne profit towards honeſtie, and that in ſuch ſort, that howſoeuer the words ſeeme to differ one from another, yet we ſhould make them but one thing. Moreouer, the ſame diuine philoſopher ſaith, that the true beautie of the ſoule, which is honeſtie, is nothing elſe but the brightnes of that perfect and chiefe good that appeereth in thoſe things, which may be knowen by the eies, eares, and mind, whereby it is cauſed

Man created for man.

Profit muſt not be ſeparated from honeſtie.

cauſed to returne towards the Idea and paterne of goodnes. Wherby this excellent man meaneth no other thing, than to giue vs to vnderſtand, that whatſoeuer goodnes and honeſtie is in vs, commeth from God, as from the fountaine thereof, vnto which by the ſame vertue it returneth, leading the ſoule with it to liue eternally. Beſides, from him and by him commeth the beginning and proceeding of our good works: yea it is he that maketh vs to go forward according to true dutie, which conſiſteth in theſe two points: firſt, that the intention and end of our actions be rightly framed: ſecondly, that the like meanes to attaine to that end be found out. For theſe two things may agree or diſagree one from another, as we ſee ſometimes the end well propounded, and yet men erre in the meanes to attaine vnto it: and contrariwiſe, it falleth out oftentimes, that the meanes are good, and the end propounded, bad. So that it is from this liuely and euer-flowing fountaine, which is the cauſe of al good, from whence we are to looke for the perfect knowledge of our dutie, and the ends and meanes whereby to execute it, to the glorie of God, and to the good and profit of our like. And from this generall vertue, and fountaine of honeſtie and dutie, fower riuers iſſue and ſpring, called morall vertues: namely, *Prudence*, which is as a guide to the reſt, and knoweth what is profitable for it ſelfe, for others, and for the common-wealth: *Temperance*, the miſtres of modeſtie, chaſtitie, ſobrietie, and vigilancie, and of all order and mediocritie in all things: *Fortitude*, which maketh a man conſtant, patient, couragious, hardie, and readie to enterpriſe high, great, profitable, and holie things: and *Iuſtice*, which is the bond and preſeruation of humane ſocietie, by giuing to euery one that which belongeth vnto him, by keeping faith in things promiſed, by ſuccoring gladly the afflicted, and by helping euery one according as abilitie ſerueth. Which vertues are the true and certain goods of the ſoule, whereby all actions are directed according to dutie, as we ſhall ſpeake particularly thereof heerafter. In the meane while let vs enter into the examples of the ancients,

Two things requiſite in euerie good worke.

Fower riuers iſſue out of the fountaine of dutie.

cients, and ſee how exactly and inuiolably they obſerued all points of dutie, chooſing rather to ſacrifice their liues, than to infringe, and breake any of them, much more contemning all other weaker occaſions, wherwith lewd and baſe-minded people ſuffer themſelues to be eaſily corrupted. And firſt, touching the firſt point of dutie naturally imprinted in the ſoules of the greateſt infidels, which is to acknowledge ſome diuinitie, with what zeale (although inconſiderate and raſh) did the ancient heathens and pagans preciſely obſerue their paganiſme, euen to the ſacrificing and cheerfull offering vp of their owne children to their gods, as we read of the Carthaginians? What ſay I, their children? yea oftentimes themſelues, whereof *Calanus* an Indian Gymnoſophiſt ſerueth for a witnes, who ſeeing himſelfe old, after he had offered ſacrifice to the gods, bad *Alexander* the Great farewell, with whom he came to Babylon, and tooke his leaue alſo of all his other friends. Then lying along (according to the cuſtome of his countrie) vpon a little pile of wood, which he had prepared for that purpoſe, he cauſed fire to be put vnto it, and ſo burned himſelfe for a burnt-offering to his gods, not ſtirring at all, but continuing with ſuch a wonderfull conſtancie, that *Alexander*, who was preſent, confeſſed himſelfe to be vanquiſhed of him in greatnes of hart, and magnanimitie of courage. Who will not admire the ſtrict obſeruation of the ancient religion of the Egyptians, Græcians, and Romans, mooued with a deſire of yeelding the dutie of their being to the honor of a diuine nature? But for ſhortnes ſake, and not to wander farre from the ſubiect of our aſſemblie, I paſſe it ouer with ſilence. Heere I will onely alledge one notable example of the Iewes, who were more zealous profeſſors of their law, than euer were any people. *Caius* a Romane emperor, ſent *Petronius* into Syria with commandement to make war with the Iewes, if they would not receiue his image into their temple. Which when they refuſed to do, *Petronius* ſaid vnto them, that then belike they would fight againſt *Ceſar*, not weighing his wealth, or their owne weakenes

Examples of the zeale of the ancients in the ſeruice of their gods.

Calanus.

The zeale of the Iewes to their law.

and vnabilitie. We will not fight (quoth they) but had rather die than turne from the lawes of our God. And foorthwith caſting themſelues on the ground, and offering their throtes, they ſaid, that they were readie to receiue the blow. In this eſtate (as *Ioſephus* reporteth it) they remained for the ſpace of fortie daies, letting ſlip the time which then was, of ſowing their grounds. Which cauſed *Petronius* to defer the execution of his charge, and to ſend the declaration of theſe things vnto *Caſar*, whoſe death rid the Iewes out of danger. Now we are to conſider with what burning affection the ancients imbraced common benefit and ſafetie, ſeeking to profit all men, according to the true dutie of a good man, but eſpecially their countrie, in whoſe ſeruice they thought it great happines to loſe their liues. For truly beſides the ſweet affection, which nature hath imprinted in our harts towards our countrie, and the conformitie of humors, which commonly is found in our bodies with that heauenly aire wher we haue our firſt breathing, which ſeemeth to be a mutual and naturall obligation, the reaſon of all humane right, and the religion of diuine equitie, beſides the dutie of conſcience, bind all perſons to ſerue the publike wealth of their countrie, to the vttermoſt of their power: and that ſo much the rather, bicauſe that vnder it, the life, honor, and goods of euery particular man are comprehended. This reaſon cauſed *Cato* of Vtica, a Conſul and noble Romane, to anſwer one of his friends, who was come to giue him thanks for defending him in iudgement from a falſe accuſation, that he was to thanke the Common-wealth, for whoſe loue onely he did, ſpake, and counſelled all things. This alſo made him to vndertake the ſute for the office of Tribuneſhip of the people, that he might reſiſt the faction of *Pompey*, by whom he ſaw *Metellus* ſet on worke to ſue and ſeeke for the ſame office, for the aſſurance of his affaires and ſtrengthening of his league. Now is the time (quoth *Cato* to his friends) wherein I muſt imploy and beſtow the power of ſuch an office, and of ſo great authoritie, as a ſtrong medicine, in time conuenient, and vpon neceſſarie cauſes,

Of the loue which a man oweth to his countrie.

Cato of Vtica.

In what caſe a good man may ſue for an office.

cauſes, and either ouercome, or die honorably in the defence of common libertie. So likewiſe he oppoſed himſelfe as much as he could, againſt all nouelties and alteration of affaires betweene *Caſar* and *Pompey*. And when the ſelfeſame *Pompey*, being deſirous to win him to himſelfe, ſought to bring it to paſſe by alliance, and thereupon demanded two of his neeces in marriage, one for himſelfe, and the other for his ſonne: *Cato*, without any longer deliberation, anſwered him preſently (as being netled) that caried backe the meſſage, that he ſhould returne to *Pompey* and tell him, that *Cato* was not to be taken by the meanes of women. Which was not bicauſe he would not haue him eſteem greatly of his friendſhip, which he ſhould alwaies find in him to be more ſure and certaine than any alliance by marriage, ſo that he onely ſought after and did things honeſt and iuſt, but at this time he would not giue hoſtages at *Pompeies* pleaſure againſt the Common-welth. Afterward the affaires of Rome being brought to ſuch neceſſitie through corruption of monie, and by vnlawfull and forceable meanes in procuring publike places of authoritie, many Senators being of opinion, that *Pompey* was to be choſen ſole and onely Conſul, *Cato* alſo was of the ſame mind, ſaying, that men ought to chooſe a leſſe euill to meete with and to redreſſe greater miſchiefs: and that it were better willingly to bring in a kind of monarchie, than to defer it ſo long, vntill the iſſue of preſent ſeditions ſhould by force and conſtraint eſtabliſh one. And it may be (quoth he) that *Pompey* will haue a longing deſire to preſerue the Common-wealth, when he ſhall ſee, that it is ſo liberally and freely committed to his fidelitie. This election being approoued and ratified, *Pompey* ſent to ſeeke *Cato*, and hauing hartily thanked him for that honor, which he had done him, requeſted him to be a daily aſſiſtant and Councellor vnto him in his office. To whom this graue man made anſwere, that he did neuer oppoſe himſelfe heeretofore againſt him for any ill will he bare him, neither gaue this laſt counſell for any good he meant towards him, but all for the good and profit of the Com-

mon-wealth. And as touching his priuate and particular affaires, he ſaid, he would giue him the beſt counſell he could, whenſoeuer he asked his aduiſe: but for publike matters, he would alwaies ſpeake what he thought were beſt, although he neuer asked him any thing. Thus did *Cato* behaue himſelfe al his life time as a good citizen, and as an vpright and iuſt man, free in ſpeaking for the truth, and altogither void of corruption. *Metellus* a Senator of Rome left vs a notable teſtimonie, that he eſteemed of *Dutie*, as of a ſacred and inuiolable thing, when he would not ſweare to the people to obſerue and keepe that, which was to be ordained and eſtabliſhed concerning a law put vp by one of the Tribunes againſt all right and equitie, notwithſtanding that the Conſul with the reſt of the Senators through conſtraint and feare, which they had of the people, had ſworne vnto it, and giuen their promiſe. Then *Metellus* departing from the aſſemblie, ſaid, that it was too eaſie a matter to do ill, as alſo a common thing to do well where no danger is, but to do well when perill is certaine and ſure, that was the proper dutie of an honorable and vertuous man. For this cauſe being baniſhed, and making light account of the matter, he vſed theſe or the like ſpeeches: When things ſhall be amended, the people repenting them of their error, will cal me back againe: but if the affaires continue ſtill in the ſame ſtate, wherein they now are, it will be beſt for a man to keepe himſelfe a farre of. *Lycurgus* after his lawes were giuen to the Lacedemonians fained that he had ſome thing elſe whereof to take counſell with *Apollo* concerning their eſtate, and therefore at his departure from Lacedæmon to go to Delphos, he cauſed his citizens to ſweare and promiſe, that they would keepe his lawes inuiolably vntill his returne, either dead or aliue. This done he went to the ile of Candie, whete he remained in perpetuall and voluntarie baniſhment, and commanded that after his death, the aſhes of his bodie, being burnt ſhould be caſt into the wind, that by this meanes the Lacedæmonians might neuer be abſolued of their oth, but that his countrie might alwaies

Metellus.

Lycurgus.

alwaies receiue the fruit of his labors, for deſire whereof he had freely forſaken it altogither. *Marcus Otho* the emperor hath left behind him a more woonderfull example of the great loue he bare towards his countrie, for the benefit whereof he died willingly. For after he had loſt a battell againſt *Vitellius* and *Cecinna*, fighting for the empire, he was ſolicited by the reſt of his armie, which was yet of great ſtrength, to trie fortune once againe, and to vſe them and their perſons as long as they had one drop of blood, and life in their bodies. And at the ſame time a ſimple ſoldier, hauing his ſword in his hand, ſpake thus vnto him: Know, O *Caſar*, that all my companions are determined to die thus for thy ſake, and therewithall he ſlue himſelfe before him. Then *Otho* caſting his eies all about, ſpake vnto them in this ſort: I account this day more happie to me (Companions) than that other wherein ye did chooſe and pronounce me your emperor, beholding you ſo wel affected in my behalfe, and receiuing ſuch honor from you with ſo great a demonſtration of friendſhip. And if I haue been worthie to hold the empire of Rome by your election, I muſt now ſhew it, in not ſparing my life for the good and ſafetie of my countrie. I knowe well that the victorie is not yet wholie mine enimies: and I haue receiued newes of ſuch and ſuch forces (which he named particularly vnto them) that are readie to ioine with vs. The Senate is on our ſide, and the wiues and children of our enimies are in our hands. But what? This war is not againſt a *Hannibal*, or a *Pirrhus*, or againſt the Cymbrians, that we ſhould fight for the poſſeſſion of Italie, but it is againſt the Romans themſelues: ſo that in this warre both the conqueror and conquered ſhall offend and hurt their countrie, bicauſe, whatſoeuer ſerueth for the benefit of him that ouercommeth, turneth to the dammage of the Common-wealth. Beleeue me, I know better how to die than to raigne, eſpecially conſidering that I ſhall not ſo much profit the Romans, although in the end I ſhould remaine the ſtronger, as now I can by ſacrificing my life for the peace, vnion, and concord of my countrimen. This done,

Marcus Otho.

The couragious mind of a ſoldier.

A notable example againſt ciuill war.

done, he tooke order for the Senators and others of his armie to retire and ſaue themſelues: and ſaid to a nephew of his whom he had adopted, I command thee my ſonne, as the laſt admonition which I can giue thee, not to forget altogither, nor yet to print it too much in thy memorie, that thou haſt had an vnkle, who was emperor. Then laying him downe to reſt, the next morning very early he tooke his ſword, and turning the point thereof with both his hands againſt his ſtomacke, he fell vpon the top of it, without ſhewing any other token or feeling of griefe, and ſo died, being onely ſeuen and thirtie yeeres of age. *Codrus* king of Athens did no leſſe for his countrie. For hauing vnderſtood, that the Oracle had promiſed and aſſured the victorie to the Thracians, who were enimies to the Athenians, if they ſaued their king aliue, he went into their campe diſguiſed like a handicrafts man, and ſlue one of their men, whereupon he was preſently ſlaine of others, not being knowen what he was. And thus were the Thracians depriued of the hope of victorie, which before they accounted certaine, and in a maner gotten of the Athenians. *Marcus Curtius* a knight of Rome, who being Conſul wan a notable battell againſt the Cymbrians, threw himſelfe headlong into a deepe gulfe, which was made in the midſt of Rome by an earthquake, and which had greatly dammaged the citie. The reaſon moouing him ſo to do was, bicauſe the Soothſaiers had giuen out, that the gods would not be pacified and appeaſed towards the citie before the gulfe had ſwalowed a man on liue. *Curtius* being deſirous to procure the benefit and eaſe of the Commonwealth, would ſerue himſelfe for this ſacrifice. And ſo it came to paſſe: for preſently this gulfe cloſed vp to the great aſtoniſhment of all the people. How ſhal we thinke that theſe, and ſo many others, as hiſtories ſet before our eies, who haue freely offered their liues for the ſafetie of many, and choſe rather to vndertake any danger, than to turne aſide in any thing from that which they knew to be the dutie of a good man, how (I ſay) ſhall we thinke that they would haue fainted or yeelded through the entice-

Codrus.

M. Curtius.

ments

ments of honor, grace, fauor, & riches, whereby the greatnes of their courage, limited onely with the bounds of right and iuſtice, might haue beene weakened? But hoping that the ſequele of our diſcourſes will furniſh vs with more ample teſtimonies both of this and of all the other parts of dutie, which reſpect euery particular action, and fearing leaſt I haue been ſomewhat too long in the examples alreadie alledged, we will conclude our preſent matter with this generall inſtruction, that vnto what eſtate, qualitie, or condition ſoeuer men are called, they ought to propound to themſelues in all their actions, *Dutie* and *Honeſtie*, ſearching for them in the holie ſcriptures, and in the precepts of good life conformable thereunto, which are left vnto vs by the ancient Sages and wiſe philoſophers, to this end, that being wel inſtructed in true pietie, we may firſt of all giue honor and glorie to God, and then be beneficiall, helpfull, and profitable to his creatures. Theſe graces we may, by the direction and bleſſing of God, draw out of thoſe fower riuers which proceed and flow from this generall vertue and fountaine of *Honeſtie*, of which we are to diſcourſe particularly heerafter, namely, of *Prudence*, *Temperance*, *Fortitude*, and *Iuſtice*, which are thoſe morall vertues whereby all good and vertuous actions are brought to paſſe.

Dutie and honeſtie are to be propounded in all our actions.

Of Prudence. *Chap.* 10.

ACHITOB. THere is one only wiſe, ſouereign Creator of al things, the almighty, ſtrong, and terrible, who ſitteth vpō his throne, frō whom commeth al wiſedom, which alwaies hath been, and is for euer with him, and which he hath powred out vpon all works, and vpon all fleſh according to his liberalitie, and giueth hir abundantly to them that loue him. She teacheth the doctrine of God, and cauſeth vs to chooſe his works. She decketh vs with prudence, iuſtice, and courage, giuing vs the knowledge of the time paſt, and iudgement of that Ecclus. 1.18.

which is to come. The multitude of thoſe which are endued with theſe gifts & graces are the gard of the world, and a prudent king is the aſſurance of his people. The ſequele therfore of our ſpeech leadeth vs to the handling of Prudence, the firſt riuer of the fountaine of *Dutie*.

ASER. Wiſedome raineth downe knowledge, and wiſe vnderſtanding, and bringeth to honor thoſe that poſſeſſe hir. Of hir therefore we are to ſeeke for true Prudence, a neceſſarie guide to all our actions, but we muſt hate the prudence of the fleſh, which is follie before God, and maketh all the thoughts of the wiſe of this world to become vaine and fooliſh. Moreouer, *Cicero* ſaith, that no man can be prudent but he muſt be good.

Ecclus. 1. 23.

AMANA. O how learnedly hath *Socrates* taught vs to know and marke this true and heauenly Prudence, proceeding from the loue and feare of the higheſt, from that earthlie Prudence, which is full of darknes, when he ſaith, that *Prudence is the generall vertue, the princeſſe and guide of morall vertues, and that wherein the knowledge of our ſouereigne good, and of the end of our being conſiſteth*, as alſo the choice of thoſe waies wherby we may come vnto it. But let vs heare ARAM diſcourſe more largely of the great, woorthie, and wonderfull effects of this rich vertue.

What prunence is.

ARAM. All the life of men expreſſing a worthie end of their being, conſiſteth in contemplation and action. For knowing that the thoughts of all mortall men are vnſtable, and their inuentions vncertaine, bicauſe the bodie and the affections thereof oppreſſe the ſoule, and caſt downe the ſpirit loden with care, they lift vp their harts towards the brightnes of the eternall light, who of his meere grace prepareth their ſoules, lighteneth their vnderſtandings, and directeth their paths to the knowledge of that true and perfect Idea of Good, from whence Prudence floweth, that ſhe may gouerne their actions according to Gods will, and to the profit of humane ſocietie. Therefore it is from knowledge and reaſon gotten in the ſtudie of wiſedome by the grace of God, from whence the vertue of Prudence proceedeth, which is that rule of all the

The effects of the vertue of prudence.

the actions of man, whereby through good and ſage aduice he diſcerneth and chooſeth good from bad, that which is profitable from the contrarie, to the end he may ſhun the one and practiſe the other. This is that which *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that the office of Prudence conſiſteth in skill to conſult and to chooſe, to the end to execute that which vertue commandeth, namely, Honeſtie and decencie, and that for no other reſpect than for the loue thereof. And therfore wiſe men haue put a difference betweene *Science* and *Prudence*, ſaying, that *Science* is a dead knowledge of things, which of it ſelfe cannot change the will in ſuch ſort, that it may imbrace and follow the knowen good, or auoid the euill: which is euident in wicked men endued with knowledge. But Prudence is a beame proceeding from that true ſunne, which doth not only illuminate and lighten the vnderſtanding, but alſo warmeth and kindleth the affection. This vertue (ſaith *Bias* one of the Sages of Græcia) is amongſt the reſt of the vertues, as the ſight is amongſt the fiue ſenſes of mans bodie: thereby giuing vs to vnderſtand, that as the eie, of al the other ſenſes is moſt beautifull, ſubtill, and pearcing, ſo the vertue of Prudence by hir quicke and cleere light directeth and conducteth al vertues in their good and commendable operations. It is by hir that man is alwaies clothed with a milde and ſetled diſpoſition, whereof he ſtandeth no leſſe in need, than a ſhip floating on the ſea doth of the preſence of a pilot, that he may prudently vndertake, & wiſely execute whatſoeuer he knoweth to be good, after mature deliberation, and conſideration of all the circumſtances of the fact. Morall philoſophers attributed three eies to this vertue of Prudence, namely, Memorie, Vnderſtanding, and Prouidence: which three things *Cicero* calleth the parts of Prudence. With the firſt ſhe beholdeth the time paſt: with the ſecond, the time preſent: with the third, the time to come. Moreouer, a prudent and wiſe man, by the conſideration of things paſt: and of that which hath followed ſince, iudgeth of that, which in the like caſe may fall out in the time following. And after long deliberation, he expecteth

The difference betweene ſcience and prudence.

Prudence compared to the light.

Prudence hath three eies.

pecteth the times, waigheth the dangers, and knoweth the occaſions: and then, yeelding now and then to the times, but alwaies to neceſſitie, ſo it be not againſt dutie, he boldly ſetteth his hand to the worke. For this cauſe *Iſocrates* ſaid, that a prudent man ought to remember things paſt, to vſe things preſent, and to foreſee things to come. A prudent man (ſaith *Demoſthenes*) accounteth it a point of follie to ſay when a thing is com to paſſe, *Who would haue thought it could haue beene?* Now Prudence is apparant in him that poſſeſſeth hir, firſt by the rule and gouernment of his perſon, whether it be in things within him, as in his maners and conditions, or in outward things concerning his bodie, as in ſobrietie of diet, comely intertainment, good houſe-keeping, commendable vſe of his ſubſtance and riches. Of which perfections and other praiſe-worthie effects, that flow from Prudence vnder the name of ſundrie vertues, we are to intreat particularly heerafter, as alſo how a prudent man being adorned with them may firſt become a good Oeconomiſt, that is, a gouernor and father of a familie, and after attaine to that great vertue of politicall knowledge, which is the art of skilfull gouerning & ruling a multitude of men. And then although he doubt not, but that it is an act of Prudence to know what is good and profitable for the Common-wealth, yet that he may knowe howe to execute that office with a perfect and abſolute vertue, he ſeeketh for all occaſions to profit the ſame, and vnto what place of authoritie ſoeuer he be called, he alwaies ſheweth foorth dutifull effects of a good man. He neuer giueth or taketh but good counſel, and alwaies vttereth the ſame freely. He is able (ſaith *Plato*) to diſcerne the good from the bad. He helpeth innocencie, and correcteth malice. He is not aſtoniſhed for any feare, nor altereth his mind for diſpraiſe or commendation: he is not diſcouraged through violence or falſe accuſations, neither is preſſed downe with ſorrow, or puffed vp with proſperitie. And as one not ignorant of the vncertaintie of worldly things, he abideth conſtant in all changes, and like to himſelfe, knowing how to chooſe the leſſe euill in all

The praiſe-worthy effects of prudence.

all inconueniences, as the better. He ſheweth himſelfe valiant in all things. He is maiſter of his pleaſures, & knoweth how to command himſelfe. He can reape profit by moſt ſiniſter accidents, yea by his greateſt enimies, and yet hurt them not. The conuerſation of the prudent is alwaies healthfull and profitable. His quips, his laughters, his ſports are not without ſome fruit, hauing in them a certaine power to correct and moue thoſe that do amiſſe. He beleeueth not (ſaith *Heraclitus*) any thing lightly, but is a ſeuere examiner of the truth. To be ſhort, Prudence cauſeth a man to refer all his actions both priuate and publike to the beſt end, which is, to ſerue God, and to profit his neighbor. This did *Socrates* teach very well, ſaying, that All the deſires and inclinations of our ſoule guided by prudence tende to happines. Wherin we may note the indiſſoluble coniunction of all the morall vertues, of which no one can be had perfectly, but with hir companions, albeit ech of them haue hir particular & proper dutie. But prudence is eſpecially neceſſarie in them all, as it will yet better appeere in the further handling therof, albeit the effects hereunder mentioned of this firſt vertue being narrowly conſidered, may giue vs ſufficient proofe thereof. Now to incite and ſtir vs vp to imbrace it with greater zeale and affection, and to ſeeke after all meanes of obtaining it, either by good inſtruction, or by long vſe of things, let vs call to mind certaine examples of the ancients, thereby to marke what woonderful fruits this vertue of Prudence hath brought foorth in them. If we conſider all the heroicall facts of the worthieſt captaines and generals of armies that euer were, we ſhall finde that they brought them to paſſe more by prudence, than by any other force and meane. Which thing *Alexander* the great, and firſt Monarke of the Græcians knowing very well, whenſoeuer any ſpeech or compariſon was made before him of Vertue or Science, he alwaies had this verſe of *Homer* in his mouth: *In counſell wiſe, and valiant in the fight:* as if he would haue ſaid, that of all vertues Prudence was moſt prince-like, and that proweſſe was practiſed by meanes

The coniunction of all the vertues.

meanes thereof. And indeed he being richly endued therwith, vndertooke the conqueſt of the Perſian empire, yea of all the world, when he had but thirtie thouſand footemen, and fower thouſand horſemen, with monie and victuals to furniſh them onely for thirtie daies. But what? The meanes wherunto he truſted was Prudence, followed of Patience, Valure and Temperancie, wherewith the ſtudie of philoſophy had furniſhed him for his voiage. In this iourney he did not onely in two battailes ouerthrowe *Darius* monarke of the Perſians, who had aboue twelue hundred thouſand men, but alſo brought vnder ſubiection fifteene ſundry nations, and tooke fiue thouſand cities and townes, and laboured to put in reall execution & practiſe that forme of gouernment of eſtate, which was ſo greatly eſteemed of *Zeno* the Stoick philoſopher, & tended in effect to this end, that all men generally might liue togither, not being diuided by townes, peoples and nations, nor ſeparated by particuler lawes, rightes & cuſtomes, but that we ſhould take all men for our countrimen and fellow citizens: that as there is but one world, ſo there might be but one kinde of life. Thus did this prudent and vertuous monarck giue out that he was ſent from heauen to be a common reformer, gouernour, and reconcilour of the whole world, ſo that he imploied all his might to reduce and bring to ciuilitie barbarous kings, to plant Græcian cities, that they might liue ciuilly amongſt the vntamed and ſauage nations, and eſtabliſhed euery where lawes and a peaceable kinde of life, euen amongſt vnbrideled people, who neuer heard word ſpoken either of peace or lawes. Thoſe whom he could not aſſemble together by perſwaſion of reaſon, he conſtrained by force of armes, ſo that he cauſed them all to drinke as ye would ſay, in the ſame cup of loue & friendſhip, by intermingling their liues, maners, mariages and faſhions of liuing. He commanded that al men liuing ſhould account the whole habitable earth for their country, and his campe, for their caſtle and tower of defence, and that all good men ſhould be of kin one to another, and the wicked onely ſtrangers.

Of the prudence of Alexander.

More-

Moreouer, he willed, that the Græcian and Barbarian ſhould no more be diſtinguied by their garments, but that the Græcian ſhould be knowne and diſcerned by vertue, and the Barbarian by vice, accounting all vertuous men Græcians, and all vicious men Barbarians. Therefore *Plutark* ſaid very well, that they who were tamed and brought vnder his yoke were a great deale more happie than thoſe that eſcaped his power, bicauſe theſe men had none to cauſe them to leaue of from liuing miſerablie, and the other were compelled by the conqueror to liue happily. Whereby he deſerued no leſſe the name of a great philoſopher, than did *Pythagoras*, *Socrates* and others, who although they wrote nothing, yet were ſo called, for their maner of life, and for that which they ſpake, did and taught. In all which things *Alexander* approching next vnto them, went alſo beyond them in this, that they taught men of good vnderſtandings, namely ſuch as were Græcians as well as themſelues, and that without great paine and trauell: but this monark ſuſtaining infinite labor, and cheerefully ſheading his bloud did change into a better eſtate, and reformed the rude maners of innumerable ſauage people, euen of ſuch as were brutiſh by nature. Now let vs ſpeake of *Cæſar* the firſt Romaine Emperour. Was it not prudence eſpecially that prepared the way for him to ſo mightie an empire, firſt by reconciling together *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, two of the greateſt Romaine Senators, by whoſe fauor he obtained afterwardes the dignitie of Conſulſhip? When he was placed therin, being deſirous to win the good wil of the people & knowing that he was alreadie well vnder propped of the Senatours, he preferred many lawes in their behalfe. Beſides he was very ſumptuous and popular, if euer any Romaine was, not ſparing any coſt vpon plaies, turneies, feaſtes, largeſſes, and other baits to curry fauor with the meaner ſort of the people, and to gaine the honor and credite of a man that is gratious and charitable towards the poore. And when he was ſent to take vpon him the gouernment of the Gaules, he warred there ten yeeres, being guided by

Of the prudence of Iulius Cæſar.

by an vnſpeakable prudence; that was accompanied with diligence and forecaſt: ſo that by vſing all occaſions wiſely & to purpoſe, he ſubdued there three hundred ſundry nations, tooke eight hundred townes & in manie battels diſcomfited three millions of men. The commentaries which he wrote himſelfe, declare ſufficiently that his own vertue wrought more exploits than all his armie. Of this alſo he gaue proofe enough in the beginning of the ciuill warre betweene him and *Pompey*, wherein he vſed ſuch diligence, that comming out of Fraunce he made himſelfe maiſter of all Italy in threeſcore daies, without any effuſion of bloud, and droue away his enimy. And *Cicero*, who (as ſome ſay) conſpired his death, in an epiſtle calleth him a monſter of prudence and of incredible diligence. Was it not prudence whereby he noted two faults in *Pompey*, which after were the cauſe of his ouerthrow? The firſt in an incounter of their armies, wherein *Cæſar* being at that time the weaker had the woorſt. And when he perceiued that his enimy purſued him not, but retired to his campe, he ſaid, The victorie this day was in the power of our enimies, but their captaine could not perceiue it. The other fault which he noted was at the battel of Pharſalia, where *Pompey* was quite ouerthrowne, becauſe he charged his ſouldiers being ranged in battell to ſtand ſtill in their places, and ſo to attend their enimies. Then *Cæſar* ſaide, that in ſo dooing *Pompey* tooke from his ſouldiers the vehemencie and violence of giuing the onſet, which is as a ſpurre vnto them in their race, beſides the heate of courage which this ſpeedie running forward worketh in the. We ſee then how neceſſarie this vertue of prudence is in feats of warre, which cauſed *Ageſilaus* king of Lacedemonia, after great loſſes ſuſtained by the violence of *Epaminondas*, the generall captaine of the Thebanes, to ſay to his men, that they ſhould not greatly care for the multitude of their enimies, but bend all their force againſt *Epaminondas* onely, bicauſe none but wiſe & prudent men were valiant, and the onely cauſe of victorie. And therefore if they could beate him downe, they ſhould vndoubtedly haue

Cæſar noted two faults in Pompey.

Ageſilaus.

haue the reſt at their deuotion. As indeed it came to paſſe in that battell which they fought togither, wherein the Lacedemonians halfe diſcomfited, one of thoſe that fled being purſued by *Epaminondas*, turned back and ſlew him: wherupon the reſt tooke ſuch courage, and the Thebans were ſo diſmaied, that the victorie remained with *Ageſilaus*. Now if in warfare prudence beareth ſuch a ſtroake, who doubteth but that in ciuil and politike gouernment ſhe is as neceſſarie, or rather more? Diuine *Plato* in his booke of a common-wealth ſaith, that if a man woulde do notable acts woorthy of perfect praiſe in the adminiſtration of the common-wealth, he muſt haue prudence and iuſtice, followed of power and fortune. But we may further ſay, that onely prudence hath ſet aloft and preſerued many great eſtates from ruine and ſubuerſion. The Athenians being diuided and banded into three contrarie parts and factions, *Solon* being very prudent and wiſe, would not ioine himſelfe to any of them, but kept himſelfe indifferent to all, practiſing & ſpeaking whatſoeuer he could deuiſe to ioine & reconcile them togither again. Wherein he behaued himſelfe ſo well, that being choſen by them all for the onely pacifier and reformer of their eſtate, he placed it in greater glorie than euer it was in before, by his prudent and wiſe lawes which were receiued as inuiolable. The prudence of *Lycurgus*, the reformer and lawmaker of the Lacedemonians, was the cauſe of the maintenance of their eſtate aboue fiue hundred yeeres, ſo that it was the chiefeſt in all Græcia both for glorie and excellencie of gouernment, from whence they fell not vntill ſuch time as they wholy neglected thoſe goodly ordinances and lawes which he left them. A prudent man alwaies giueth good counſaile, and vttereth the ſame freely, being alſo a good and willing helpe to innocencie. *Phocion* ſpeaking his minde one day in the counſell chamber of the Athenians, againſt the enterpriſing of a certain war, and ſeeing that his aduiſe ſo greatly diſpleaſed them, that they would not giue him leaue to vtter his minde, he ſpake freely vnto them in this maner: Ye may peraduenture

The loſſe of a captaine is commonly cauſe of the ruine of an armie.

The prudence of Solon.

The prudence of Lycurgus.

Phocion.

ture(O Athenians) force me to do that which ought not to be done, but ye can not conſtraine me to ſpeake any thing contrary to my opinion that ought not to be ſpoken or counſailed. *Demoſthenes* knowing the innocencie of a poore woman drawne into iudgement with danger of being ouerthrowne, ſaued hir by his great prudence. For two ſtrangers hauing giuen hir a good ſumme of money, to keepe with this condition, that ſhe ſhould not reſtore it to the one except the other were alſo preſent, within a while after one of them came very ſorrowfull fayning that his companion was dead, and bringing ſome counterfeit token therof with him. Wherupon he ſo perſwaded this poore woman, who ment ſimply plainely, that ſhe reſtored the monie to him. Afterwards the other came, & demanding the money alſo, brought this woman before a iudge, who being without hope of eſcaping, *Demoſthenes* anſwered for hir, that ſhe offred to giue him the money ſo that he brought his fellow, bicauſe, as himſelfe confeſſed, ſhe ought not to giue it to the one without the other. The profite which a prudent man draweth from his enimies is in this, that he knoweth and taketh them for ſpies, for enuiers at his life, and ioint-labourers with him for honor and glory: wherupon he is the more carefull that his dooings may be blameles. And to this purpoſe *Diogenes* anſwered wiſely to one, who demanded how he might be auenged on his enimie: By making thy ſelfe (quoth he) a vertuous and good man. Moſt ſiniſter accidents likewiſe turne to the profite of a prudent man. For being long time before prepared for all euents, the woorſt that happen confirme him further in the knowledge of the vncertaintie of humaine things, and lift him vp ſo much the more to the contemplation of heauenly things, that he may deſire nothing but the bleſſed immortalitie of the ſoule. *Anaxagoras* hearing newes of his ſonnes death, ſaid nothing but this, that he knew he had begotten him a mortall creature. The foreſight of prudence maketh it alſo to be greatly admired. *Marcus Cato*, when he ſaw that *Pompey* ioined himſelfe in league with *Caſar*,

The prudence of Demoſthenes in defending the innocencie of a poore woman.

How a prudent man may reape benefit by his enimies, and by miſhaps.

Anaxagoras.

The prudent foreſight of M. Cato.

Cesar, told him, that he did put *Cesars* yoke vpon his own necke, which then he perceiued not, but that shortly it would weigh heauy vpon him, and then should he finde himselfe taken and tied. A prudent man is not amased through feare either of blame or of false accusation, but alwaies goeth with his head vpright, trusting to his innocencie, and to his owne vertue. *Scipio Africanus* being accused of many things by the Tribunes of the people, answered nothing to the crimes laid against him, but onely saide thus: In such a day as this is, sirs, I ouercame both Carthage and Hannibal, and therefore I am now going to the Capitoll to sacrifice to *Iupiter* the best and greatest God, and to giue him thanks for the victory. In the meane while if any man long to proceed against me in iudgement, let him do it. After he had so said, he went towards the Capitoll, being followed of his friends, and of the greater part of the Senators. When the people saw this, they likewise accompanied him, so that in stead of condemning him, they caused him in a maner to triumph againe. *Emilius Scaurus* being also accused of a certaine crime by *Varius*, made this onely answer: O ye Romanes, *Varius* affirmeth this crime laid against me to be true, and *Scaurus* denieth it: whom will ye rather beleeue? By this wise and couragious answere he made the accusation of no effect, bicause his honestie was well knowen to euery one. The conuersation, assemblies, laughters, quips, and pastimes of prudent men are neuer without some profit. *Plato* in his booke intituled *Conuiuium*, that is, a feast, discourseth of the last end of mens actions, and of the souereigne and chiefe good of man, but yet in very familiar speeches, by certaine examples, and pleasant fictions, and deuises fit for the time and place, and not with serious and graue words, as he vseth to do in his other writings. Moreouer, learned deuises are the sports and delights of wise men, who account all other pastimes vaine and vnbeseeming them, and as hinderances and lets rather of their pleasure, than occasions of any recreation. Notwithstanding, wisely applying themselues to places & persons,

The prudence of Scipio in answering to an vniust accusation.

Emilius Scaurus.

The sports of prudent men.

they can in their ſerious diſcourſes intermingle ſome honeſt paſtimes, but yet not altogither without profit. As *Plato* in his foreſaid feaſt interlaceth certaine comicall ſpeeches of loue, howbeit all the reſt of the ſupper there was nothing but wiſe diſcourſes of philoſophie. A Lacedemonian being asked of a certaine matter by an other, anſwered cleane contrarie to the truth. And when the other told him that he lied, behold (quoth he againe) what a foole thou art to aske me that, which thou knoweſt well ynough. *Diogenes* in a great aſſemblie of people, purpoſely going backward, and ſeeing that euery one laughed at him, asked them alowd if they were not aſhamed to mocke him for going backward when he walked, whereas they did ſo all their life time. And as *Ariſtippus* on a time beheld him waſhing of coleworts for his ſupper, he ſaid vnto him: If thou didſt know (*Diogenes*) how to obey kings, and to ſeeke them out, thou wouldeſt not waſh coleworts. And thou *Ariſtippus* (quoth he) if thou kneweſt how to waſh coleworts, thou wouldeſt not ſerue kings, but liue at libertie. What profitable doctrine may a man draw out of theſe philoſophicall diſports and ieſts? Further, a prudent man neuer beleeueth any thing ouerlightly, but laieth aſide all reputation and credit of him that ſpeaketh, and examineth the ſpeech by it ſelfe: ſo far is he from giuing credit to an ignorant or naughtie fellow. Neither will he be dazeled with fine and eloquent ſpeech, but (as *Zeno* ſaid) conſidereth whether his ſpeech be tempered with ſenſe and reaſon, that ſo he may indge ſoundly of the truth, and take order thereafter. O what number of examples to this purpoſe might be alledged of the great harme that hath followed the credulitie and light beliefe of magiſtrates, gouernors, and heades of monarchies and nations. Alas, our poore France hath but too great experience thereof to hir confuſion and and deſtruction. But this matter may offer it ſelfe heerafter to be more amply handled, as alſo other effects of Prudence, which I haue briefly touched. In the meane while we will conclude, that Prudence is an excellent gift of

Pleaſant ſayings ful of doctrine.

A prudent man doth not ouerlightly beleeue any thing.

of God, that it is the guide and light of all the morall vertues, from whence all good and noble actions haue their being and beginning, and that without it a man can do nothing that is excellent and praise-worthy.

Of want of prudence and of Ignorance, of malice and subtiltie. Chap. II.

ARAM. NO man (saith diuine *Plato*) can be hurt or deceiued but by himselfe. Which proposition at the first sight may seeme somwhat absurd. But if, being well instructed in philosophie, we wil follow the opinion of the ancient Sages, that *Whatsoeuer we see of the bodie subiect to sight, is not man, but that the soule onely, which is inuisible and immortall, is that which truly ought to be called man, and that whereby we liue, and for which we ought to liue*, it is out of doubt, that none can hurt our soules but our selues. The kniues wherewith we hurt our soules are either want of prudence, or Malice, which are as pernitious things, as can come to man, seeing by them he committeth all sinnes and offences whatsoeuer, and by them hurteth himselfe onely, when as oftentimes he thinketh to offend another. As then in our former discourse we haue seene the laudable effects of Vertue and Prudence, so let vs now consider my Companions of the dangerous fruits of these two vices, which are altogither contrarie vnto it.

How none can be hurt but by himselfe.

ACHITOB. If the blind lead the blind both will fall into the pit: and he that knoweth his maisters will, and doth it not, shall be much more chasticed than the ignorant. So that both want of prudence and malice are two plagues in the soule greatly to be feared: and therefore *Bias* saith, *Be neither simple nor subtill.*

ASER. *Herillus* the Chalcedonian affirmed, that Science was the souereigne good. But we see contrariwise many excellent men for skill and doctrine, who liue most wickedly. So that in my opinion if it be not accompanied

with vertuous deedes, it ought rather to be called the chiefeſt euil: foraſmuch as he that ſinneth through ignorance, is more excuſable than the malitious, who ſinneth wittingly. And for defence of my ſaying, beſides the authoritie of the ſcripture, I haue *Plato*, who ſaith, that Science without the knowledge and practiſe of that which is good, is very pernitious. But let vs harken to AMANA, who will diſcourſe vnto vs more at large of theſe two vices, want of diſcretion, and malice or ſubtiltie.

Vertuous actions are to be ioined with knowledge.

AMANA. All vertue being in the midſt of two vices, the one of them is cleane contrarie vnto it, and the other being more dangerous, ſeeketh to couer it ſelfe with hir name, and it is called of the philoſopher a falſe follower of vertue. For this cauſe they placed want of prudence, which vice is in the defect, at the right hand of prudence: and at the left hand, Malice or Craft, which is the exceſſe, and cauſeth a man to ſinne, not through ignorance, but by deceit and ſubtiltie, and that vnder the name of Prudence. Firſt then let vs conſider of want of prudence or vnskilfulnes, and of the effects thereof in the ſoule. Vnskilfulnes proceeding, or rather being the ſame thing that ignorance is, cauſeth a man (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) to iudge euil of things, to deliberate worſe, not to know how to take the aduantage of preſent good things, but to conceiue ill of thoſe things that are good and honeſt in mans life. And as Prudence is the knowledge of that which ought to be done or left vndone, ſo vnskilfulnes is the ignorance of thoſe ſelfe ſame things, and is alwaies followed of incontinencie, of want of ciuilitie, and of forgetfulnes. Briefly, want of prudence is ſo contagious and peſtilent a thing in the mind of man, that all other infirmities of the ſpirit, wherewithall it is commonly moleſted, and all euill actions ſeeme to proceed from the ſame. And truly whereſoeuer it is, there neither God can be truly honored and ſerued, nor vice auoided, nor any action, either publike or priuate can be orderly, and according to dutie executed. For as a weakē and diſeaſed ſight cannot behold the light of the ſunne, ſo an vnskilfull ſoule cannot know the truth,

What want of prudence is.

Vnskilfulnes cauſeth a man to fall into ſeueritie, when he thinks to exerciſe iuſtice. If he would be liberall, he becommeth prodigall. If he thinketh to auoid ſuperfluitie, he falleth into couetouſnes. If he haue any apprehenſion of the diuine nature, he conſumeth his ſoule with a confuſed feare through ſuperſtition. If his mind cannot conceiue that there is a moſt happy and bleſſed nature, forthwith he iudgeth, that there is none at all: and thus guided by ignorance all his deſires and inclinations tend to wretchednes and miſerie. Moreouer, *Plato* ſaith, that ignorance taketh away the ſight of the mind from thoſe that are tainted therewith, as blindnes taketh away the ſight of corporall eies from thoſe that lacke their ſight. And further he teſtifieth, that the ignorant mind is vile and wretched, and that it is more expedient not to liue at all, than to liue in ignorance. But if we giue credit to *Cicero*, he onely liueth indeed and poſſeſſeth a ſoule, who ſetling himſelfe to ſome good matter, ſeeketh after renowme by ſome notable fact, or by ſome good art. It is good (ſaith *Socrates*) to leaue off altogither the vſe of that thing wherof we haue no skill to vſe it well. And ſo for thoſe that know not how to vſe their eies, eares, and whole bodie, it were more profitable neither to ſee, heare, or helpe themſelues any way with their bodie. In like maner it were better for him that knoweth not how to vſe his ſoule, to haue none at all, than to liue. And if he muſt needs liue, being borne, he ſhould be happier in the eſtate of a ſlaue than of a free man. The ſpeech of this wiſe philoſopher expoundeth it ſelfe ſufficiently, as tending to no other end than to giue vs to vnderſtand, that it is better not to be, yea neuer to haue been borne, than through ignorance to follow vice: and further, that it is more dangerous when a man may freely do ſo without feare of any greater than himſelfe. For as droonkennes engendreth rage and madnes, ſo (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) ignorance ioined with power begetteth inſolencie and furie. And it is all one (as *Plato* ſaith) to place an ignorant man in authoritie, as to lay a great burden vpon the ſhoulders of a man halfe dead

The pernitious effects of ignorance.

through weakenes. All theſe things make me iudge an ignorant man to be, I will not onely ſay, like an image or blocke of wood, but in a maner nothing differing from brute beaſts. This cauſed the ancients to vſe this ſaying: that *Euery ignorant man was euill.* And *Terence* going yet further ſaith, that The earth beareth nothing worſe than an ignorant man. And in truth what miſchiefs do we not ſee to come of ignorance? If a man be of a meane or baſe eſtate, it maketh him good for nothing, fearfull, ſuperſtitious, vnprofitable, needie, vnciuill, ſlothfull, and vnfit to euery good thing. If he be mightie and rich, beſides that he may fall into the ſaid miſeries through the ſame imperfection, he will ſo much the ſooner become arrogant, cruell, raſh, talkatiue, couetous, vnconſtant, giuen to voluptuouſnes, and vniuſt. In a word, the more meanes he ſhall haue to exerciſe vices, the richer in them will he grow to be through ignorance: and ſo not being able to gouerne himſelfe, he muſt needs be vnwoorthie to intermeddle at all either in politicall or Oeconomicall gouernment. If an ignorant man poſſeſſe any great benefit or felicitie, he can neuer know ſo much, before he hath loſt it againe. Moreouer, this miſchiefe followeth him, that he can neuer make his profit of any good counſell, bicauſe of the preſumption of his owne opinion, which he alwaies thinketh better than any other: yea he ſuppoſeth that nothing can be well done except he put to his helping hand. For (as *Menander* ſaith) nothing is ſo raſh as ignorance. And the more that an ignorant man is lift vp vnto ſome excellencie of dignitie or riches, the more vnſufferable he is, as one that knoweth not how to vſe them: ſo that he is puffed vp with pride aboue meaſure, and not content with his eſtate, but driuen with ambition, he preſumeth oftentimes to vndertake things againſt all reaſon and equitie. And contrariwiſe if fortune change, he abaſeth himſelfe out of meaſure, ſhewing nothing but abiection of mind, inconſtancy and impatiencie, and that with ſo great trouble and diſquietnes of ſpirit, that oftentimes he is wholie beſides himſelfe. Now theſe are but ſmall fruits of ignorance,

All ignorant men are euill.

The effects of ignorance both in rich & poore.

rance, namely, to make a man importunate: to cauſe him to ſtay another that hath great affaires, ſaying, that he hath many things to communicate vnto him, when in truth they will do him but ſmall pleaſure: to deſire one that hath loſt his ſuite to beſtow a dinner vpon him, promiſing to tell him a way how he may recouer it againe: to ſpeake ill of women, when he is inuited to weddings, or in their companie: to requeſt him to walke that hath alreadie gone a great way: when he ſeeth a thing ſold to bring a chapman to the ſeller, who would haue giuen a great deale more for it: to repeate one thing oftentimes: to ſhew himſelfe readie to do that which a man would not haue him to do, and yet dare not well denie it him: to woonder at all things, and to ſpeake all in a word, an vnskilfull man is alwaies in all places and in all affaires vnciuill and impertinent. The examples of theſe foreſaid effects are but too familiar amongſt vs. And firſt concerning theſe of ſmall and meane eſtate and condition, how many millions of men haue there been in the ages paſt, and do liue yet among vs, whoſe life being ignorant of euery good cauſe and reaſon, is not much vnlike, and in many things worſe than that of brute beaſts. The originall of ſo many errors, fooliſh opinions, and impieties, hath it not had paſſage through the midſt of their ſoules, bicauſe they had no true knowledge of the end of their being, nor of his will by whom they liue? From thence it commeth, that the beſt aduiſed among them exerciſe baſe handicrafts, not being deſirous to learne further: that ſome lead a ſeruile and contemptible life, bringing their bodies and ſoules in ſubiection to the luſts and wicked deſires of the greater ſort: that others remaine idle and vnprofitable ſeeking to maintaine their liues by vnlawfull meanes: that all through a blockiſh ignorance depriue themſelues of all preſent and eternall felicitie. Now albeit theſe poore men, who haue no great meanes to execute their wicked deſires, may after a ſort ſeeme tollerable and excuſeable to mans iudgement, bicauſe their ignorance doth not greatly hurt any but themſelues, yet it falleth

Common effects of ignorance.

The ſpring of all errors.

out far worse with those that haue wealth at will, and authoritie to command others, who not knowing how to vse their goods well by vertuous deeds, abuse them to all vice, dissolutenes, and pleasure: whereby for the most part they cast themselues headlong into infidelitie and Atheisme, bicause they neuer had true vnderstanding of the perfect diuinitie, nor yet considered the perfection of his works both in heauen & earth. O pitifull calamity abounding in this our age more than euer it did. A thousand millions of Pagans and heathens considering that there was nothing to be misliked in the heauens, neither any negligence, disorder, or confusion in the moouing of the starres, nor in the seasons of the yeere, nor in their reuolutions, nor in the course of the sunne about the earth, which causeth the day and the night, no not in the nourishing and preseruation of all sorts of liuing creatures, nor in the generation of yeerly fruits, and for a thousand other good considerations, beleeued and worshipped one supreme eternall essence, which gouerneth all things. And shall they that carie the name of Christians, to whom the vnspeakable treasures of the heauens haue been opened and offered with innumerable graces, shall they, I say, doubt, yea impudently denie that there is a God? But let vs returne to our matter. It is most certaine, that the higher that ignorant men are aduanced, so much without question are their faults greater than those of meaner estate, bicause they are hurtfull to many. Yea oftentimes it hath come to passe, that one onely fault of such a man hath been the losse and destruction of an infinite number of men. *Nicias* the generall captain of the Athenians, through the feare which he had conceiued of the darknes of an Eclipse of the moone, and not knowing the cause thereof, staied so long vntill his enimies had inclosed him round about: whereupon he was taken aliue of them, and put to death, besides the losse of fortie thousand Athenians that were taken and slaine. Who doubteth but that ignorance draue *Caligula* & *Domitian* into such pride & crueltie, that whilst they sought to be worshipped in stead of the

The reasons which mooued the heathen to beleeue that there was a diuinitie.

Nicias feared an eclipse of the moone.

Caligula and Domitian.

the true God, they were the cauſe of the death & deſtruction of more than a hundred thouſand men? In the time of *Otho* the firſt there fell a ſtone from heauen, which aſtoniſhed all Germanie, and turned them from proſecuting an enterpriſe of great waight and importance for the benefit of their countrie. If they had knowen it to be a naturall thing, and ſuch as had come to paſſe long before, as *Ariſtotle* affirmeth, they had not been ſo fearfull, nor receiued that dammage to the detriment of the Commonwealth, which came to them afterward. That ſpeech of *Anaxagoras* a Greeke philoſopher, agreeable heerunto, is worthie to be remembred, when he ſaid, that a man ought to driue out of himſelfe, and to tread vnder his feete all ſuperſtitious feare of the heauenly ſignes and impreſſions of the aire, which worke great terror in them that are ignorant of their cauſes, and that feare the gods with a forlorne and amaſed feare, bicauſe they want that certaine knowledge that philoſophie bringeth, which in ſtead of a trembling and alwaies terrifying ſuperſtition, engendreth true deuotion, accompanied with an aſſured hope of good. Let vs looke a little into our Chronicles, and conſider what profit our kings receiued by their ignorance, when they were called *Simple*, when they ſtood but for images, and were ſeene of their ſubiects but once a yeere. They ſuffered their wiſe maiſters of the palace to take knowledge of, and to order and rule all things, who depriuing them as vnworthie of all authoritie, tooke poſſeſſion in the end of their crowne. And ſurely it is no leſſe pernitious for the greater ſort to aduance ignorant men to charges and places of honor, and to vſe their counſell, than to be ignorant themſelues. For (as we ſaid) ignorance cauſeth him that is aduanced to forget himſelfe, and lifteth him vp into all pride. There are amongſt vs too many examples of the ambition and preſumption of many ignorant men, who, contrarie to *Torquatus* that refuſed the Conſulſhip, bicauſe of his diſeaſed eies, altogither blind as they are, deafe, dumbe, and deſtitute of all natural light, of prudence and experience to guide themſelues, are not con-

Otho 1.

Anaxagoras ſaying againſt the ſuperſtitious feare of celeſtiall ſignes.

contented to manage the ſailes and tacklings, but deſire to haue the rudder of the Common-welth in their hands. And it is greatly to be feared, that ſuch vnskilfull and ambitious men will in the end ſhew themſelues both in will and practiſe to be imitators of one *Cleander* an outlandiſh ſlaue, who being preferred by *Commodus* the emperor to goodlie offices and great places of honor, as to be great maiſter of his men of war, and his chiefe chamberlaine, conſpired notwithſtanding againſt his Lord, ſeeking to attaine to the imperiall dignitie by ſeditions, which he ſtirred vp in Rome betweene the people and the ſoldiers. But through good order taken, his enterpriſe tooke no effect, except the loſſe of his owne head, and deſtruction of his houſe. Although oftentimes it falleth out cleane contrarie through the iuſt puniſhment of God, for the ignorance and impietie as well of the monarks themſelues, as of their people. Now if fortune turne hir ſelfe about, and ſet hir ſelfe neuer ſo little againſt an ignorant perſon, he is ſtraightway ouercome with a thouſand perturbations, and vrged with deſpaire, as being only grounded before vpon the vaine and weake hope and confidence in externall and vncertaine goods. *Perſes*, king of Macedonia, and one of the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* the great in his great conqueſts, but not in his vnſpeakable vertues, was ouercome in battel by *Paulus Emilius*, chiefe captain of the Romans, & was led towards him. *Emilius*, as ſoon as he ſaw him, aroſe from his ſeate, and went forward to receiue and honor him, as being a great perſonage, and fallen into that miſhap by the hazard of fortune. But *Perſes*, being wholie beaten downe through faintnes and baſenes of mind, caſt himſelfe at his feete vpon the ground with his face downeward, vſing ſuch abiect requeſts and ſupplications, and ſo vnbeſeeming the vertue of a king, that the Conqueror could not abide them, but ſaid thus vnto him: Alas poore ignorant man as thou art, how doſt thou by diſcharging fortune accuſe thy ſelfe in this ſort to be the onely cauſe of this ill ſucceſſe that is befallen thee, ſeeing thou neuer deſeruedſt that honor, which thou haſt had here-

Cleander a traitor to Commodus his Lord.

The baſe mind of Perſes being ouercome of Emilius.

heeretofore, bicauſe of thy baſe mind within thee, which hath made thee an vnworthy aduerſary of the Romans? And truly a man cannot iuſtly be called through the benefit of fortune, but by knowing how to vſe hir well and wiſely both in proſperitie & aduerſitie. As for an ignorant & baſeminded man, the higher that fortune lifteth him vp in great eſtate where he ſhal be viewed of many, ſo much the more ſhee diſcouereth, deſcrieth & diſhonoreth him. For great calling, & riches are no more able to lift vp the hart of a baſe minded fellow, than pouerty can abate and leſſen the great courage of a noble hart. I could here alleadge many mo examples of the pernicious effects that are (as we haue ſaid) wrought in the ſoule by ignorãce, but hereafter they will come in more fitly, when we ſhall diſcourſe particulerly of vices. Onely I ſay here with *Plato*, that arrogant ignorance hath now more than euer ſeazed vpon the minds of men, & filled them with euils, as being the roote and ſpring of them: that it peruerteth al things, & cauſeth him that poſſeſſeth hir to taſte in the ende of a moſt bitter fruite. Nowe to come to malice and crafte, which is the exceſſe of prudence, it is that which leadeth a man through wilfull ignorance, to oppoſe himſelfe againſt that which he knoweth to be dutifull and honeſt, cauſing him vnder the counterfaite name of prudence to ſeeke to deceiue thoſe that will beleeue him. This vice is the chiefe cauſe of ambition and couetouſnes, which moſt men ſerue in theſe daies: but aboue all things it is an enimie to iuſtice, cauſing all their actions to tende to the ouerthrow thereof. To this purpoſe *Cicero* ſaith, that the craftier and ſubtiler a man is, the more he is to be ſuſpected and hated, as one that hath loſt al credite of goodnes. All knowledge ſeuered from iuſtice ought rather to be called craft and malice than ſcience and prudence. Neither is the onely act of malice (as the ſame author ſaith) euill & wicked, but alſo the deliberation therof although it take no effect, yea the onely thought thereof is vile and deteſtable: ſo far is it, that any couering or cloake can excuſe a fault committed of malice. Alſo he ſaith, that in deliberating,

What malice and craft are.

liberating, all hope of concealing and hiding the fact must be taken away, forasmuch as vertuous men ought to seeke after honest, not secret things. Moreouer it is the propertie of a malicious man to choose hypocrisie and dissimulation for his companions. Besides he hath for his first author and father, Sathan, who by his subtiltie and craft abused the simplicitie of our first mother to the ouerthrow of all mankind. Amongst many we may note here the example of *Nero* a most cruell emperor, who being instructed from his youth by that wise man *Seneca* his schoolemaster, in the beginning of his empire counterfaited so great bountifulnes and clemencie, that when he was to set his hand to the condemnation of one adiudged to die, he cried out and said, Would to God I had no learning, then should I be excused from subscribing to any mans death. Notwithstanding within a while after he discloſed his detestable impiety and cruelty, by putting to death his mother, his tutor and a great number of honest men against all right and iustice. Moreouer he purposely caused fire to be put into all quarters of Rome, forbidding vnder paine of death that any should quench it, insomuch that more then halfe the citie was cleane consumed. Afterward, to the ende he might haue some colour to persecute the christians, he laid to their charge the kindling of the fire, & so put a great number of them to death. *Tiberius* also in the beginning of his raigne behaued himselfe so wisely, vertuously and gently, that he seemed to be (saith *Suetonius*) a simple and plaine citizen. And yet soone after he became as detestable a tyrant as euer was, for crueltie and filthy pleasures. True it is that one may attribute the cause of such sodaine alteration of humors to the soueraigne authoritie and power of commanding, which commonly hath his propertie to make him that seemed good to become wicked: the humble to be arrogant: the pittifull cruell: the valiant, a coward. But it is alwaies more likely that a prince changing his nature so quickly vseth to counterfeit and to dissemble, and to put a goodly vizard vpon his face, as historiographers

Vertuous men seeke after honest, not secret things.

Satan the father of malice and subtiltie.

The malice of Nero.

Tiberius.

phers write, that *Tiberius* could behaue himſelfe cunningly in that ſort. Now that we may profite by this diſcourſe, let vs learne to be prudent and ſimple as the ſcripture ſpeaketh, eſchuing all ſhameles and damnable malice and deceit, al want of prudence and ignorance, which procure the loſſe of ſoule and bodie, whereof a man may accuſe none but himſelfe. For ignorance (ſaith *Menander*) is a voluntarie miſcheefe. And although the knowledge of good & euill is moſt neceſſarie of all others, yet is it moſt eaſie. For the obtaining whereof, and auoiding (through the grace of God) of that condemnation, which is to fall vpon the blinde, and vpon the guides of the blinde, let vs neuer be aſhamed to confeſſe our ignorance in thoſe things whereof we want inſtruction: following therein that precept of *Plato*, *That we muſt not be aſhamed to learne*, leaſt happily we be hit in the teeth to our confuſion with that ſaying of *Diogenes* to a yoong man whom he eſpied in a tauerne, who being aſhamed to be ſeene there, ſpeedilie fledde further into the ſame. The more thou runneſt in (quoth this wiſe man to him) the further thou art in the tauerne. Euen ſo we ſhall neuer cure our ignorance by denying or hiding it, but the wiſer we ſeeke to be accounted, the more ignorant we ſhall remaine: not vnlike to poore men, who being deſirous to ſeeme rich, in the ende finde themſelues poorer than before, by reaſon of their vaine and fooliſh expenſes. But the ignorant man that ſearcheth for wiſedome and inquireth after hir, ſhall be in ſome ſort eſteemed wiſe, and that inquirie ought to be taken for an argument of his wit and prudence: as contrariwiſe he that taketh himſelfe for a wiſeman and preſumeth too much of his skill, falleth often into ſhame and diſhonor, being reproued of many. Therefore let vs daily accuſe our ſelues of too much ignorance, knowing that euen the ſharpeſt ſighted do ſee but through a cloud and miſt, I meane the inſtruments of our bodie, from which we ſhall not be deliuered vntill we haue put of this mortall to be clothed with that which is immortall in the enioying of the bleſſed life. So that it will be alwaies neceſſarie

Math. 10. 16.

We muſt not denie or hide our ignorance.

neceſſarie for vs during this life, to learne and to profite in the knowledge of the truth, which is an enimie to ignorance.

Of ſpeech and ſpeaking. Chap. 12.

AMANA. HAuing ſpent all this day in diſcourſing of Prudence, and of thoſe vices that are contrarie vnto it, I thinke that to finiſh this daies worke, we ſhall do well to take in hand againe, and to follow that which was too briefely handled cõcerning the commendable effects of this vertue of prudence in the ſoule of a wiſe man. This appeareth no leſſe in ſpeech than in any other action thereof, foraſmuch as of the abundance of the hart the mouth ſpeaketh. But it is a great vertue to ſpeake little and well. The diſcourſe of this matter I leaue to you my companions.

ARAM. Surely the ſpeech of man is a diuine worke, and of great admiration. And therefore we ought to account it ſacriledge to pollute and defile ſo holie a thing with filthy and vile talke. A good man alwaies draweth good things out of the treaſure of his hart, and a wicked man euill things. Therefore I greatly commend that ſaying of *Plutark*, *that ſpeach is as it were the nouriſhment of the ſoule, which is corrupted, and becommeth odious through the wickednes of men.*

Math. 12. 35.

ACHITOB. He that hath knowledge (ſaith the wiſe man) ſpareth his words: euen a foole, when he holdeth his peace is counted wiſe, and he that ſtoppeth his lips, prudent. If any man long after life, and to ſee good daies, let him refraine his toong from euill, and his lips that they ſpeake no guile. For euery one ſhall eate of the fruite of his mouth to ſaluation, or to condemnation. But we will heare *Aſer* diſcourſing more at large vpon this matter.

Pro. 17. 27. 28.

1. Pet. 3. 10.

ASER. In the writings of the learned we finde mention made of a double ſpeech or reaſon: the one internall,

nall, or of the minde, called the diuine guide: the other vttered in ſpeech, which is the meſſenger of the conceits and thoughts of man. The ende of the firſt is friendſhip towards a mans ſelfe. For reſpecting onely the marke of vertue, through the inſtructions of philoſophie, it maketh a man to agree alwaies with himſelfe, it cauſeth him to complaine neuer, to repent him of nothing, it maketh him full of peace, full of loue and of contentation in his owne vertue, it healeth him of euery rebellious paſſion that diſobeieth reaſon, of all contention betweene will and will, and of the contrarietie of diſcourſes. O rare excellencie, which floweth from wiſedome into the ſoules of bleſſed men! The ende of the other reaſon or vttered ſpeech, is friendſhip towards others, which cauſeth vs to ſpeake and teach whatſoeuer is fruitefull and profitable for euerie one, and carieth with it great force to perſwade. Of this ſpeech we purpoſe here to intreat, as of that which occupieth no ſmall place, but euen verie great amongſt the ſecrets of nature, and which ought to rauiſh vs into an admiration of his works who is author thereof. The philoſophers, diligent ſearchers out of the reaſon of all things, ſaie that ſpeech is made by the aire beaten and framed with articulate and diſtinct ſounde. But howſoeuer it is framed, the reaſon thereof is hard to be comprehended of humane ſence. And we ought to be ſo much the more deſirous to know for what cauſe it was giuen vs, and to feare leaſt we make it vnprofitable, or wickedly imploy ſo great, woonderfull and diuine a thing. *Democritus* ſaide that words were the ſhadowe of works. *Themiſtocles* compared ſpeech to a rich cloth of tapiſtrie, figured & ſet foorth with ſtories, bicauſe that both in the one and the other thoſe things that are faſhioned and repreſented are then ſeene when they are opened and diſplaied, and are not ſubiect to ſight, neither bring any delight or contentation, when they are folded vp and hidden. When a wiſe man openeth his lips (ſaith *Socrates*) we beholde as it were in a temple, the goodly ſimilitudes & images of the ſoule. Vertue (ſaith *Plutarke*) hath no inſtrument

A double ſpeech or reaſon.

How ſpeech is framed.

Words are the ſhadow of works.

ſtrument ſo gratious or familiar as ſpeech, which being followed of works, is of great efficacie and force, and woonderfully pricketh forward thoſe that heare vs, cauſing them to giue credite to our ſayings, and working in them a deſire to reſemble vs. And *AEſchines* ſaide verie well, that it is not ſo neceſſarie, that the Orator and the Law ſhould agree in one and the ſame thing, as it is requiſite, that the life of a philoſopher ſhould be conformable and agreeable with this doctrine and ſpeech. Moreouer a wiſe man ought to take euery word he ſpeaketh for a voluntarie and particuler lawe, laide vpon himſelfe, ſeeing that philoſophie is a profeſſion of ſerious, graue & waighty matters, & not a play or prittle prattle, vnconſtanly vttered to obtaine honor onely. Whereby we ſee that all talke ought to haue reaſon for a foundation, and the loue of our neighbor for a marke to aime at. This is that which *Agapetus* would teach vs, when he ſaith, *That the toong is a ſlipperie inſtrument, and bringeth great danger to thoſe that neglect it:* but if we direct it with a religious vnderſtanding, it wil ſing vs a ſong tuned with al the concords of a true harmony of vertue. *Plutark* ſaith that ſpeech ought to be like gold, which is then of greateſt price and value, when it hath leaſt droſſe in it: ſo a fewe words ought to comprehende great ſtore of ſubſtantiall matter and inſtruction. Such was the ſpeech of the ancient Græcians, as the ſentences vttered by them do teſtifie: namely, *Know thy ſelfe*, *Nothing too much*, *Nothing more than enough*, and other ſhort ſpeeches full of great and profitable doctrine. Wherupon this prouerbe aroſe, *Laconical ſayings*, that is, ſhort and ſententious, which reſemble ſtreams running through a narrow ſtraight, where the water is ſo preſſed togither, that one cannot ſee through it. And ſo truely it was verie hard without skil and great labor to comprehende the deapth of the ſence & vnderſtanding of their words, which were full of ſententious grauitie. And when they were to anſwere any thing propounded on a ſodaine, auoiding all ſuperfluous ſpeech, their anſwers were verie witty and wel contriued, their words very ſignificant and ſhort, hauing

The foundation and ſcope of all ſpeech.

Of Laconicall ſpeech.

in

in them both grace and grauitie ioined together. As when *Philip* king of Macedonia wrote vnto them, that if he entred within Laconia, he would ouerthrowe them topsy turuy: they wrote backe vnto him onely this word, *If*. And another time, as *Demetrius* one of his succeſſors, being angry with the ambaſſadour which they ſent vnto him, asked if he came alone from the Lacedemonians to him, the ambaſſadour made this onely anſwere, *One to one*. *Pittacus* vſed to ſay, that a dry and thirſtie eare muſt be waſhed with a ſentence that is good to drinke, & that ſpeech grounded vpon reaſon onely, is able to content and ſatiſfie the hearing. Notwithſtanding that we may the rather and the more profite others, we are not to neglect, if it may be, the ioining of graue doctrine with ſweet gratious and eloquent ſpeech, mingled with ſome pleaſure, grace, and delight, but voide of all diſſolutenes. For (as *Euripides* ſaith) that is the goodlieſt aſſembly in the world, where the graces and muſes meete togither. Right and reaſon are inuincible, being well vttred; bicauſe the ſoule is therby induced eaſily to beleeue the good reaſons ſhe heareth, through the delight that is ioined with them. Examples alſo being vttred fitly, and with a good grace, profit no leſſe than the other, bicauſe with the force of perſwading, which is in the nature of the example, there is ioined the vertue of delighting. But we muſt carefully auoide all ſubtiltie of ſpeech, all proude, ſuperfluous and vnprofitable talke, leaſt that be iuſtly obiected vnto vs, which *Phocion* replied to *Leoſthenes*, who laboured to perſwade the Athenians to warre by an eloquent and verie loftie oration. Thy words (quoth he to him) yoong man and my friend, may fitly be compared to *Cypres* trees. For they are great and tall, but beare no fruite woorth any thing. Or elſe that may be obiected vnto vs, which *Ariſtotle* anſwered to a great pleader of cauſes, who at euerie ſentence he rehearſed, asked him if that were not a ſtrange thing. Not that, (replied he) but this is a greater marualle, that any man hauing two legs can abide thy babling. And to another, who after a long diſcourſe ſaid vn-

A pretie ſaying of Pittacus.

Of graue and eloquent ſpeech

Againſt prating pleaders.

to him, I haue troubled thy head philoſopher: not a whit (anſwered he) for I thought not vpon it. Such bablers, whom *Plato* verie aptly calleth theeues of time, are cõpared by *Plutark* to emptie veſſels, which giue a greater ſound than they that are ful. So he that is poore in reſpect of the goods of the ſoule, hath alwaies ſome fond ſpeech in his mouth. But we muſt aboue all things ſhunne this vice of intemperancie of the toong, which *Bias* called the beſt and woorſt thing that was. It ſerueth vs to profit and inſtruct others, and by the ſame alſo we hurt and corrupt others. And as a little fire conſumeth a great wood, ſo this little member, which is a fire, yea a world of iniquitie, defileth all the bodie, and ſetteth on a flaming fire the whole world, if it be not extinguiſhed and repreſſed. It ſeemeth that nature would teach vs this by fortifiing the toong better than any other part of the body, and by ſetting before it the bulworke of the teeth, that if it wil not obey reaſon, which being within ought to ſerue in ſteade of a bridle to ſtay it from preuenting the thought, we might reſtraine and chaſtice the impudencie thereof with blouddy biting. And becauſe we haue two eares and two eies, it ought to ſerue vs for inſtruction, that we muſt heare and ſee much more than we ſpeake. Do we not alſo ſee, that ſight and hearing go before ſpeaking, and that of neceſſitie, an infant muſt firſt vnderſtand before he can be able to ſpeake? *Iſocrates* appointed onely two times to ſpeake in: the one, when the matter is neceſſarie: and the other, when a man ſpeaketh that which he knoweth. And this we may put in practice without blame in this maner. As touching the firſt point, it is lawfull and ſeemly for vs to ſpeake when we ſtand in need of any thing: ſecondly when our ſpeech ſhall profit any: alſo to delight and recreate one another with pleaſant deuices, void of diſſolutenes, to mollifie and to eaſe the trauell of our affaires, or elſe to reliſh our reſt the better, and to induce vs thereby to giue glorie to God. All ſpeech not grounded vpon one of theſe three cauſes were better reſtrained than vttred. Moreouer we ought to obſerue inuiolably the

The toong is the beſt and woorſt thing that is.

Iſocrates appointed two times of ſpeaking.

ſecond

ſecond point of not ſpeaking that which we know not, except it be in ſeeking and asking after inſtruction: remembring that which *Apelles* once ſpake to *Megabyſes* a great Perſian Lord, who comming into his ſhop to ſee him, intermingled ſome talke of the art of painting. So long (quoth *Apelles* to him) as thou wert ſilent, thou ſeemedſt to be ſome man of great account, by reaſon of thy chains, carquenets of gold and purple gowne: but now there is not the leaſt of theſe boyes that grinde oker, who doth not mocke thee, hearing thee ſpeak that which thou knoweſt not. By which ſaying we may note, that great men ought to weigh well, and to conſider of that which they ſpeake in publike places, and to vſe graue and ſententious words of another phraſe than that of the vulgar ſort, or elſe to hold their peace if they haue not this gift of ſpeaking. Or at the leaſt they are to ſpeake but little, ſeeing the verie words, geſture and countenance of a prince, are oftentimes taken for lawes, oracles, and decrees. *Tiberius* alſo brought vp this cuſtome of ſpeaking to the prince by writing, and of his anſwere by the ſame, to the ende that nothing ſhould eſcape his mouth that was not well conſidered of before. But to continue our matter, as the aboue named painter had ſet foorth a table of his owne for all men to behold, and had hid himſelfe behinde it, that he might heare what could be reprehended, a ſhooemaker eſpied a fault in the faſhion of the latchet, which *Apelles* afterward corrected. And hauing the next morning hung it out again to be viewed, this ſhooemaker paſſing by, and ſeeing that his opinion was followed, entred further to ſpeake againſt other lineaments. But the painter not able to beare his boldnes came from behinde his table and ſtopped his mouth with this ſaying, *That a ſhoomaker ought not to iudge of greater matters than of the ſhoo.* This is the meaning of that common prouerbe, to go about to teach *Minerua*: which is ſo intollerable a thing in men of honor, and ſo pernitious in the ſimpler ſort that are light of beliefe, that for this cauſe *Alexander* the great gaue money to *Cherillus* an ignorant poet to holde his peace and to leaue

Apelles ſpeech to a Perſian lord

How great men ought to ſpeake.

Apelles ſpeech to a ſhoomaker.

Alexander gaue money to a poet to hold his peace.

leaue writing. And seeing we are entred into this matter, we must know that we ought to be much more staied and aduised in writing any thing, than in bare speaking: bicause a rash and inconsiderate worde may be corrected presently, but that which is once set down in writing can no more be denied, or amended but with infamy. As therfore a man had need of a readie and quicke wit to be able to speake wel: so great wisedom is very necessarie to write well: yea the same rules and precepts that belong to speaking, agree also to writing. Besides, writing is called of many, a dumb speech, which ought to be short and full of instruction. *Cæsar* in a letter which he sent to Rome fró the Persian battaile wrote but these three words, *Veni, vidi, vici*, that is to saie, *I came, sawe, and ouercame*. *Octauian* writing to his nephew *Caius Drusius*, said thus: For asmuch as thou art nowe in Illyria remember that thou descendest of *Cæsars*, that the Senate hath sent thee, that thou art yoong, my nephewe and a citizen of Rome. *Plato* writing to *Dionysius* the yoonger, vsed these words onely: To kill thy brother, to double thy tributes, to force the people, to forget thy friends, to take good men for thine enimies, are the works of a tyrant. *Pompey* writing to the Senate from the east parts, saide thus: Fathers of the Senate, Damascus is taken, Pentapolis subdued, Syria, Ascalonia and Arabia are confederates, and Palestina is vanquished. We see then the maner of writing vsed by the ancients, for which breuitie they were as much esteemed, as the great discoursers of these tiems after iust occasion of correction. But to returne againe into the pathway of speaking, we haue in *Cicero* a notable instruction for this matter. Let our speech (saith he) be sweet and pleasant, not headstrong: and when we discourse, let vs not be so long that we hinder others from speaking. For speech of all other things ought to be mutuall and equall. Moreouer we must haue respect to that thing whereof we speake. If a man discourse of graue matters he must adde a certaine seueritie, but if he speake of delectable things, a pleasant and gratious behauior. Aboue all

Nothing ought to be written without great deliberation.

Notable and pithy letters of ancient men.

A good precept for speaking.

all things we muſt take heede, that our ſpeech diſcouer not ſome vice to be in our manners, which commonly falleth out when we ſpeake euill of a man in his abſence, either to mooue laughter or to his ſhame and reproch. We muſt alſo remember, if our ſpeech vpon ſome occaſion comming betweene intermit the firſt diſcourſe, that it returne againe in conuenient time. But that is as thinges fall out. For all take not pleaſure in the ſame things, nor at all times. And as we haue begun vpon ſome occaſion, ſo we muſt end by ſome meanes. Now bicauſe in euery action of our life, the perturbations of the ſoule are to be eſchewed, we muſt be carefull that our ſpeech be voide thereof: namely, that it be without choler, without extreame affections, alſo without careleſnes, and other ſuch like imperfection. Eſpecially we muſt ſtriue to make it knowne, that we loue & reuerence thoſe with whom we ſpeake. Further we muſt know that ſilence in due time and place, is profound wiſedome, a ſober and modeſt thing, and full of deepe ſecrets. This cauſed *Archidamus*, when he ſaw that *Hecatus* the orator was blamed for not ſpeaking one worde at a banquet, to anſwere for him, that they which knowe how to ſpeake well, know alſo the time of ſilence. *Hyperides* likewiſe being at a feaſt amongſt a great aſſemblie, verie full of noiſe & pleaſure, and being asked why he ſpake nothing, anſwered thus: It is no time now to diſcourſe of thoſe things for which I am fit: and as for thoſe things, which the time nowe requireth, I am vnfit. *Bias* being mocked of a babler bicauſe he ſpake nothing all a ſupper while, anſwered him thus: How is it poſſible that a foole ſhould holde his peace at the table? The ambaſſadours of the king of Perſia being at a feaſt with a citizen of Athens, and ſeeing Zeno the great philoſopher ſay nothing, they began to flatter him, and to drinke to him, ſaying, what ſhall we tell the king our maſter concerning you, maſter Zeno? Nothing elſe (quoth he) but that you ſaw an olde man, who knew wel how to holde his peace at the table. And truly no ſpeech vttred did euer ſo much good, as many kept in haue pro-

The praiſe of ſilence.

Hyperides.

fited: and that which is reſtrained may be ſpoken at any time, but a worde giuen out can no more be called backe againe. For words (as the poet ſaith) haue wings, and are preſently diſperſed euery where: and manie repent that they haue ſpoken, but neuer that they held their peace. How many examples do hiſtories ſet before our eies of men, who through the intemperancie of their toongs, haue throwne themſelues headlong into infinite calamities, & of mightie cities and great eſtates deſtroied and ouerthrowne through the diſcloſing of ſome ſecret? The citie of Athens was taken and deſtroied by *Sylla* the Romane dictatour, who by his ſpies was admoniſhed of the pratling of certaine old men in a barbars ſhop, where they talked of a certaine place of the town that was weakeſt, and woorſt defended. The ouermuch talke of one only man was the cauſe that Rome was not deliuered from the tiranny of *Nero*. For ſeeing one of the priſoners that was taken by the tirant to be diſmaid bicauſe he ſhuld be put to death, he willed him to pray to God, that he might eſcape but vntil the morrow onely, & then he ſhould haue cauſe of reioicing. Wherupon the priſoner thinking with himſelfe, that it were better for him to chuſe a certaintie than to expect an vncertainty, and to prefer a ſafe way to ſaue his life, before a iuſt, diſcloſed this ſpeech to *Nero*, who knew wel how to remedy the conſpiracy. The gentleman of Normandy who in his confeſſion told a Franciſcan frier, that he was once minded to haue killed king *Frances* the firſt, may wel be placed amongſt theſe ouermuch ſpeakers. For the king being aduertiſed hereof by the Franciſcan frier, ſent the poore penitentiarie to the court of parliament, where he receiued ſentence of death. Thoſe that are nobly & roially brought vp (ſaith *Plutark*) learne firſt to hold their peace, & then to ſpeake. Therfore *Antigonus* the great being demanded by his ſon, at what houre the campe ſhould diſlodge: art thou afraid (quoth he to him) that thou alone ſhalt not heare the trumpet? He truſted not him with a ſecret matter, to whom the ſucceſſion of the empire was to come: teaching him thereby

Examples of miſchiefes cauſed by the intemperancie of the toong.

Of concealing a ſecret.

to

to be more close and secret in such matters. Euerie particuler man likewise ought to be no lesse aduised in vsing great discretion when the questiō is of vttring any thing, which a man would haue concealed. For he (saith *Plato*) to whom one discloseth a secret getteth the others libertie. Now in this laudable silence which we commend here, we haue this to marke wel, that when the question is of speaking a truth, or of profiting another, we ought not to doubt in any case, what pretence soeuer there be, to speak vtter, maintaine & freely to giue counsaile in that thing, which concerneth the dutie of a good man, or the charge wherunto we are called. The sages & vertuous men heretofore haue alwaies shewed themselues to be such in their free counsailes & wise declarations, as hereafter we may handle more largly. In the meane time we may haue here *Demaratus* for an example of this commendable libertie of speech, who comming from Corinth into Macedonia, when *Phillip* was at variance with his wife & with his son, was demanded by the king whether the Græcians did agree wel among themselues. Truly sir (quoth he to him) it becommeth you wel to inquire after the concord of the Athenians & Peloponesians, & in the meane while to suffer your owne house to be ful of diuision and domesticall discord. *Diogenes* also being gon to the camp of the same *Phillip*, at the same time that he returned from making war against the Grecians, & being led before him, the king asked him if he were not a spy. Yes truely answered the philosopher, I am a spy & com hither to espy thy impudency & folly, who not constrained by any, dost set downe as it were on a dicing boord in the hazard of one houre, both thy kingdome & life. *Demosthenes* being demanded of the tirant *Epemetes* why he wept so bitterly for the death of a philosopher, a cōpanion of his, seeing it was a strang matter to see wisemē weepe, yea altogither vnbeseeming their profession: know (said he to him) that I weepe not for the death of this philosopher, but bicause thou art aliue. For I tel thee that in the Academies we are more sorrowfull for the life of the wicked, than for the death of good men. Let

Examples of the commendable freedome of speech.

vs learne then by your preſent diſcourſe, that talke being the meſſenger of thought diſcloſeth our maners a great deal more than the lines & draughts of our face do. And as that tree whoſe root is drie can haue no greene leaues: ſo from a vicious and corrupted ſoule nothing but vile & filthy ſpeeches can proceede, which a wiſe man ought wholy to ſhunne, becauſe to make ſmall account of euill words leadeth a man by litle and little to diſhoneſt deeds. Let all vaine ſpeech alſo be baniſhed from vs, and let vs take great heed, that we neuer ſpeake, either in ſport or earneſt, any one word that is not tru: knowing that to be true in word is the beginning and foundation of a notable vertue. Moreouer let vs know that truth is not onely betraied of thoſe that ſpeake falſely, and maintaine a lie, but alſo of thoſe that dare not confeſſe and defende it publikely. Let vs know that aboue all things we muſt dedicate our voice and ſpeech to ſing the praiſes of God, remembring the ſaying of that holy man *Gordius*, who, as he was led to the place of puniſhment was exhorted by ſome to leaue his opinion, and ſo ſaue his life. To whom he anſwered, that the toong ought to vtter nothing that is iniurious to the Creator thereof. Laſtly let vs know that we muſt refer euery word to the glory of his name, and to the profit of our neighbors.

The conſtancie of Gordius.

The end of the third daies worke.

THE FOVRTH DAIES WORKE.

Of Friendſhip and of a friend. Chap. 13.

ASER. MAn being a reaſonable creature borne for ciuill ſocietie to obſerue lawes and iuſtice, and to exerciſe in the world all duties of gentlenes and goodnes, the faireſt and moſt fruitfull ſeede that God hath infuſed and ſowne in his ſoule, and that draweth

draweth him to this ende, is loue and charitie towards his like. But as euerie action of mans life ſtandeth in need to be guided by the vertue of Prudence, whereof we diſcourſed yeſterday, ſo in truth ſhe is verie neceſſarie in euerie good and vnfained friendſhip. For this cauſe I thinke (companions) that we ſhall obſerue the order of our diſcourſes, if we begin this daies worke with the handling of friendſhip, and of the true and perfect dutie of a friend.

Prudence requiſite in a friend.

AMANA. Nothing that ſeemeth to be profitable, whether it be honor, riches, pleaſure, or whatſoeuer elſe is of this kinde, ought to be preferred in any reſpect before friendſhip. Yea a man is to make more account of friends (as *Socrates* ſaid) then of any other mortall thing.

No outward thing is to be preferred before friendſhip.

ARAM. Perfect friendſhip (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) is to loue our friend more for his benefit than for our owne: and therefore a friend is alwaies profitable and neceſſary. But he is greatly deceiued (ſaith *Homer*) that ſeeketh for a friend in the court, and prooueth him at a feaſt. But let vs heare ACHITOB diſcourſe hereupon.

ACHITOB. Rare things are commonly moſt eſteemed amongſt men, & the more pretious they are of their owne nature, ſo much the more are they had in requeſt. This we may very aptly apply to a friend, ſeeing there is nothing ſo rare as one that is vnfained and ſtedfaſt, neither any thing ſo excellent and perfect as he is, if he be a good and prudent man. And for this cauſe the philoſophers accounted friendſhip to be the chiefeſt and moſt excellent good of fortune, as being leaſt of all ſubiect to hir, and moſt neceſſarie for man. But bicauſe the wickednes of men is ſo great in theſe daies, that nothing is ſo ſacred and holy which is not violated, corrupted & brought to confuſion, no maruell if men impudently abuſe this name of a friend (ſo much reuerenced in olde time) that ſome take it to themſelues being altogither vnworthie thereof, and others as freely, although to their loſſe and ſhame, grant them this excellent title, and eſteeme them for ſuch in truth towards them, as they falſely vaunt themſelues to be. But that we be not deceiued with the greater number,

Nothing more rare or excellent than a friend.

number, which is not alwaies the ſureſt marke, let vs briefly conſider what friendſhip is, what fruits ſpring from hir, who may rightly challenge this title of a friend, what maner of one we ought to chooſe, how we muſt trie him before we take him for ſuch a one, then the meanes whereby to keepe him, and laſtly what mutuall dutie friends are to vſe one towards another. Firſt we ſay with *Socrates*, that true friendſhip cannot be framed but by the helpe and grace of God, who draweth like to the loue of his like: that euerie perfect friendſhip is to bee linked with the bond of charitie, and ought to be referred to God, as to our ſoueraigne good and cheefeſt friend: and therefore that true friendſhip cannot be ſetled betweene the wicked, who being at diſcord within themſelues, can haue no concorde and agreement one with another. Moreouer, there is to be found in friendſhip whatſoeuer men thinke woorthie to be deſired, as honeſtie, glorie, tranquillitie of minde, and pleaſure: and conſequently a happie life, which cannot bee amongſt the wicked. Friendſhip is a communion of a perpetuall will, the end whereof is fellowſhip of life, and it is framed by the perfect habit of a long continued loue. Whereby wee may perceiue, that there is a difference betwixt loue and friendſhip: bicauſe loue is a deſire of the thing loued, and a beginning of friendſhip, but friendſhip is an inueterate and ancient loue, wherein is more pleaſure than deſire. To loue (ſaith *Cicero*) is nothing elſe but to be deſirous to profit and pleaſure another without hope of recompence. For otherwiſe friendſhip would bee a meere merchandiſe, whereas it ought to be as free as charitie. *Socrates* alſo ſaid, that the end of friendſhip was, that of two ſoules one ſhould be made in will and affection, and that none ſhould loue himſelfe better than his friend. For there is a meane to be kept in all things, except in conuerſing with a friend, in regard of whom this ought to be reſolued vpon, that he is either wholie to be forſaken, or wholie to be truſted. What ſhall I hide from my friend (ſaith *Homer*) or what letteth

The principall cauſe and end of all true friendſhip.

What friendſhip is.

The difference betwixt friendſhip and loue.

letteth why I may not thinke my ſelfe alone when I am with him? Whereby it appeereth vnto vs, that a friend is a ſecond ſelfe, and that whoſoeuer would take vpon him this title in regard of another, he muſt transforme himſelfe into his nature whom he purpoſeth to loue, and that with a ſtedfaſt and ſetled mind to continue ſo for euer. Heereupon one of the ancients ſpeaking of him that loueth perfectly, ſaith, that he liueth in another mans bodie. Friends therefore ought of neceſſitie to haue a coniunction and conformitie of maners, of deſires, of paſſions, of ſpeech, of ſtudies, of pleaſures, of inclinations, of intermiſſions, if they mind to profeſſe perfect friendſhip. Whereby we may eaſily gheſſe, that he which entertaineth many friends, depriueth himſelfe of the name of a true and ſtedfaſt friend, bicauſe it is altogither vnpoſſible for a man to faſhion himſelfe to all patterns, and to apply himſelfe to all natures, ſo diuers in euery one: eſpecially conſidering that he ſhall very hardly find himſelfe like affected in all things to one alone. Now after we haue found ſuch a diſpoſition and conformitie in him that offereth himſelfe to bee our friend, wee muſt enter further into the knowledge of him, by ſounding out the depth of his hart, that wee may be certaine and ſure of his good diſpoſition. For to ſee outwardly a reſemblance of our maners and conditions in another, is not ſufficient to prooue them ſuch in deede without diſſimulation, vnleſſe they bee grounded vpon a good and vertuous nature, which is ſimple, vpright, and vnfained. For otherwiſe we ſee that many (like to *Proteus* taking diuers ſhapes) are ſo ſubtill, that when they would currie fauour with any man to deceiue him, they diſguiſe themſelues, and for a while applie themſelues to all his humors. This is practiſed chiefly by flatterers towards great men, who will counterfait rather than they will not imitate the naturall vice of the prince: ſo that as ſoone as euer they ſee him laugh, they betake themſelues to laughing, albeit they know not wherfore. And namely wee reade that *Alexander* the great, and

What things are requiſite in friendſhip.

The common practiſe of flatterers.

and *Alphonſus* king of Arragon, hauing ech of them ſomewhat a wry necke, this by nature, the other through cuſtome, the flatterers and courtiers held their necks on the one ſide, to counterfeit their imperfection. To the ende therefore that the ſugred poiſon of ſuch fained friends deceiue vs not, we muſt make choiſe of an honeſt, prudent & wiſe man for our friend, whoſe fidelitie (as *Cicero* ſaith) integritie, conſtancie and liberalitie are approoued of euerie one, and whom we ſhall perceiue to be led and poſſeſſed with the ſame zeale to vertue that our ſelues are, to the ende we may be aided and furthered by them in all good and laudable actions. For (as *Plato* ſaith) friendſhip is giuen by nature for a helpe to vertue, not for a companion of vices. To this effect *Pythagoras* ſaith, that it is not good to ioyne hands with euery one. *Dicearchus* alſo would giue vs to vnderſtand the ſame when he ſaith, that we muſt make all men our well willers if it be poſſible, but onely good men our friends, who are not obtained but after a long time, and that by vertue. And as when we paſſe by a bramble or a burre that taketh hold of vs, we caſt it farre from vs, but contrariwiſe ſeeke for the oliue and the grape: ſo we ought to ſeeke after their friendſhip, that deſerue it, whoſe minds haue ſufficient matter in them to cauſe them to be loued, but to forſake, yea to refie & ſuch as are vnwoorthy, and vicious, ſenſuall and diſordred, although they fawne vpon vs: bicauſe their conuerſation marreth and corrupteth euery good nature. Therefore *Bias* ſaid verie well, that a wiſeman receiueth not euerie one vnto his friendſhip. Hauing thus choſen him whom we deſire to entertaine for our friend, & laid the chiefe foundations of friendſhip vpon his agreement of manners with vs, and vpon his good diſpoſition (which we may know by familiar conuerſation with him, and by diligent inquirie) before wee can aſſure our ſelues or boaſt that we haue a true friend, we muſt prooue his ſtedfaſtnes and conſtancie, and not truſt to offers and promiſes, whereof men are verie prodigall now a daies. But this is cleane contrarie to the dutie of a true friend, whoſe

What maner of man we muſt chooſe for our friend.

whoſe propertie is to be ſparing in ſpeech, and prodigall in deedes, bicauſe great proffers are meete to be vſed towards ſtrangers, and good deeds towards true friends. Now to proue a friend, we muſt not ſtay vntill need and neceſſitie vrge vs, leaſt ſuch triall be not onely vnprofitable and without fruit, but alſo very hurtfull and dangerous vnto vs, bicauſe at ſuch a time as neceſſarily requireth friends, we make trial of him, who in truth is no ſuch man. But we are rather to gouerne our ſelues with prudence and foreſight, as we vſe to do in the receipt of gold and ſiluer. For before we haue need to imploy it, we conſider whether it be currant, that we may be ſure it will ſerue the turne when neceſſitie requireth. To this purpoſe *Theophraſtus* ſaid, that we ought to prooue ſtrangers to loue them, and not loue them to prooue them. Therefore albeit the true and right triall of a friend is in aduerſitie, as of fine gold in a fornace, yet that is to be vnderſtood of him, who is ſuch a one indeede. For if we ſhould expect the firſt triall vpon our ſelues in time of certaine danger, thereby to be aſſured and out of doubt, if then he ſhould faile vs it would bring vs in great perill: ſo that we were better to trie him when we ſtand not in need, requeſting him notwithſtanding, as if we were vrged, and ſtood in need of his helpe and aſſiſtance in a matter of importance. If then he go forward with a ſound zeale and readie affection, we are aſſured of him againſt another time. But if he ſtagger, and do it coldly, or turne away his face & refuſe it, beſides that we haue no hurt or hinderance, we ſhall alſo gaine much by withdrawing ſuch a friend gently, and by little & little from our table, and from our proſperitie: alwaies wiſely obſeruing that this friendſhip be ſimplie forſaken, and no enmitie vndertaken. For it is not good or ſeemly to quarrell with him, with whom we haue liued familiarly. Moreouer, we muſt note heere, that triall is to be made in an honeſt, not in a wicked matter. For we muſt not do, as we read that *Alcibiades* did, who, being deſirous to knowe whether he had ſo many friends as he thought he had, called them vpon a day one after another into a darke place, and

How we muſt prooue a friend.

How we muſt ſhake off a falſe friend.

How Alcibiades tried his friends.

and ſhewed vnto them an image of a dead bodie, ſaying, that it was a man whom he had killed, and requeſting them to helpe to carie it away. But amongſt them all he found none except *Callias* that would harken thereunto. This kind of prooving a friend maketh vs vnworthie of ſuch a name, and occaſioneth euery good man to withdraw himſelfe from our friendſhip. If we do all things (ſaith *Cicero*) both good and bad for our friends, ſuch friendſhip may more truly be called a conſpiracie of euill men, than a confederacie of good men. But, as we haue ſaid, we muſt gaine another mans friendſhip by vertue, and not by vice, as alſo trie a friend in iuſt and reaſonable cauſes: as if we be oppreſſed vniuſtly, if affliction and aduerſitie follow hard at our heeles, if need or any other humane accident betide vs, into which the beſt men commonly fall. After we are ſure that we haue a friend (which truly is very great riches) there is nothing that we ought to deſire more than to preſerue and keepe him. And firſt the mutuall opinion, which ought to be in euerie friend of the vertue of his companion ſerueth very much for this matter. For as *Cicero* ſaith, The opinion of vertue is the fountaine of friendſhip, and it is proper to vertue to win mens harts, to draw them vnto it ſelfe, and to preſerue their friendſhip. Next, the coniunction of maners and wils keepeth backe all riot and contentions, when as the will and mind of the one ſhall no ſooner be declared, but the other preſently putteth to his helping hand to bring it to paſſe. Thirdly, we are to obſerue this firſt law of friendſhip inuiolably, not to require our friend to do any thing that is not iuſt, or not in his power to performe, but to content our ſelues with the vſe and ſeruice of that which he hath, without further ſeeking his hinderance, after the example of the induſtrious and painfull bee, which draweth honie out of flowers, and hurteth not the fruit. Aboue all things we muſt hold this for a generall rule, which we haue alreadie touched, that true and perfect friendſhip ought to be free, as charitie is, from whence ſhe hath hir beginning: I meane, that it ought to exerciſe it ſelfe not for hire or recompence,

The meanes to keepe a friend.

Friendſhip muſt be free.

compence, but onely for his loue, who is beloued of vs. For the one is proper to a friend, the other ſauoreth of a hireling. True it is that friends in theſe daies are like to crowes, which fly not but towards thoſe places where there is ſome thing to feed vpon: euen ſo they commonly viſit not mens houſes except it be for profit, neither reuerence a friend longer than they ſee him in proſperitie, or may reape ſome commoditie by him. But we muſt ſhun ſuch paraſites, who are but ſaluting and table friends. Moreouer, we muſt reioice and delight in the companie and conuerſation of our friend, as in that wherein the ſweeteſt and moſt pleaſant fruit of friendſhip conſiſteth. And for want of this benefit, friends muſt often communicate togither by letters, thereby to ſhew that they liue in remembrance one of another. For by the letter of a true friend the ſpirit is refreſhed, the eies delighted, friendſhip confirmed, and the mind contented. Beſides we muſt haue our vertues, ſpirits, proſperitie, yea acquaintance, and all common togither, and nothing ſecret or hidden. Laſtly we muſt yeeld to our friend all duties and ſeruices of ſincere friendſhip, and that in all honeſt and profitable things according to right & iuſtice, which are the bounds and limits of an holie loue, deſiring the like of him towards vs. Aboue all things his affliction or aduerſitie, and all iniurie offered him, ought to be common to vs with him, wherein we are to aſſiſt and helpe him with all ſuccor and ſweet conſolation, which is as ſouereigne and fit a remedie as can be applied vnto him, eſpecially when good doctrine is ioined with our ſpeech. Heerof *Phalereus* confeſſed very well that he had good experience when he was baniſhed from his kingdome, ſaying that his meeting with *Crates* the wiſe man had taken from him all care and thought of his miſerie. And if friendſhip can greatly diminiſh the greefe that commeth by aduerſitie, no doubt but it can adde as much grace and pleaſure to proſperitie. We may effect all dutie whatſoeuer we owe to our friend, by ſuccouring him with fower things: namely, with our perſon, with our goods, with comfort, and with counſell.

Phalereus.

How many waies we owe dutie to our friend.

Which

Which we may alſo comprehend vnder theſe two duties, of releeuing the neceſſitie of our friend, and of comforting him in his tribulation. Now bicauſe, what perfection ſoeuer is in our friend, as likewiſe in our ſelues, it cannot be but there will be alwaies ſome imperfection mingled therewith (mens doings being neuer without ſome euill) we muſt not preſume to be able to build ſuch a perfect friendſhip as ſhall be void and free of all vice. And therefore we muſt gently ſupport and beare with all wants and diſcommodities of our friend, and oftentimes frame our ſelues to many paſſions, ſo they be not directly contrarie to vertue, but ſuch as proceed from the imbecillitie and frailtie of nature common with vs. Neuertheles againſt ſuch imperfections we muſt in time conuenient and to purpoſe, vſe free and gentle admonitions, which are ſo neceſſarie in friendſhip, and worthie of ſuch conſideration, that in my opinion we ſhall do well to make a ſeuerall diſcourſe thereof. Now if it come ſo to paſſe, that ſome diſpleaſure or iar happen betweene vs, then is the time wherin we ought moſt of all to ſtudie and labour how we may do ſome profitable or honorable thing to our friend: and not harken to ſlanderous toongs, which watch for ſome ſmall and light occaſion to powre out the poiſon of diſcord, thereby to rent and breake a ſunder our good and ſure friendſhip. To ſuch paraſites, and ſcrap-gatherers at free-coſt feaſts, who ſeeke for nothing but their own gain by the diſagreement of others, we muſt neuer giue eare, but driue them as far from vs, as they thinke to come neer vs. And to the end we may be the better affected and diſpoſed heerunto, we muſt often call to remembrance, what benefit and happines commeth to ſuch men as are linked togither by true and vnfained friendſhip: as namely, in thoſe affaires at which we cannot be preſent our ſelues, the fidelitie of a friend ſupplieth our place. From whence we will draw this concluſion, that he which violateth friendſhip, ſetteth himſelfe againſt the common ſuccour and aide of all men, and as much as in him lieth, ouerthroweth humane ſocietie. For we cannot do all things

How we muſt beare with the imperfections of our friend.

our

our ſelues, and therefore friendſhips are ioined togither, that by mutuall duties one may profit another. Now conſidering that all the aboue named things are both neceſſarie and alſo very hard and difficult to be obſerued and kept in true friendſhip, a man may eaſily iudge that this ſo excellent a ſympathie and fellow feeling of two friends is very rare, and not eaſily found: and by a more forcible reaſon it followeth, that it is altogither impoſſible that many ſuch friends ſhould be linked togither. So that whoſoeuer goeth about any ſuch matter can neuer attaine to a certaine and durable friendſhip. For it muſt needes follow, that he which beginneth new friendſhip cannot but diminiſh and waxe faint in affection in regard of his former friendſhip, wherein he was in a maner ſetled. Yea, how can he obſerue all dutifull points of a ſtedfaſt friend, as well in mutuall conuerſation and communication of all things, as in helping his friend in all his affaires, if he haue many friends to looke vnto, who may all ſtand in neede of him at one and the ſame time? It is certaine that in ſeruing one he would be wanting to the other, and peraduenture to both, whilſt he doubteth which to helpe firſt. But there is yet a further matter in it. Do we not take him for our enimie, who is enimie to our friend? It is moſt certainly ſo: as the wiſe man *Chilon* very fitly ſignified ſo much to one who boaſted, that he had neuer a fo. Then haſt thou neuer a friend, quoth *Chilon*, ſeeing it is impoſſible, by reaſon of the wickednes of men, that two perſons ſhould liue in the world without enimies. Whereupon *Plutarke* ſaith, If thou ſeekeſt for a ſwarme of friends thou conſidereſt not that thou falleſt into a waſps neaſt of enimies. Heereof it is that hiſtories, when they ſet before vs examples of true and excellent friendſhip make mention onely of two perſons: as of *Ionathan* and *Dauid*, whoſe friendſhip could not be hindered by the wrath of the father of the one, no not although he knew, that his friend ſhould raigne ouer him, notwithſtanding he were by inheritance to ſucceed next in the kingdome. So we read of one *Achilles* and *Patroclus*, of whom the one falſi-

Againſt the plurality of friends.

He that hath neuer a fo, hath neuer a friend.

The beſt and moſt excellent friendſhip is betweene one couple.

fied his oth, which was that he would neuer fight, to the end he might reuenge the death of the other. There was but one *Oreſtes* and *Pylades*, both of them calling themſelues by the name of *Oreſtes* who was condemned to die, thereby to ſaue the life of his companion. Neither was there any mo than one *Ephenus* and *Eueritus*, and one *Damon* and *Pythias*, two of which being condemned to die by *Dionyſius* the tyrant of Siracuſa, had their pardon granted them by reaſon of the conſtancie and ſtabilitie of the friendſhip that was between them and their companions, whereof they ſhewed this proofe. The two condemned perſons beſought *Dionyſius* to licence them to go vnto their countrie, that they might take ſome order for their houſhold affaires before they died. The tyrant ſcorning at this, asked them what pledges they would pawne for their returne. Whereupon the two other friends willingly offered themſelues for pledges, and ſo ſix moneths ſpace being granted, they were ſet at libertie. When the end of this time drew nie, many mocked theſe poore cautions: but they nothing aſtoniſhed made anſwer, that they were certaine and ſure their friends would not in any caſe faile of their promiſe. And indeede they arriued the laſt day that was granted vnto them. Whereat the tyrant wondering, forgaue the condemned parties, and praied them to receiue him for a third man into their friendſhip. So great force had vertue, that it could pacifie choler and crueltie in his hart, whoſe vertue conſiſted in nothing elſe but in vice. We read of a letter written by *Piſiſtratus*, prince of the Athenians, ſeruing for a notable example of the force of friendſhip, which oftentimes is greater than all conſanguinitie. For hauing intelligence, that *Thraſillus* his nephew was of a conſpiracie againſt him, he wrote vnto him in theſe words: Nephew *Thraſillus*, thou ſhouldſt haue called to remembrance, not that I brought thee vp in my houſe, that thou art come of my blood, that I haue communicated my ſecrets with thee, that I haue giuen thee my daughter to wife with the halfe of my goods, but aboue all things, that I loued thee as a friend. Thou art be-

Piſiſtratus letter to his nephew.

come

come a traitor towards me, which I would neuer haue ſuſpected, conſidering that I neuer deſerued any ſuch thing at thy hands. And therefore I would gladly I had ſo much authoritie ouer my ſelfe, that as I can ſhake off this alliance, ſo I could alſo falſifie our friendſhip, which I can neither do, nor determine of, my fidelitie ſaued. For the conſanguinitie that I haue with thee may be ſeparated, as being within the veines: but the loue I beare thee cannot, ſeeing it is within my hart. A thouſand other examples of couples ioined in friendſhip are to be found in hiſtories. In the meane while we haue to note, that although we meaſure friendſhip heere by the number of two, yet our meaning is not to exclude others altogither. For we know, that true charitie extendeth it ſelfe vnto euery one, that we are bound to loue euen our enimies, and to do good to all, but yet amongſt all we may chooſe one onely friend to loue, and to be loued againe of him in perfection. Neuertheles we muſt labour by a thouſand good duties to get the good will of all men, and in what place ſoeuer we be to follow the wiſe counſell of *Polybius* giuen to *Scipio Africanus*, that he ſhould neuer depart from the publike place of authoritie before he had gotten vnto himſelfe ſome new friend and well willer. This belongeth to them eſpecially that haue wealth at wil, and are in publike offices, and fauored of the mightier ſort: and therefore are ſo much the more bound thereunto, as alſo to take delight in doing good to manie, not ſparing any of their ſubſtance. We haue famous examples heereof amongſt the ancients. That great Romane captaine and Conſul *Titus Flaminius*, who deliuered and freed all Græcia from bondage, and twiſe in battell ranged diſcomfited *Philip* king of Macedonia, is exceedingly commended of hiſtoriographers, not onely bicauſe he was readie to pleaſure euerie one, but alſo bicauſe he tooke ſuch delight therein, that he would alwaies remaine well affected euen to thoſe whom he had once pleaſured, as if himſelfe had receiued the benefit: inſomuch that he was alwaies ready to do them more good. Wherby he ſhewed himſelfe truly

Titus Flaminius.

zealous of vertue, which is neuer ſet on work for the hope of any earthly recompence, ſeeing the price and reward of a vertuous deed ought onely to be the doing thereof. Therefore *Cicero* ſaid very well, that no Commonwealth can either with too little, or too late recompence hir natiue countriman. Now to conclude our preſent diſcourſe, we ſay, that friendſhip is ſo excellent a thing, that there is no compariſon betweene it and any other worldly good: that it is vertue, which frameth and vniteth togither perfect friendſhips, and that if they be once forſaken, they cannot longer continue. Therefore honeſtie (as *Cicero* ſaith) is to be placed aboue friendſhip and profit, and religion, iuſtice, and fidelitie are to be preferred before the vniuſt requeſts of our friends, howſoeuer they might be profitable for this life, either to them or to our ſelues. We ſay, that whileſt we labour to make all men our well-willers by doing them good, according to the duty of a good nature, if we meete with one ſure and certaine friend amongſt them all, we haue gotten a great and incomparable treaſure: ſeeing there is nothing more fit for life, or more commodius for a good and happie life, than to liue with a vertuous man and our friend, whoſe fidelitie, integritie, and conſtancie are ruled by charitie. Laſtly we ſay, that three things are very requiſite and neceſſarie for the foundation and aſſurance of this friendſhip: namely, vertue, as that which is honeſt: *Converſation*, as pleaſant and agreeable: *Profit*, as helpfull. Which is as much to ſay, as, that we muſt receiue a friend after we haue knowen and prooued him, that we muſt reioice in his companie, and vſe him in our need, as we deſire him to do the like by vs. So that he which can boaſt of ſuch a friend is very happie.

Nothing better than to liue with a vertuous man.

Three things neceſſarie in friendſhip.

Of Reprehenſion and Admonition. Chap. 14.

ACHITOB. DIuine *Plato* writing a letter to *Dionyſius* the tyrant of Syracuſa in the behalfe of *Helicon* the Mathematician, after many and great

great commendations ſpoken of him, addeth this, that he wrote theſe things of a man, that is, of a liuing creature, by nature mutable and ſoone changed. The like alſo he ſpake of thoſe that were well brought vp and inſtructed in Athens. I feare yet (quoth he) that being men, and the offſpring of other men they will make knowen the great infirmitie and frailtie of mans life, which truly, being compaſſed about, and as it were beſieged with infinite miſeries, is ſo eaſily troubled, that the wiſeſt ſtand alwaies in need of inſtruction, and ought to be awakened and admoniſhed of their dutie. Whereunto the free reprehenſion, and ſweete admonition of a friend doth not a little profit. Wherefore my counſell is, that we handle it preſently, without departing from the matter of our former diſcourſe.

Man is mutable.

ASER. True friends (ſaith *Socrates*) muſt not through flatterie ſeeke to gaine the fauour of their friends, but reprooue them rather, that for their benefit they may reduce them to a better way.

AMANA. To admoniſh and to be admoniſhed (ſaith *Seneca*) are proper to true friendſhip. And *Cicero* ſaith, that a man may deſpaire of his ſafetie, whoſe eares are cloſed vp againſt the truth, and cannot abide reprehenſion. Let vs therefore heare ARAM handle this ſubiect.

ARAM. One of the greateſt, moſt profitable and neceſſarie fruits, which ſpring out of euery good and holie friendſhip, and are noted and reaped by the acceptable and long conuerſation of a prudent & wiſe friend, is that free reprehenſion and ſweet admonition, which ought to be mutuall betweene all true friends: ſeeing the fraile inconſtancie of man is ſuch, that euen the inſteſt man (as the ſcripture ſaith) ſinneth ſeuen times a day. But man hauing pride and preſumption naturally rooted in his ſoule, howſoeuer he ſeeth a mote in his brothers eie, yet he perceiueth not the great beame that cloſeth vp his owne eies. This maketh him bold (as it is the propertie of vice to be headſtrong) to defend and maintaine, that he hath alwaies done well, and not eaſily to harken to his reaſons

One of the greateſt fruits reaped in friendſhip.

that reproueth him, were it not that the mightie and inuiolable bond of friendſhip, as of a ſecond-ſelfe did conſtraine him to lend his eare to his friend through the opinion which he hath conceiued of him and his vertue. True it is, that if there were amongſt vs ſuch a reformation of life and maners, and that loue ioined with obedience might take place now, as it did long ſince amongſt the Lacedemonians, (who obſerued this cuſtome inuiolable, to puniſh him that did not reprooue anothers fault committed in his preſence, with the ſame puniſhment which was inflicted vpon the offender himſelfe, & ſharply to chaſtice him that reſiſted, or was angry at the reprehenſion) we ſhould not ſee ſo great winking at vices and imperfections, nor ſuch impudent reſiſting and ſhameles contempt of all good admonition as raigneth now a dais amongſt vs, who vnskilfully terme this friendſhip, not to correct one another, but rather to couer & to winke at all faults. But ſeeing our age is ſo greatly corrupted, we may eaſily know what a pretious and neceſſarie thing it is, to haue found a prudent and wiſe friend, who knoweth how to vſe wholeſome and ſharpe reprehenſion, as a preſeruatiue medicine, that ſaueth the patients life, being miniſtred in conuenient time, and to purpoſe. Which thing if it be not wiſely obſerued herein (as in all other things) it greatly hurteth, and depriueth the admonition of profite and efficacie. Therefore a friend being oppoſite to a flatterer, who ſtudieth for nothing but to pleaſe, to do and to ſpeake to his liking whom he flattereth (which is enough to ouerthrow friendſhip, whoſe ſtrength is onely in vertue) ought to deal as a skilful muſitian, who in the tuning of his inſtrument ſetteth vp ſom of his ſtrings, and letteth downe others. So a prudent friend yeeldeth vnto ſome things, but refuſeth and contrarieth others, changing his minde as honeſtie and profit require. He is not afraide ſometime to make his friend ſad with intent and purpoſe to profit him, not to breake friendſhip. Likewiſe he is not greatly to care although he ſee his friend angred, ſo that he be bettred, conſidering that anger may better be tollerated

A notable cuſtome of the Lacedemonians.

A friend compared to a muſitiō.

lerated than vice. *Ageſilaus* king of Sparta ſaid, that he liked well to be praiſed of ſuch friends as would not ſpare him at all, but were ready to blame him alſo whenſoeuer he gaue them occaſiō ſo to do. To this effect *Epictetus* ſaid, that as a woolfe in ſome ſort reſembled a dog, ſo a flatterer was like a friend: and therefore that we ought to beware, leaſt in ſtead of good dogs for ſafegard, we receiue vnto vs moſt pernitious & hurtfull woolues. For it is better (as *Antiſthenes* ſaid) to ſtand at the curteſie of crowes than of flatterers, ſeeing the one deuoure dead carkaſſes, and the other liuing men. Now let vs conſider of the meanes how to vſe aptly and to purpoſe this ſo healthfull medicine in friendſhip, I meane reprehenſion and admonition. Sometimes it is neceſſarie (ſaith *Cicero*) for vs to rebuke our friends, wherein we are to vſe a more auſtere countenance and vehement ſpeech: but too great ſeueritie and ouermuch ſadnes ought to be far from vs. For although grauitie be a vertue, yet friendſhip is more familiar, free and pleaſant. We muſt alſo take heed that it appeere not we be in choler, but rather that we com againſt our wils to do this dutie, as ſurgeons do to cut off and to burne, and that very rarely, when there is no way to finde or vſe any other receit. Moreouer if one behold his friend in ſome great affliction, knowing it to be the nature of aduerſitie to make men of troubled & vexed ſpirits, ſoone cholerike and vnwilling to heare, and at ſuch a time to be offended at good and true ſpeeches (euen as honie although it be ſweet, yet breedeth greeſe when it is applied to vlcers) I ſay a friend well aduiſed ought then to beware that he vſe no ſharp or biting words, which are apt to prouoke him to anger, that is preſſed with aduerſitie. And this did *Pythagoras* meane to teach vs learnedly by that enigmaticall precept or riddle, which forbiddeth vs to *Stirre vp the fire with a ſword*. A man ought rather in ſuch a caſe to miniſter ſome ſuch ſweet and gratious ſpeech of comfort, as yeeldeth and giueth place a little to the iuſt greeſe of his friend, and from whence he may draw ſome eaſe of his euill, whether it be in talking thereof togither

Ageſilaus.

How we muſt vſe reprehenſion.

with him, or otherwiſe in lamenting the ſame. And this muſt be done before any mention be made of a remedie, or any other conuenient matter of talking with him be ſought after. In this ſort for a man to comfort himſelfe is no leſſe difficult a matter (as *Thales* ſaid) than it is for a phiſition to cure himſelfe. Aboue all things we muſt be verie circumſpect when we ſee our friend lately angred by reaſon of ſome pregnant and notable iniurie or wrong receiued from another. For then in ſteade of being importunate with him preſently to forgiue the iniurie, or of ſeeking to perſwade him to thinke it a ſmall fault, thereby endeuoring at the firſt daſh to bring him to reaſon, we muſt intreat him gently to deferre the puniſhment, and after by little and little, and by degrees to pacifie and appeaſe him. For it is verie certain, that when wrath is much kindled and the hart inraged, a man cannot eaſily receiue comfort, nor ſo ſodainly conceiue and vnderſtand reaſon. And therefore *Plutark* amongſt other things gaue this counſaile to the emperor *Traian* to be patient towards furious folks, conſidering that time moderateth as manie things, as reaſon doth change. Notwithſtanding when the queſtion is of reſtraining a diſordinate pleaſure, of repreſſing choler or peeuiſhnes that paſſeth the bounds of all reaſon, of bridling inſolencie, which is gone too farre out of ſquare, of hindring ſome notable couetouſnes, or of ſtaying ſome fooliſh motion, or ſuperfluous paſſion, then is the time wherein a prudent and good friend ought to be vehement and earneſt, and to double the ſpeech of his admonition: yea to frame himſelfe ſo, as if the imperfection proceeded from himſelfe, & as though his own vtter vndoing lay thereupon. In ſuch a caſe he is to follow that good Græcian captaine *Phocion*, who, when his friend would haue caſt away himſelfe, ſaid that he would not ſuffer him, bicauſe he was made his friend for that purpoſe. Therefore whenſoeuer any ſuch occaſion is offred, a man is not to ſtay vntill the fault be committed, that he may then giue his friend ſome good inſtruction. For then it would come to late, and no leſſe vnfitly, than that Porters warning,

Time bringeth as many things to good order as reaſon doth.

warning, who after he had hit *Cato*, bad him beware. What (answered *Cato*) wilt thou giue me yet another blowe? Moreouer we must take good heed that all reprehending of one friend by another be done (as we commonly saie) betweene two priuate wals, that is, secretly when the doore is shut: bicause the discouerie of any sinne or vice (euen as of som foule disease) is alwaies shamefull. The example of these two sages, *Socrates* and *Plato*, will fitly agree to this matter. *Socrates* being somwhat more earnest than his custome was with one of his familiar friends before a great companie, *Plato* could not containe himself but said vnto him: Had not this beene better spoken priuately apart? And had not your selfe (quoth *Socrates*) done better, if you had told me priuately of this which now you vtter? Whereupon we may further learne this lesson, that it is alwaies easie enough to reproue another, but that al our reprehensions are blame woorthy, if we reape not this instruction thereby, to correct, or to auoide the like errors in our selues. Thus doth the selfe same *Plato* teach vs saying, that we must descend into our inward parts, & say euerie one with himselfe, *Am not I such an one?* Otherwise a man might truly reproch vs with that saying taken out of an olde Tragedie, *Ech wounded wight doth seeke to salue the sores that others haue*. But as we see our owne eies shine within the apples of our neighbours eies, so ought we in the life of other men to lay our owne before vs, and to purge them of those vices which we reprehend. For as *Lysander* made this answere to a Megarian, who thrust himselfe foreward to speake aloud for the liberty of Græcia in a generall assemblie of counsell, *That speech my friend had need of a mightie citie*: so may it be saide to euerie one that vseth freely to reprehend others, that his maners had need to be well reformed. Therefore *Plato* said that he corrected *Speusippus* by the example of his life. In like sort, *Xenocrates* casting his eie vpon *Polemon*, who in dissolute apparell was entred into his schoole, changed and reformed all by his onely lookes. This also will be a good and honest way to make our reprehension both profitable & well

We must correct in our selues those faults which we reprehend in others.

Sundry instructions how to admonish wisely.

well liked of, when we infold our ſelues in that fault, which we reprooue in others: as that wiſe man *Socrates* vſed to do, when he checked and taught yoong men, ſaying that himſelfe was not deliuered from ignorance, but had need to be inſtructed with them in vertue, & to ſeeke out the knowledge of the truth. For when one accuſeth himſelfe as ſubiect to the ſame faults that his friend is, & proteſteth that his meaning is to correct and reprooue him, as if he were himſelfe, it cauſeth him that reprehendeth to be loued and reuerenced, and procureth greater credite to his ſayings. Let vs further obſerue this, that euerie reprehenſion betweene friend and friend ought to be pure, and voide of all priuate paſſions. Inſomuch that if we perceiue our ſelues contemned, and after a ſort deſpiſed, yet muſt we teſtifie our ſincere and louing affection in ſpeaking freely in the behalfe of others that are likewiſe deſpiſed, but not framing our talke in any ſort for our owne defence. Euerie admonition thus grounded as I haue ſaid, cannot but be profitable and well liked of our friend, as that which cauſeth the offender both to reuerence him that gaue it, and to bluſh for ſhame, not daring once to lift vp his eies againſt it. But foraſmuch as naturally we hate to be reprooued and blamed, as we learned in the beginning of this diſcourſe, we muſt know that to cure ſuch a pernitious inclination, nothing can profite vs ſo much as to beleeue, that the beginning of good life is to be blamed and baited at. For man, by nature inclined more to vice than to vertue, can neuer hate euill before he vnderſtand what miſerie it bringeth. So that when he ſinneth if his friend lay the infamie and ſhame of his offence before his eies, vnleſſe he be altogither paſt ſhame, and fraught with impudencie, he muſt needs giue place to the truth, which is inuincible, and ſo with ſhame not to be diſcommended, he is induced to reforme his life according to the patterne of comlines and honeſtie. Therefore *Plato* ſaid, that we are greatly beholding to them that tell vs of our faults, and ſhew vs what way we muſt keepe: bicauſe it is better for vs to amende by being corrected of another,

Reprehenſion is the beginning of good life.

another, than to vndoo our ſelues by fooliſh perſeuerance. Moreouer as all true and perfect loue ought to be generall, and to extend it ſelfe indifferently vnto all without exception of perſons, ſo likewiſe euerie one according to his ſeuerall place ought to admoniſh and to correct thoſe that do amiſſe as often as occaſion is offred vnto them, & cheefely they that are neere to great men are bound to do it, but with diſcretion and great deliberation. Thus much did *Solon* ſignifie to one, who by way of admoniſhment told him, that princes were either not to be approched vnto, or elſe to be pleaſed: Nay contrariwiſe (ſaid the wiſe man) either they are not to be come neere vnto, or elſe the truth is to be told them. We may obſerue infinite examples amongſt the ancients woorthy to be remembred, of the great freedome, which they vſed in reprehending and ſhewing the faults not onely of their familiar friends, but generally of all others: and eſpecially of their kings, princes and magiſtrates, who bicauſe they ſee and heare for the moſt part by other mens eies & eares, ought neceſſarily to haue ſuch friends, counſailors and ſeruants about them, as will freely tell them the truth, as hereafter we may diſcourſe more at large. This cauſed *Plutark* to ſay, that a philoſopher ought cheefely to keepe companie with princes and great lords, and that it was the point of a wiſe man, and of one that is wel affected to the common wealth to be endued with common loue, and to inquire after, or to accept & intertaine ſuch a friendſhip, as might be commodious and beneficiall to many in particuler, & much more in generall to them all. And truely they that company with priuate men, and labor to inſtruct them, may well make them contented, milde and gratious in themſelues, and profitable to them onely: but he that taketh away an euill qualitie from a lord and magiſtrate, or directeth his wil and intention, as it ought to be, plaieth the part of a philoſopher in the behalfe of common commoditie, and correcteth that mould and patterne according to which all the ſubiects are framed and gouerned. This kind of free admonition *Solon* vſed towards *Cræſus*, whom

Solons good aduice for counſailors to princes.

Philoſophers ought to be conuerſant with princes.

Solons counſell giuen to Cræſus.

whom he perceiued to be blowne and puft vp with pride, through an opinion of earthly and vncertaine felicity, admoniſhing him to expect what the ende would be. The Gods (quoth he to him) haue giuen to vs the reſidue of the Græcians all things after a meane ſort, and namely a baſe & populer wiſedome, not roiall or magnificall: which as it giueth vs to vnderſtand that the life of man is ſubiect to infinite changes, ſo it forbiddeth to truſt or glorie in the goods of this world, or to make great account of any mans felicitie, that is yet in danger of alteration. For time daily bringeth many ſundry accidents to man, wherof he neuer thought before. But when the gods continue the proſperous eſtate of a man vnto the ende of his daies, then will we account him happie. The deſire, which *Plato* had to profite many cauſed him to ſaile from Græcia into Sicilia, that by graue diſcourſes & wiſe inſtructions he might ſtay and contain within the bounds of reaſon the yoong yeeres of *Dionyſius*, prince of that countrie, who through vnbrideled libertie, and power not limited, waued hither and thither without reſtraint. Afterward when he began to be in loue with the beautie of learning, he left of by little and little his droonkennes, maskings, and whoordoms, wherin before he gloried, inſomuch that his court was wholy changed vpon a ſudden, as if it had been inſpired from heauen. But within a while after, *Dionyſius* giuing eare to flatterers, baniſhed *Plato*, to whom when he tooke his leaue of him, the tyrant ſaid, I doubt not, *Plato*, but thou wilt ſpeake ill of me when thou art in the Vniuerſitie amongſt thy companions & friends. Whereunto the philoſopher ſmiling, and obſeruing that freedome of ſpeech, which he had alwaies vſed towards him, made this anſwer, I pray God, *Sir*, there may neuer be ſo great want of matter to ſpeake of in the Vniuerſitie, that we need to ſpeake of thee. He was no ſooner ſhipped from Sicilia but *Dionyſius* returned to his former faſhions, and called backe againe dancers, minſtrels, baudes, and ſuch like vermin, whereof commonly there is no want about great perſonages, ſo that preſently you might haue

Why Plato went into Sicilia to Dionyſius.

ſeene

ſeene his court, yea all the reſt of his people, ouerwhelmed in al delights and pleaſures. Such great force hath a prince to alter and change at his pleaſure the harts of his ſubiects, but yet alwaies rather to vice and follie than to vertue. And to go on with our matter of the free and bold admonition of great men, the ſelfe ſame *Plato* vſed it very fitly towards *Dion*, who had driuen *Dionyſius* out of his iuriſdiction, and that at ſuch time as the ſaid *Dion* was in the greateſt glorie of al his proſperitie. Amongſt other things he willed him to beware of arrogancie, as of hir that dwelt with ſolitarines: that is to ſay, which in the end was forſaken of all the world. The ſame kind of admonition *Speuſippus* followed, writing to the ſame *Dion*, willing him not to preſume or waxe proud of himſelfe, bicauſe he heard women and children vtter his praiſes and commendation, but to haue regard onely to this, that *Sicilia* might be adorned with religion and pietie towards God, with iuſtice and good lawes towards men, and that the Vniuerſitie might alwaies be had in honor and eſtimation. O counſel full of Chriſtian inſtruction, and woorthie to be daily ſet before the eies of Chriſtian princes, who may alſo learne of *Demetrius* king of Macedonia to take in good part, to reape commoditie, and to reward thoſe that reprehend and admoniſh them of their dutie. After he had taken the citie of the Athenians, who had rebelled againſt him, and ſtood in great need of victuals, he cauſed a generall aſſemblie of the people to be made, wherein he declared, that he gaue them freely a great quantitie of corne. In which oration it fell out ſo, that he committed an incongruitie of ſpeech, whereat one of the inhabitants ſuddenly ſtood vp, and pronounced the word aright as he ſhould haue vttered it. For this correction (quoth *Demetrius*) I giue thee beſides fiue thouſand meaſures of wheat. The example of good *Traian* writing to his maiſter *Plutarke*, ought eſpecially to be imitated of great men. I aduertiſe thee (quoth he) that hence forward I will not vſe thy ſeruice to any other thing, than to counſell me what I ought to do, and to tel me of thoſe faults, wherinto I may fall. For if Rome take

Arrogancie dwelleth in the end with ſolitarines.

Notable counſell for princes.

Demetrius.

Traians letter to Plutarke.

take me for a defender of hir Common-welth, I make account of thee as of the beholder of my life. And therefore if at any time I ſeeme vnto thee not well pleaſed when thou reprehendeſt me, I pray thee maiſter, not to take it in ill part. For at ſuch a time my griefe ſhall not be for the admonition thou vſeſt towards me, but for the ſhame I ſhall haue bicauſe I offended. *Philoxenus* the poet may alſo ſerue for a witnes of free correction, void of all flatterie in regard of great men. For when *Dionyſius* prince of Syracuſa ſent vnto him a tragedie of his owne making, that he ſhould read and correct it, he ſent it backe againe vnto him all raſed and blotted from the beginning to the end, bicauſe he found it in no reſpect worthie to be publiſhed. Neither doth antiquitie onely affoord vs ſuch examples of bold reprehenſion by word of mouth, vſed by wiſe men in old time, but there hath been alſo in our ages woorthie examples of baſe and contemptible men, yet full of good learning. For proſe heerof may ſerue that quip, which not long ſince a peaſant gaue vnto an Archbiſhop of Cullen, who was well accompanied with armed men according to the cuſtome of Almaigne. This countrie-fellow beginning to laugh, and being demanded by the prelate the cauſe therof; I laugh (quoth he vnto him) at S. *Peter*, prince of prelates, bicauſe he liued and died in pouertie to leaue his ſucceſſors rich. The Archbiſhop being touched therewith, and deſirous to cleere himſelfe, replied that *He* went with ſuch a companie, as he was a Duke. Wherat the peaſant laughing more than before ſaid, I would gladly know (Sir) of you, where you thinke the Archbiſhop ſhould be, if that Duke of whom you ſpeake were in hell. Neither may we omit the anſwer which a poore Franciſcan Frier made to Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, who from the ſame order being come to that great dignitie, ſhewed him his great wealth and riches, ſaying, *Frier*, I cannot ſay as S. *Peter* did, *I haue neither gold nor ſiluer*. No truly (anſwered the Franciſcan) no more can you ſay as he ſaid to the impotent and ſicke of the palſie, *Ariſe, and walke*. Now concluding our preſent diſcourſe we learne, that free reprehenſion and gentle admonition

How Philoxenus corrected Dionyſius tragedie.

The free gird of a peaſant giuen to an Archbiſhop.

The like giuen to Pope Sixtus the 4. by a Frier.

monition grounded vpon reaſon and truth, and applied fitly, are of ſuch vertue and efficacie with men, but eſpecially with a friend, that nothing is more neceſſarie or healthfull in true and perfect friendſhip: and therefore ought to be ioined inſeparably therewith, according to that ſaying of the wiſe man, that *Open rebuke is better than ſecret loue*, and that *The wounds made by a louer are faithfull, but the kiſſes of him that hateth, dangerous.* In the meane time we muſt (as S. *Paule* ſaith) reſtore thoſe that fall with the ſpirit of meeknes, conſidering our ſelues, and neuer betraie the truth for feare of the mightier ſort. Prou. 27. 5. Gal. 6. 1.

Of Curioſitie and Noueltie. Chap. 15.

ARAM. MAn hauing by nature imprinted in his ſoule an affected and earneſt inclination to his ſoueraigne good, is drawen as it were by force to ſearch it out in euerie thing, which he eſteemeth faire and good in this world. And from hence proceed all thoſe his affections which carrie him hither and thither, cauſing him to reioice in and to deſire greatly all varietie and noueltie. But the ignorance of things, and imperfection of reaſon, which abounde in him, bicauſe of his corruption, make him for the moſt part to labour and take delight in euill rather than in goodnes, if he be not by other means called to the knowledge of the truth: which ought to be the principal and moſt woorthy obiect of our minds, eſteeming all other knowledge vaine and vnprofitable being compared to this, which is ſo great and diuine. And in this reſpect curioſitie tending to vnderſtanding, (albeit in many things it be verie hurtfull, eſpecially being left vnto it ſelfe) is alſo verie profitable and neceſſary, when it is directed and guided by the grace of God to the beſt end. Wherefore I thinke my companions, that it will not be vnprofitable, if in this matter we diſcourſe of theſe two things, *Curioſitie* and *Noueltie*, which ſeeme to proceed from one and the ſame fountain, and

and about which the vertue of prudence sheweth great and woorthy effects.

ACHITOB. Curiositie indeed desireth in part to know and learne much, which cannot be condemned. Neuertheles we must wisely beware that we imploy it not vpon euil and vile things, but rather testifie alwaies, that we are of a graue and contented nature, which is enemie to all noueltie, and to superfluous things that are without profite.

ASER. Noueltie causeth vs through error of iudgement to esteeme those things wherewith we are not acquainted, greater, and more to our liking, and so to buy them dearer than better things that are common and familiar. It is the verie guide of the curious, causing them to contemne their owne climate, and to hazard what good thing soeuer they haue, to possesse that which belongeth to others. But let vs heare AMANA who will handle this matter more at large.

AMANA. Amongst those learned precepts belonging to good life, which were written in the temple of *Apollo* in Græcia, this was in the second place. *Nothing too much.* *Solon* said, *Nothing more than enough.* *Pittacus*, *Do all things by a mediocritie.* These sayings are verie short and of one matter, but yet comprehend all prudence necessarie for the gouerning of mans life, aswell for the preseruation of the tranquillitie of the soule, and of the spiritual gifts therof, as of all humane goods, called by the philosophers, the *Goods of the bodie and of fortune.* The ancients being desirous to make vs vnderstand this the better, propounded vnto vs euerie vertue betweene two vices, teaching vs thereby, that we cannot decline neuer so little either to the right hand or to the left, but we step aside from the right way of vertue, which is our onely & true good: and that al difference betweene good and bad consisteth in a certaine moderation and mediocrity, which *Cicero* calleth the best of all things. If men had from the beginning contained themselues within the limits of these diuine precepts, it is certaine they would not so lightly haue abandoned the simplicitie

Mediocritie must be vsed in all actions.

The difference of good and bad consisteth in mediocritie.

ſimplicitie and firſt modeſtie of their nature, to feed their minds with a vaine curioſitie and ſearching out of things ſupernaturall, and incomprehenſible to the ſence and vnderſtanding of man. Which things the more they thought to know, the greater occaſion of doubting they found in them, ſo that for all their labour and vnderſtanding they could neuer carrie away any true knowledge, or certaine reſolution. And euen as that man, who not contenting himſelfe with the abundant light of the ſunne beames, but ſeeking with his eies to pearce through the brightnes therof euen vnto the midſt of the circle of the body, muſt queſtionleſſe become blind: ſo falleth it out for the moſt part to thoſe, who go about too curiouſly to inquire after that which is not lawfull to be knowen. The ill ſucceſſe of our age affoordeth vs too manie miſerable teſtimonies, wherin at this day we ſee nothing but contrarieties of opinions and vncertainties, through their ſubtilties & bold curioſities, who haue ſought to plucke (as a man would ſay) out of heauen the ſecrets hid from the angels: yea, which is worſe, haue boaſted that they haue attained vnto the knowledge of them, filling our times with trouble and confuſion vnder that falſe pretence. There are others alſo no leſſe hurtful, who haue binne ſuch curious Inquiſitours of the cauſes of all naturall things, that through friuolous and vnprofitable queſtions they haue fallen into that impietie, as to ſeeke for another beginning of all things, than God. Whereupon this prouerbe, which is too true, aroſe, *Of three Phyſitions one Atheiſt*. This kinde of curioſitie, is of all others moſt pernitious. But foraſmuch as it is without the compaſſe of our Academie, we let it paſſe with this ſhort mention thereof, and with this onely addition, that God commonly puniſheth the pride of ſuch men by thoſe fruits, which we ſee them bring foorth, and by taking from them their vnderſtanding in principall and moſt neceſſarie matters, wherein notwithſtanding they thinke themſelues to be woonderfull and iolly fellowes aboue all others. As touching this point the example of *Socrates* is very memorable, and to be imitated,

Againſt curioſitie in knowledge.

who being demanded what the world was, anſwered, that
A notable ſaying of Socrates.
ſince he had any iudgement he gaue himſelfe to ſeeke out the true knowledge of himſelfe, which yet he could neuer find. But ſo ſoone as he had attained thereunto, then he would ſeeke for other things that would do him no ſeruice or pleaſure. *Ariſtotle* (as *Iuſtin Martyr* writeth) who for the excellencie of his skill in naturall philoſophie was called the god of the earth, burned with ſuch a deſire of
The death of Ariſtotle and Plinie through too much curioſitie.
curioſitie in vnderſtanding the cauſes of naturall things, that bicauſe he could not know and conceiue the cauſe and nature of *Euripus*, which is in Chalcis a citie of Eubæa, I meane of the flowing & ebbing of the ſea, which turneth & compaſſeth about that place, nor giue a ſufficient reaſon thereof, he died for very ſhame and greefe which he conceiued thereupon. *Plinie* alſo, who wrote the hiſtorie of naturall philoſophie, was choked with the flames and
The burning of Aetna.
vapors of the mountaine Mongibel in Sicilia, whileſt he ſought to find out the cauſe of them, and from whence that great fire came, which ſpoiled the countrie round about in the time of *Titus* the emperor: inſomuch that ſeuen or eight townes were burned, and many perſons trauelling by land, and ſailing on the ſea were ſtifled with the aſhes therof, caried about by the vehemency of the winds. But let vs leaue theſe curious ſpirits, and ſpeake of two
Two generall kinds of curioſitie.
other generall kinds of curioſitie, which reſpect chiefly our morall philoſophie, and from whence all corruption of good maners proceeded. The firſt kind concerneth our ſelues onely, and the other our brethren and countrimen. To ſpeake therefore of the firſt, it bringeth foorth pernitious effects after diuers ſorts and maners, but amongſt vs Frenchmen they appeere principally in that
Againſt the curioſitie of ſeeing ſtrange nations.
burning deſire, which inflameth vs to trauell into ſtrange nations, and in our carking and caring for the nourishment, clothing, and decking of our bodies, and for the ſetting foorth and trimming vp of our houſes with curious and vnprofitable moueables, wherein we exceede all the ſuperfluitie of other countries. When the ancients ſpeake of the felicitie that accompanied the golden age,

amongſt

amongst the good conditions, and commendable maners, which they noted in that holie and first simplicitie, they neuer forgat this, that the men of that good time tilled and manured their grounds, and cared not what strangers did in farre countries. Moreouer, since the time that men made light account of their owne climate, through a curious and vnsatiable desire of appropriating vnto themselues the inheritance and labour of others, besides the crueltie, violence, and murders, which prepared a way to their miserable platformes, all corruption of good maners at home, and all bastardlike attire haue followed thereupon. We might heere note infinite testimonies of antiquitie, and especially of our ancient progenitors the Gaules, who were verie warlike, and liued within their bounds in al simplicitie of maners, and frugalitie of life. But our owne example, to our vnspeakeable shame and miserie, is so euident before our eyes, that I neede no better proofe of my saying than that experience which we feele by our owne perill. For the ruine and destruction of this french monarchy proceedeth of no other second cause (our iniquitie being the first) than of the mixture, which we haue made of strangers with our selues. Wherein we are not contented to seeke them out vnder their roofes, vnlesse we also draw them vnto vs, and lodge them vnder our roofes, yea preferre them before our owne countrimen and citizens in the offices and honorable places of this kingdome, against the law and right of euerie good and well established policie. Besides we adore and reuerence all their noueltie and subtill inuentions, and that so ignorantly, or rather blockishly, that suffring them to sucke vs euen to the verie bowels, in steade of all our riches and spoiles, which they for their part haue drawne from vs, they haue left vs nothing but new maners and fashions of liuing in all dissolutenes and pleasure, except this one thing also, that we haue learned of them to dissemble, and withall to frame and build a treason verie subtillie. Such is the prouision wherewith our french youth is commonly furni-

One euident cause of the ruin of Fraunce.

ſhed by their Italian voyages. To this purpoſe *Gueuara*, Chronicler to the emperor *Charles* the firſt, writeth that from forraine countries men commonly bring newes to prattle of, and ſtrange cuſtomes to practiſe: and that few come out of Italie, that are not abſolute and diſſolute.

Lycurgus forbad traffick with ſtrangers.

Lycurgus by his lawes commanded the Lacedemonians not to go out of their kingdome, nor to conuerſe with ſtrangers, ſaying, that although by their trafficke with them they might be inriched, yet on the other ſide they would grow poore in regard of their owne vertues. *Titus Liuius*, *Macrobius*, *Saluſtius* and *Tully* curſed and bewailed the conqueſts and victories, which Rome had in Aſia, ſaying that if the Romanes brought the Perſians, & Medes vnder ſubiection by force, yet the ſelfe ſame Aſians ouercame the Romans with their vices and delights. This doth *Cicero* teſtifie writing to *Atticus*, where he ſaith that theſe fiue vices, namely, to make glorious ſepulchers, to weare rings of gold, to vſe ſpice in meates, to alay wine with ſnow, and to carrie about with them perfumes and ſweet ſmels, were ſent to the Romanes for a preſent from the Aſians, as a reuenge for the cities which they had taken from them, and for the bloude which they had drawne of them. And which was woorſt of all, he ſaith, that theſe vices would alwaies remaine with them, but the country conquered, for a little time. Experience telleth vs, that no countrey is ſo poore, which is not ſufficient and able, all ſuperfluitie cut off, to nouriſh and maintaine thoſe men that are bred in it with things neceſſarie for them. Wherevpon a man may eaſily gheſſe, that want of prudence, and ambitious deſires firſt inuented the art of Nauigation & ſailing into farre countries. *Fabatus* the conſul in ſeauenty yeeres which he liued, departed not once from his village of Regio to go to Meſſana, which was but two miles off by water. And when one asked of him the cauſe why, The barke (quoth he) is fooliſh, for it alwaies ſtirreth vp and downe: the mariner is fooliſh, for he neuer abideth in one opinion: the water is fooliſh, for it neuer ſtandeth ſtil: the winde is fooliſh, for it runneth continually. Now if we vſe

Fiue vices brought out of Aſia by the Romanes.

Why Fabius would neuer go on the water.

to

to go from a foole when we meete him vpon the land, what reaſon were it for me to hazard my life with foure fooles vpon the ſea? But whatſoeuer my ſpeech hath bin hetherto, my meaning is not to finde fault with the right vſe of hoſpitalitie, which ought to be maintained & kept inuiolable in euerie well eſtabliſhed common wealth. In this reſpect Fraunce hath beene commended aboue all nations for intertaining and receiuing all ſorts of people: prouided alwaies that they be not preferred before our own children, and that they be contented to obey & liue according to the common lawes of the country. Neither do I reprehend that traffick and trade with ſtrangers, which ſerueth for a bond of humaine ſocietie, & whereby the commodities of one to another are communicated togither with common profite: prouided alwaies that ſuperfluous and vnneceſſarie things be left and forſaken. But ere we enter too farre in with them, it were good for vs not to vndertake ſuch voyages to gather wit and experience (as the moſt ſay) before we haue profited well in the knowledge of vertue, and are garded with good and commendable maners, which are able to reſiſt all new & ſtrange corruption: wherby otherwiſe the nature of man deſirous of diuerſitie and noueltie, ſuffreth it ſelfe eaſily to be ouercome, making marchandiſe amongſt them of naughtines rather than of goodnes. As hitherto experience ſheweth vs, that from this fountaine hath proceeded the curioſitie of ſuperfluous apparell, of gold, of ſilke, tapiſtrie, pictures, veſſels, perfumes, painting of faces, delicaſie of meate, and all prouocations of voluptuouſnes, whooredome, gluttonie, and of other filthy diſſolutenes, and infamous vices, too much knowne amongſt vs, wherof we haue heertofore made mention, and will heerafter continue the particuler diſcourſe of them. Nowe after we are well armed at all points with good doctrine and vertue, we may according to the example of *Plato*, of *Apollonius Thyaneus*, and of many other notable men, ſeeke after thoſe that are beſt learned in ſtrange countries, that we may profite and be inſtructed by them. *Plato* after he was

Plato and Apollonius were great trauellers.

well inſtructed by *Socrates* ſought out the Mages and wiſe Men of Egypt, by whoſe means he ſaw the books of Moyſes. Then he went into Italy to heare *Architas Tarentinus*, the moſt renowmed philoſopher of that country. *Apollonius*, who matched in learning all the philoſophers of his time, trauelled ouer three parts of the world to ſee and to conferre with all the skilfull men of his age: and being returned into his country, and inriched with woonderful knowledge, he diſtributed all his goods, whereof he had great abundance, amongſt his brethren, & to the poore: and withdrawing himſelfe into the fields, he liued with bread and water onely, that he might haue his minde free for the contemplation of heauenly things. Now let vs come to the other kinde of curioſitie, which as we ſaide, concerneth our brethren and countrimen. This is that which *Plutark* calleth a deſire to know the wants and imperfections of other men. It is commonly ioined with enuie and euil ſpeaking, and is by that excellent philoſopher compared to adulterie, which may be called a curious inquirie after another bodies pleaſure. Moreouer curious folkes through an ouerweening incontinencie, ſeeke to violate and to diſcouer their neighbors greateſt ſecrets, eſpecially thoſe which are blamewoorthy, that by publiſhing & blabbing them out, they may nouriſh the intemperancie of their toongs. For as venemous ſerpents ſeeke after infected and ſtinking places: ſo curioſitie delighteth in finding out euill things, but deſpiſeth thoſe that are good and commendable. If there be any one imperfection in a ſtock or kindred, if any infamy, fault, error, or euil gouernment in a houſe, any quarelling, any thing to be miſliked or loathed therein, it is the delight of curious folks to learne that throughly, that they may ſport themſelues, and tell long ſtories of them, by that meanes vſing their memorie for a loathſome regiſter of other mens vices, and yet neither ſee or know any fault of their owne. This cauſeth them all their life time to be the diſciples of ignorance & not of philoſophy, which teacheth vs, not other mens faults, but our owne, as alſo the meanes how

Of curioſitie in ſeeking to know other mens imperfections.

we

we may be deliuered from them. *Diogenes* beholding one of his ſchollers in a publike place talking very earneſtly with a yoong man that was thought to be ſubiect to his pleaſure, demanded what talke they had. To whom the diſciple anſwered, that the other rehearſed vnto him a notable tricke of youth, which he had plaid the night before. Then *Diogenes* ſaide to them both, My will and commandement is, that ech of you haue fortie ſtripes with a whippe, within the Amphitheater, or playing place: Thou (quoth hee to his ſcholler) for giuing eare vnto him, and he for the follie committed, bicauſe a philoſopher deſerueth as much for harkening to follie recited, as doth the vagabond that rehearſeth it. What puniſhment thinke you would this wiſe man haue iudged them worthie of, who harken and inquire ſo curiouſly after other mens faults and imperfections? And yet a man may truly ſay of the moſt of theſe men, that they will neuer looke vpon, or conſider their owne liues, which is a very vnpleaſant ſpectacle vnto them, nor yet returne and looke backe with reaſon, as with a light, vpon themſelues. But their ſoule being full of all ſorts of euil, and fearing that which ſhe feeleth within hir ſelfe, leapeth foorth and wandereth heere and there in ſearching other mens doings, thereby feeding and fatting hir owne ill nature, and vſing curioſitie as an eie to looke vpon other men. Heerof it commeth, that a curious man is more profitable to his enimies than to himſelfe, bicauſe he diſcouereth, manifeſteth, and ſheweth vnto them from what they are to beware, and what to correct: and yet in the mean while he ſeeth not the moſt part of that which is within himſelf, ſo greatly is he dazeled by beholding that which is without in other men. He openeth all euen to the very wals of ſtrange houſes, and pearceth like a wind into the midſt of thoſe things that are moſt ſecret. His mind is both vpon the pallaces of the rich, and cotages of the poore. He ferretteth out euerie thing, and inquireth many times after the affaires of the greateſt, which is the cauſe of his ouerthrow, when he buſieth himſelf too far in them. This was

The curious are more profitable to their enimies than to themſelues.

wiſely noted by *Philippides*, when *Lyſimachus* the king asked him what part of his goods he would haue imparted vnto him. What you pleaſe ſir, quoth he, ſo it be no part of your ſecrets. Now if we deſire to diuert and to quench the heate of this vicious paſſion of curioſitie, which is too familiar amongſt vs, and vnſeemlie in a prudent and vertuous man, we muſt ſometimes abſtaine from inquiring after lawfull things, though otherwiſe not neceſſarie. In the exerciſe and practiſe of iuſtice, it is expedient ſometime to leaue vntaken that which a man may lawfully take, thereby to accuſtome himſelfe to abſtaine more eaſily from taking any thing vniuſtly. Likewiſe it is good for a man ſometime to abſtaine from his owne wife, that he may attaine to the vertue of temperancie, and ſo be neuer mooued to deſire another mans wife. In like maner, if in ſtead of ſhewing our ſelues to be of the number of theſe diligent and curious inquirers after vnprofitable newes, we ſignifie rather to him that commeth to tell vs of ſome newes, that he ſhould pleaſe vs better if he had ſome good and profitable matter to ſpeake, than ſhould we thereby giue teſtimonie of a ſtaied and ſetled nature deſpiſing curioſitie. This was noted in *Alexander* the great, who ſeeing a meſſenger running apace towards him with a ſmiling countenance, ſaid vnto him (not ſhewing himſelfe to bee mooued at all, or deſirous to vnderſtand what he would ſpeake) what good newes canſt thou bring me my friend, vnles thou didſt come to tel me that *Homer* is riſen again? And truly he had great reaſon to thinke that no more excellencie could be added to his valiant acts and deeds, except it were to haue them conſecrated to immortalitie, by the writings of ſome learned and notable wit. The example of *Phocion* deſerueth well to be heere alledged againſt curious folks, who are commonly light of beliefe. For as ſoone as the Athenians receiued newes of *Alexanders* death, they purpoſed preſently to alter their eſtate, and to ſhake off the yoke of the Macedonian alliance. But *Phocion* being of a contrarie opinion ſaid vnto them, If this newes be true to day, it will be true alſo to morow. And therfore

Curioſitie in princes affaires is perilous.

How we muſt cure curioſitie.

Examples againſt curioſitie.

Againſt lightnes of beleefe.

my

(my Lords Athenians) make no haſte, but deliberate leiſurely, and looke ſafely to that which ye haue to do. It is certaine, that if we vſe in this ſort to ſhew our ſelues ſtaied in ſuch things, and in all other things of ſmal importance, wherein our naturall inclination would prouoke vs to be curious, as namely, to breake off good communication begun vpon the receit of a letter, to forſake companie to run and meet a meſſenger onely to know what newes he bringeth, and a thouſand ſuch like ſudden motions proceeding of lightnes and curioſitie, I ſay by auoiding ſuch things we ſhould prepare a way to the reſtraining of al curioſitie in greater matters, which otherwiſe may procure blame. As for example, to open another bodies letter, to intrude our ſelues into the ſecret counſels of our neighbors, to ſeeke out their faults and imperfections, to inquire buſily after that, which may greeue our familiar friends, or to aske them of that, which they like not of, neither is grounded vpon any good cauſe or reaſon, leaſt peraduenture the anſwer of ſome wiſe man ſhould turne more to our ſhame, than be framed according to our deſire. Thus dealt *Demaratus* with a curious & importunate fellow that had oftentimes asked of him, who was the honeſteſt man in Sparta: He that reſembleth thee leſt, quoth he vnto him. The anſwer alſo of an Egyptian was not vnfitly made to one that aſked him what he caried there folded. It is wrapped vp (quoth he) bicauſe thou ſhouldſt not know what it is. Now by that which hath been hitherto diſcourſed, it appeereth ſufficiently, that al kind of curioſitie is hurtful, hateful, and greatly to be blamed in euerie one, if it be not bounded and limited by the reaſon of true prudence, which guideth and ſtirreth vs vp to ſeeke after good, honeſt, and profitable things, either in heauen, in earth, in the aire, or in the ſea, according to the gift and capacitie of our vnderſtanding and iudgement, which may be neceſſarie for vs to know, or may helpe vs to liue well and happily. For whatſoeuer is more, we ought to account it vnprofitable and ſuperfluous. Let vs learne then, not to know more than we ought, but vnto ſobrietie, containing

Faults wherein-to curious men commonly fall.

Wittie anſwers made to curious queſtions.

Rom. 12. 3.

taining our ſpirits within the limits of mediocritie, ſimplicitie, and modeſtie. Let vs forſake all ſophiſticall curioſitie, and worldlie wiſedome, which is meere fooliſhnes before God, that we may imbrace a ſimple, popular, and Academicall kind of knowledge, which will teach vs to know our ſelues and our dutie, whereby we ſhall be led to that happy end, which we ſeeke for and deſire. Let vs not admire any more the merchandiſe and outward ſhewes wherewith ſtrangers feed the eies of curious folks, but let vs wonder at vertue onely: ſaying with the comicall poet, where he ſpeaketh of thoſe that couered their bedſteads with gold and ſiluer, what great follie is it to make ſleepe ſo deere, which God hath freely giuen vnto vs? So to ſeeke for that of ſtrangers with ſuch great expences which we may haue at our owne hauen better & more cómodiouſly, were all one, as if we ſhuld leaue the ſubſtance, & run after the ſhadow, or that which is certain for an vncertaintie. We may haue in France (if our blockiſhnes ſtay vs not) Vniuerſities and ſchooles for all honeſt exerciſes meet for our nobilitie without ſtrangers. And if we think that in ſome places amongſt them, they haue better teachers than we haue, let vs firſt ſeeke amongſt our ſelues for thoſe inſtructions that are moſt neceſſarie, namely, for the knowledge of good letters, and inſtitution of vertue, and then if we thinke good, we may heare their teachers and maiſters, without infecting our behauiour with the corruption of their maners. Beſides by the ſame ſtudie we ſhal learne to ſhun al curious inquiry into other mens imperfections, that we may diligently looke into our owne.

Of Nature and Education. Chap. 16.

AMANA. SEeing that in the entrance of our former treatiſe, we began with that naturall inſtinct of man, which mooueth and diſpoſeth him to deſire and to ſeeke after his good, we may in continuing the ſame matter find more profitable inſtruction, by conſidering his nature more narrowly, as alſo what commeth

vnto

vnto him by good education, which, that I may ſo ſay, ſtandeth him in ſtead of a ſecond nature. To you therfore (my Companions) I leaue this matter to be intreated of.

ARAM. The nature of man is like to a paire of ballance. For if it be not guided with knowledge and reaſon vnto the better part, of it ſelfe it is caried to the woorſe. And although a man be well borne, yet if he haue not his iudgement fined, and the diſcourſing part of his mind purged with the reaſons of philoſophie, it will fall often into groſſe faults, and ſuch as beſeem not a prudent man. For in thoſe men that are not indued with vertue ruled by certaine knowledge, nature bringeth forth ſuch fruits as naturally come from the ground without the manuring and helping-hand of man.

ACHITOB. That which commonly cauſeth men to will euill rather than good, proceedeth chiefly of this, that they haue no knowledge or experience therof. And therfore *Socrates* ſaid, that as bringing vp maketh dogs fit for hunting, ſo good inſtruction cauſeth men to become profitable in the managing of a commonwealth. But it commeth to thy courſe, ASER, to diſcourſe vpon this matter.

ASER. This hath been alwaies a great queſtion among the skilfull and diligent inquirers after the perfection of nature, whether learning or nature teacheth vs to know our ſelues. Iuſtice (ſaith *Cicero*) is naturally planted in vs from our birth, as alſo religion, pietie, grace, dutie, and truth. Whatſoeuer is according to nature (as the philoſophers ſay) is certainly ordained and appointed, bicauſe nature is nothing elſe but order, or rather the effect of order. But diſorder, like to Pindarus ſand, cannot be comprehended in any certaine number: neither can that which is againſt nature be defined, bicauſe it is infinite. When they ſpeake generally of nature, they make two principall kinds: the one ſpirituall, intelligible, and the vnchangeable beginning of motion and reſt, or rather the vertue, efficient, and preſeruing cauſe of all things: the other, ſinſible, mutable, and ſubiect to generation and corruption, reſpecting all things that haue life, and ſhall haue

Natural vertues according to the Philoſophers, who had no knowledge of mans fall.

The diuiſion of nature.

haue end. *Aristotle* saith, that nature in one respect is said to be the first & chiefe matter subiect of euery thing that hath being, namely, of those things which haue in them the beginning of their own moouing & mutation: and in another respect, it is called the form of any thing. But leauing the infinite disputations and curious inquirie made by the philosophers concerning this excellent matter, whereof we haue not heere vndertaken to intreat, we say with *Iustin Martyr*, that Nature (in which the steps of the diuinitie shine and are liuelie represented) is that spirit or diuine reason, which is the efficient cause of naturall works, and the preseruing cause of those things that haue being, through the onely power of the heauenlie word, which is the workmaister of nature, and of the whole world, and hath infused into euery thing a liuely vertue and strength, wherby it encreaseth and preserueth it selfe by a naturall facultie. Or to speake more briefly, Nature is the order and continuance of the works of God, obeying the deitie, and his words and commandements, and borrowing hir force and strength from thence, as from hir fountaine and originall. In this nature thus defined, which respecteth all things created, we haue heere to consider of and to handle particularly, according to our meaning at the first, the nature of man onely, which naturall philosophers call the instinct and inclination of euerie ones spirit. There is nothing more true, than that nature of hir selfe leadeth men in some sort to that which is decent and honest: neither is learning able to shew any thing, which is not to be found in nature, whether we go about to teach the end of man, which the philosophers call, the action of vertue, or whether we seeke out the causes and beginnings of other sciences. For other is no man so barbarous or wicked in all the world, who is not touched with honestie, and who retaineth not somewhat of the light of nature. Which may be cleerely perceiued by this, that a vertuous action pleaseth him, so that he is euen constrained to commend it. And if he might taste thereof neuer so little, not being fore-possessed with other disordinate desires,

What nature is.

The propertie and light of nature.

desires, no doubt but he would become such a one, as might purchase and deserue praise and commendation. But here we must acknowledge the first corruption of our nature whereby it is inclined to pleasure, and to eschew labour, which are the welsprings of vices and of infinite euils. And if our nature should be suffered to runne with the bridle at libertie, whether soeuer it is driuen by carnal desires, hauing none of them cut off by wise admonitions and liuely perswasions, there is no beast so vntamed or sauage, that would not be milder than man. Whereupon it followeth that nature must of necessitie be tamed, and as it were mollified by the studie of good letters, & by the instruction of good philosophicall reasons, which as they serue for nourishment and food to our minds, so by them our maners and actions are framed and guided according to vertue and prudence, and we made able to learne how, by the compasse of reason, to attain to mediocritie, wherin perfection consisteth, and to reiect excesse, which is alwaies dangerous. A good plaier on a lute or violl toucheth no other stringes than those that are touched by him that is most vnskilfull. Notwithstanding being taught in the beginning, he knoweth afterward through vse what strings make that sound, which the eare iudgeth by the harmonie and agreement of sound to be delectable, whereupon he is taken for his craftsmaster. Euen so a perfect vertuous man vseth onely naturall gifts, but reason and practise bringeth them to their perfection. Euery good beginning commeth vnto vs by nature, the progres and growth by the precepts of reason, and the accomplishment by vse and exercise. Nature without learning & good bringing vp is a blinde thing. Learning without nature wanteth much, and vse without the two former is vnperfect. It is true (as *Plato* saith) that some may be found, that are of a strong and forceable nature, and therby indued with reasonable good sence and iudgement (which is in man as the rudder in a ship) so that they make shewe of great vertues. But those men are not without manie great vices also, if they want good education & learning:

The corruption of nature.

Three things necessarie for the perfection of man.

not

not vnlike to a good fat ground, which bringeth foorth many good and bad hearbes togither, if it be not well dreſſed. Now if this good nature be ill brought vp, without doubt it will ſpoile it ſelfe and become verie pernitious. *Scipio* and *Catiline* were both high minded and courragious by nature, but foraſmnch as the one was alwaies obedient to the lawes of his common-wealth, & vſed his vertue as reaſon required, he was accounted vertuous, & the other wicked and wretched for doing the contrarie. You aske of me (ſaith *Socrates* in *Xenophon*) whether courage or greatnes of hart proceed of nature or of learning. For my part I think, that as we ſee ſome borne with ſtronger bodies than others are, ſo by nature we haue mindes more fit to ſuſtaine perils & aduerſities than others haue. And that this is ſo, we ſee many brought vp with the ſame maners, and inſtructed vnder like lawes, and yet ſome of them more hardie and bold than the reſt. Notwithſtanding there is no doubt but the goodnes of nature is holpen by learning and inſtitution. It is certaine (ſaith *Plutark*) that there is in all men ſome light of good and right iudgement, but yet the difference between philoſophers and the common ſort of men is great: bicauſe philoſophers haue their iudgement more ſtaied and aſſured in dangers, whereas the vulgar ſort haue not their harts fortified and defended with ſuch anticipations and reſolute impreſſions aforehand. Albeit therefore many notable men (as *Cicero* ſaith) haue atchieued many braue and vertuous exploits being guided by their naturall iudgement onely, and by daily experience in affairs, yet infinite faults may be noted in them, eſpecially in their behauiour and maner of life, which might haue been amended and corrected by the knowledge of letters. Moreouer the iudgement of man wauereth too eaſily to ſettle and reſolue it ſelfe vpon any thing: yea it is driuen by a thouſand occaſions from the ground of hir former diſcourſes, if it be not built and laid vpon certaine knowledge & reaſon, which the ſtudie of wiſedome teacheth vs. And as for that prudence, which is gotten onely by vſe, and by a mans owne experi-

The difference between philoſophers and the common people

experience, it is too long, dangerous and difficult, bicauſe it is not able to make vs wiſe but after our owne perill: & oftentimes whilſt we ſeeke it, death maketh haſte to preuent it, or elſe followeth it ſo neere, that we had neede of a ſecond life to beſtow about it. Thus we ſee that if there be any want in any one of theſe three, Nature, Reaſon and Vſe, vertue alſo muſt needes faile and be vnperfect in that point. True it is, that a good naturall inclination deſerueth more praiſe being without learning, than learning doth without it: bicauſe euen knowledge ſerueth many times for an occaſion to the wicked, who abuſe it maliciouſly, to further their vnpure purpoſes. Neuertheles, we can accuſe nothing but their peruerſnes, which by reaſon of their ignorance, would not haue ſtaied it ſelfe from vttering ſuch pernitious effects in them, and peraduenture worſe. For in what meaſure ſoeuer it be, yet (as *Socrates* ſaid) they that haue been well brought vp and inſtructed, are in ſome ſort forced to moderate themſelues. Beſides, they that are not altogither well borne, yet being holpen by good training vp and exerciſe of vertue, they may after a ſort repaire and recouer the defect of nature. Idlenes (ſaith *Plutarke*) annihilateth and corrupteth the goodnes of nature, but diligence in good education correcteth the naughtines thereof. And as we ſee, that drops of water falling vpon a hard ſtone make it hollow, and that iron and copper conſume and weare only with handling, and ground that is more vneeuen and ſtonie than it ought, yet being manured and dreſſed, beareth faire and goodlie fruit, and contrariwiſe good ground becommeth vnfruitfull, and waxeth worſe and worſe the more it is left vnlabored: euen ſo good maners and conditions are qualities, which in long proceſſe of time are imprinted in the ſoule, and morall vertues are attained vnto through care, diligence, labor, and long exerciſe. Therfore although nature hath this propertie in al men, that it is in perpetuall motion through a weake inſtinct, and that in ſome ſtronger, in others weaker, which cauſeth hir to aſpire vnto and to deſire the excellencie of hir firſt perfection, whereof

Three things concurre in perfect vertue.

The defect of nature is holpen by good education.

The weaknes of our naturall inclination to goodnes.

whereof ſhe knoweth hir ſelfe void, yet if ſhe be not alwaies holpen and driuen towards the better part, ſhe will ſoone ſuffer hir ſelfe to be caried to the worſe. They are but little ſparks (ſaith *Cicero*) which through vice and corrupt maners are ſo eaſily quenched, that the light of them appeereth not. And as the heate buried in the veines of a flint, ſeemeth rather dead than aliue, if the ſparkles be not drawen foorth by the ſteele: ſo this immortall portion of celeſtiall fire, being the fountaine and firſt motiue of all knowledge, remaineth without any profit or commendable action, if it be not ſharpened and ſet on worke. We are no ſooner borne, and taken in hand to be brought vp, as *Plato* ſaith, but we follow after wickednes, as if we had ſucked iniquitie togither with our nurſes milke. Afterwards being cómitted by our fathers to the hands of teachers, we ſo inwrap our minds with errors, that thoſe weake ſeedes of vertue, which are in vs by nature, muſt needes giue place to vanitie, and to opinion. But if good wits find good bringing vp, then they grow alwaies vp from better to better. Whereupon in my opinion that old prouerbe was not ſpoken without reaſon, that education goeth beyond nature. Which thing when *Lycurgus* was deſirous to let the Lacedemonians vnderſtand, he nouriſhed two dogs of one & the ſame litter, vſing the one to hunt, and bringing vp the other in the kitchen. And when the people were gathered togither, he ſpake vnto them in this maner: It is a matter of great importance (O ye Lacedemonians) to ingender vertue in mens harts by education, cuſtome, and diſcipline, as I will let ye ſee, and ſenſibly perceiue out of hand. Then he cauſed both the dogs to be brought, and caſting off a hare on the one ſide, & ſetting a platter of broth on the other, he let looſe his dogs, of which the one followed after the hare, & the other ran to the broth. Thus fareth it (quoth he) with men, who may be made more vertuous by good education, than by nature. Neither will it profit them at all to deſcend of *Hercules* race, if they practiſe not thoſe works whereby in his life time he grew to be moſt famous in the world, and if they exerciſe

A ſimilitude.

Lycurgus example of two dogs.

exercise not themselues all the daies of their life in honest and vertuous actions. Furthermore if we desire examples of this, that learning, institution and education auaile greatly to conforme and frame our harts and wils to vertue, yea to alter and make them better, *Socrates* confesseth in *Plato*, that by nature he was inclined to vices, and yet philosophy made him as perfect and excellent a man as any was in the world. *Themistocles* in his youth (as himselfe confessed) for want of discipline was caried away by his desires like to a yoong vnbridled colt, vntil that by *Miltiades* example, who was then famous amongst the Grecians, he caused the viuacitie & quicknes of his spirit, and the ambition, which naturally was in him to attende vpon vertue. Besides, education and custome haue power to change not onely the naturall inclination of some particuler men, but also of whole countries, as the histories of most nations in the world declare vnto vs: and namely of the Germaines, who in the time of *Tacitus* had neither law, nor religion, nor knowledge, nor forme of commonwealth, whereas now they giue place to no nation for good institution in all things. Let vs not then be discouraged or faint by knowing our naturall imperfections, seeing that through labor and diligence we may recouer that which is wanting: but happie is that man, and singularly beloued of God, to whom both good birth and like bringing vp are granted together. It followeth now to discourse particulerly of the maner of good education and instruction of youth: but this will come in more fitely, when we shall intreat of Oeconomy. And yet seeing we are in the discourse of mans nature, I thinke it wil not be from the purpose, nor without profite, if (to make vs more seuere censurers of our owne faults) we note, that although our behauior be cheefely known by the effects, as a tree by the fruit, yet many times a mans naturall inclinatiō is better perceiued in a light matter, as in a word, in a pastime, or in some other free and priuate busines, wherein vertue or vice ingrauen in the soule may be sooner espied, than in greater actions and works done publikely:

Socrates and Themistocles were by nature vicious, but by education vertuous.

The Germaines much changed by institution.

A mans naturall inclination may be espied in a small matter.

likely: bicauſe in theſe matters ſhame or conſtraint commonly cauſe men to vſe diſſimulation. Howbeit this alſo is true, that the more power and authoritie a man hath, when he may alleadge his owne will for all reaſon, the inward affection of his hart is then beſt diſcouered. For ſuch an vnbrideled licence mooueth all, euen to the verie depth and bottome of his paſſions, and cauſeth all thoſe ſecret vices, that are hidden in his ſoule to be fullie and euidently ſeene. Whereupon it followeth that great and noble men ought aboue all others to learne vertue, and to ſtudie to liue well, eſpecially ſeeing they haue all thoſe requiſite helps and commodities, through want of which moſt men are hindred from attaining thereunto. Let vs therefore learne by our preſent diſcourſe to knowe, that the nature of all men, by reaſon of the corruption of ſin, is ſo depraued, corrupted and vnperfect, that euen the beſt men amongſt many imperfections carry about them ſome enuie, ielouſy, emulation and contention againſt ſome or other, and rather againſt their verie friends. This did *Demas* a noble man and greatly conuerſant in matters of eſtate, declare vnto the councel in the citie of *Chio*, after a ciuill diſſention wherin he had followed that part which ouercame. For he perſwaded thoſe of his ſide not to baniſh all their aduerſaries out of the city, but to leaue ſome of them after they had taken from them all meanes of doing more harme: leaſt (quoth he vnto them) we begin to quarrel with our friends, hauing no more enemies to contende withall. For this cauſe we muſt fortifie our ſelues with vnderſtanding and knowledge through labor and ſtudie of good letters, that we may reſtraine and repreſſe ſo many pernitious motions mingled togither in our ſoules. Let vs know moreouer, that ſeeing our nature is aſſaulted and prouoked by a vehement inclination to do any thing whatſoeuer, it is a very hard matter to withdrawe and keepe it backe by any force, no not by the ſtrength or feare of any lawes, if in due conuenient time we frame not within it a habite of vertue, hauing firſt wiſhed to be well borne. But howſoeuer it be, let vs endeuor

Great men ought eſpecially to learne vertue.

to

to be well borne through cuſtome and exerciſe in vertue (which will be vnto vs as it were another nature) vſing the meanes of good education and inſtruction in wiſedome, whereby our ſoules ſhal be made conquerors ouer all hurtfull paſſions, and our minds moderate and ſtaied, that in all our doings, ſayings and thoughts we paſſe not the bounds of the dutie of a vertuous man.

The ende of the fourth daies worke.

THE FIFT DAIES WORKE.

Of Temperance. Chap. 17.

ASER. THe diuine excellencie of the order, of the equall & wonderful conſtãcie of the parts of the world, aſwell in the goodly and temperate moderation of the ſeaſons of the yeere, as in the mutuall coniunctiõ of the elements, obeying altogither with a perfect harmonie the gratious and ſoueraigne gouernment of their creator, was the cauſe that *Pythagoras* firſt called all the compaſſe of this vniuerſal frame by this name of *World*, which without ſuch an excellent diſpoſition would be but diſorder & a world of confuſion. For this word world, ſignifieth aſmuch as Ornament, or a well diſpoſed order of things. Nowe as a conſtant and temperate order is the foundation thereof, ſo the ground-worke and preſeruation of mans happie life, for whom all things were made, is the vertue of temperance, which conteineth the deſires and inclinations of the ſoule within the compaſſe of mediocritie, and moderateth all actions whatſoeuer. For this cauſe, hauing

The Greeke word κοσμος vſed by Pythagoras, and tranſlated of the Latins *Mundus*, and of vs *World*, ſignifieth a comely order.

hitherto according to our iudgment ſufficiently diſcourſed of the firſt riuer of the fountaine of honeſtie, I thinke we ought to ſet downe here in the ſecond place (although it be contrarie to the opinion of manie philoſophers) this vertue of Temperance, ſaying with *Socrates* that ſhe is the ground-worke and foundation of all vertues.

No vertue can be without temperance.

AMANA. As a man cannot be temperate if firſt he be not prudent, bicauſe euerie vertuous action proceedeth of knowledge: ſo no man can be ſtrong and valiant, if he be not firſt temperate, bicauſe he that hath a noble and great courage without moderation, will attempt a thouſand euils and miſcheefes, and will ſoone grow to be raſh and headie. Likewiſe iuſtice cannot be had without temperance, ſeeing it is the cheefe point of a iuſt man, to haue his ſoule free from perturbations. Which cannot be done except he be temperate, whoſe proper ſubiect the ſoule is.

ARAM. Heroicall vertue (ſaith *Plato*) is made perfect by the mixture and ioyning together of Temperance and fortitude, which being ſeparated will at length become vices. For a temperate man that is not couragious, eaſily waxeth to be a coward and faintharted: and a noble hart not temperate, becommeth raſh and preſumptuous. Let vs then heare ACHITOB diſcourſe of this Temperance, ſo excellent and neceſſarie a vertue.

The true marks and ornaments of a king.

ACHITOB. *Agapetus* a man of great skill, writing to the emperor *Iuſtinian*, amongſt other things had this saying: We ſay that thou art truly and rightly both emperor and king, ſo long as thou canſt command and maſter thy deſires and pleaſures, and art beſet and decked with the crowne of Temperance, and clothed with the purple robe of Iuſtice. For other principalities end by death, whereas this kingdome abideth for euer: yea others are manie times the cauſe of perdition to the ſoule, but this procureth a certaine and an aſſured ſafetie. When we haue conſidered well of the woorthie effects and fruits of this vertue of temperance, no doubt but we will ſubſcribe to this wiſe mans opinion, and to as many as haue written of the praiſes and roialties of that vertue. Temperance (ſaith *Pythagoras*)

thagoras) is that light, which driueth away round about hir the darknes and obſcuritie of paſſions. She is (ſaith *Socrates*) the wholeſomeſt vertue of all. For ſhe preſerueth both publikely and priuately humane ſocietie, ſhe lifteth vp the ſoule miſerably throwen downe in vice, and reſtoreth hir againe into hir place. Temperance (ſaith *Plato*) is a mutuall conſent of the parts of the ſoule (from whence ſpringeth continencie) cauſing all diſordered and vnbrideled deſires to take reaſon for a rule and direction. Temperance (ſaith *Cicero*) is the mother of all dutie and honeſtie. It is the propertie of iuſtice not to violate the right of another man, and of Temperance, not ſo much as to offend him. In Temperance a man may behold modeſtie, with the priuation of euery perturbation in the ſoule, as alſo a way how to frame al things according to that which is decent or ſeemely, which the Latins call *Decorum*, being a conueniencie meet for the excellencie of man, and that wherein his nature differeth from other liuing creatures. For as bodily beautie mooueth and reioiceth the eies, by reaſon of the goodly and ſeemely compoſition of all the members, wherin all the parts with a certaine grace agree togither: ſo this decencie, which is honeſtie and ſeemelines, ſhining in mans life by his good order, conſtancie and moderation both in deed and word, mooueth and draweth the harts of thoſe amongſt whom we liue. This vertue then of temperance is a ſtedfaſt and moderate rule of reaſon ouer concupiſcence, and ouer other vehement motions of the mind. But ſhe commandeth cheefly ouer thoſe two perturbations of the ſoule, grounded vpon the opinion of good, I meane, *Vnbridled deſire, and vnmeaſurable ioie*, whereof heertofore we made mention. Thus we ſee, that no man can find out any thing that is ſo excellent and wonderfull as temperance, the guide and gouernor of the ſoule, which bicauſe of hir exceeding great light cannot be hid in darknes: which compelleth vs to follow reaſon, bringeth peace to our minds, and mollifieth them as it were by concord and agreement. She ſerueth for a bridle to reſtraine all pleaſures, and in the midſt of them maketh

What temperance is.

What *Decorum*, or comelines is

The definition of temperance.

What paſſions are ruled by temperance.

man good and vertuous. She ſerueth for a knife to cut off all ſuperfluous, vaine, and vnneceſſarie deſires as well of the ſoule as of the bodie: and is as it were a rule directing naturall and neceſſarie deſires by fit choice of times, and by temperate vſe of mediocritie. Wherefore we may ſay, that this vertue of temperance comprehendeth in it all the other vertues: that through hir a harmonie, concordance, and coniunction of them all is made: that ſhe miniſtreth vnto them all occaſions of beginning, and being begun confirmeth them by a firme and ſtedfaſt ſafetie. Breefly, temperance (as *Plato* ſaith) is a generall ſurname of thoſe vertues, whereby a man moderateth his owne affections, and frameth his geſture and behauiour in ſuch ſort, that no effeminate or looſe maners, no clowniſh or vnciuil faſhions are ſeene in him. O (ſaith *Euripides*) how is temperance to be eſteemed, which is the cauſe of ſuch great glorie and honor amongſt men? This vertue is diuided into fower principal parts, into *Continencie*, *Clemencie*, *Modeſtie*, and *Order*. Continencie is that part, whereby concupiſcence and deſire are gouerned by counſell and reaſon. Clemencie is that, whereby the minds of men, raſhly caried away with the hatred of any one, and with deſire to hurt him, are kept backe by gentlenes. Modeſtie is that, whereby honeſt ſhame and baſhfulnes purchaſeth good and due deſerued renowne. Order is a diſpoſition of all things in their conuenient place. All theſe vertues are vndoubtedly ioined with temperance, and conſiſt as well in action, as in the diſcourſing of the mind. For by ioining a certaine mediocritie and order vnto thoſe things that belong to this life, we preſerue honeſtie and dutie. Euerie vertue (ſaith *Iamblicus*, a notable man) deſpiſeth whatſoeuer is fraile, mortall, and momentanie, but temperance more than the reſt: bicauſe ſhe contemneth, and through chaſtitie beateth downe all thoſe delights and pleaſures, whereby the ſoule (as *Plato* ſaith) is faſtened vnto the bodie as it were with a naile. Therefore if temperance rooteth out whatſoeuer ſhe findeth vnperfect and ſubiect to perturbations, how ſhal ſhe not therewithall make vs perfect?

Fower parts of temperance.

fect? This is the meaning of that which the poets would giue vs to vnderſtand vnder that fained fable of *Bellerophon*, who being aided by modeſtie put to death that *Chimæra*, and all other cruel and ſauage monſters. But as long as the immoderate force of our affections raigneth in vs, it ſuffereth not men to be men, but draweth them to the il fauoured nature of beaſts void of reaſon. Contrariwiſe, this holie moderation, whereby pleaſures are contained within certaine bounds, preſerueth families togither, and cities: and which is more, draweth vs in ſome ſort neere to the diuine nature. Thus we ſee that ſhe is the foundation and ornament of all good things. If we ſhould endeuor to rehearſe heere al thoſe excellent praiſes, which philoſophers giue to this vertue of temperance, bicauſe of hir worthie effects and wholeſome fruits, which ſhe bringeth foorth in the ſoule, we were not able to performe it, although we ſhould beſtow this whole daies worke about it. But bicauſe in the ſequele of our diſcourſes, as well in the handling of vices as of vertues, we may conſider further how neceſſary temperance is, and what profit it bringeth to the whole life of man, we will content our ſelues to learne of *Plato*, that temperance is the piller of fortitude, the helmet and ſhield againſt luxurioufnes, the keeper and guide of the eies, the preſeruer of good will, the raſor of euill thoughts, the corrector of vntamed deſires, an enimie to the diſordered will of the ſoule: that it ſhunneth naturall deſires, hindereth diſhoneſt actions, breedeth continencie, mollifieth mens harts, and giueth reaſon for a rule in all things. Now let vs note out amongſt the ancients, ſome examples of the force and greatnes of this vertue of temperance, which hath made many excellent men worthie of eternall renowme. *Scipio Africanus* generall of the Romanes, at the taking of the citie of Carthage had a yoong damſell to his priſoner, of rare and excellent beautie. And when he vnderſtood of what great calling ſhe came, and how hir parents not long before had betrothed hir to a great Lord of Spaine, he commanded that he ſhould be ſent for, and reſtored hir vnto him, without

The commendation of temperance.

Woonderfull examples of temperance. *Scipio Africanus.*

out abusing hir in any respect, although he was in the flowre of his age, and had free and soueraigne authoritie. Moreouer, he gaue for a dowrie with hir the monie that was brought vnto him for hir ransome. An act no doubt of great continencie in a victorious captaine towards his captiue, whereof *Aulus Gellius*, ioining it with that which we read of *Alexander* the great, maketh this question, whether of the twaine behaued himselfe more vertuously. For *Alexander* hauing vanquished in battell king *Darius*, and retaining as prisoner his wife, which excelled al the dames of Asia in beautie, and was withall but yong in yeeres, the victorious Monarke being but yong also, and hauing no superior aboue him to whom he was bound to giue an account of himselfe, had notwithstanding such great knowledge how to command himselfe, that albeit by his acquaintance and friends he was sufficiently certified of the excellent beautie of this Ladie, yet hee bare no ill thought towards hir, but sent to comfort hir, and caused hir to be intertained and attended on with no lesse honor and reuerence, than if she had been his owne sister. And to auoid all suspicion and occasion of euill, he would not see hir, nor suffer hir to be brought before him. The temperance of *Cyrus* king of Persia is also very famous amongst the historiographers. For when one of his minions stirred him vp to go and see faire *Panthea*, saying that hir rare beautie was well woorthie to be seene: that is the cause (answered this yong prince vnto him) why I will altogither abstaine at this present from beholding hir at thy persuasion, least she hir selfe heerafter should induce me through the remembrance of hir perfection to go to hir, and so cause me in the meane time to let slip many affaires of great importance. *Architas* was so temperate, that he would not so much as vtter one filthie word: and if he were driuen to declare it vpon some iust occasion, then he wrote it, shewing by this silence, how dishoneſt a thing it was to commit that, which being onely vttered ought to cause a man to blush. *Xenocrates* was indued with such a great gift of continencie, that *Phryna* a very faire and notable

Alexander.

Cyrus.

Architas.

Xenocrates.

table courtiſan laid a wager with certaine yoong men, that if ſhe lay with him, ſhe would cauſe him to breake his temperance. But *Xenocrates*, hauing granted hir the halfe of his bed, for example ſake to thoſe youths, was nothing more mooued for any thing ſhe could do. Whereupon *Phryna* being verie angrie made anſwere in the morning to thoſe that demanded the wager of hir, that ſhe laie not with a man but with a blocke. *Iſæus* the philoſopher being asked of one that looked vpon a verie faire woman, whether ſhe ſeemed not vnto him to be faire, made this anſwer. My friend, I am not diſeaſed any more in my eies: and ſo would not behold hir at all. *Caius Gracchus* the Romaine, as long as he gouerned Sardinia, would neuer ſuffer a woman to ſet foote in his houſe, except it were to demand iuſtice. *Antigonus* king of Macedonia, hearing that his ſonne was lodged in a houſe where there were three verie faire daughters, made an edict, that no courtier ſhould lodge in any matrons houſe that had daughters, if ſhe were vnder fiftie yeeres of age. *Pompeius* would neuer ſpeak to the wife of *Demetrius* his freeman, bicauſe ſhe was ſo faire, that he feared leaſt he ſhould be in loue with hir. In the number of theſe ancient, famous and vertuous men, that great captaine *Francis Sforce* duke of Millan deſerueth to be placed, whoſe continencie was woonderfull, euen when he was yet yoong, and generall of the Florentine armie, at the taking of Caſanoua. For as certaine ſouldiers had taken a maide of an excellent beautie, and at hir intreatie and earneſt requeſt had brought hir before him, *Sforce* asked the maide why ſhe deſired ſo earneſtly to come before him. To this ende (quoth ſhe) that thou mighteſt deliuer me from the ſouldiers, & that I might pleaſe thee. *Sforce* ſeeing hir to be verie faire, accepted of hir, and at night cauſed hir to lie with him. But as he would haue drawne neer vnto hir, the maide caſt hir ſelfe on both hir knees before him without the bed, and beſought him to ſaue hir virginitie, and to reſtore hir to him vnto whome ſhe was made ſure. Whereupon *Sforce* willingly agreed, beholding the abundance of hir teares, which

Iſæus.

C. Gracchus.

Antigonus.

Pompeius.

F. Sforce.

which were teſtimonies of the chaſtitie of hir hart. Will we haue examples of this vertue of temperance in other circumſtances of hir effects? Ambition truly is the moſt vehement and ſtrongeſt paſſion of all thoſe wherewith mens minds are troubled, and yet many notable and vertuous men haue ſo maſtred it by the force of their temperance, that oftentimes they accepted of offices and eſtats of ſupreame authoritie, as it were by compulſion & with greefe: yea ſome altogither contemned and willingly forſooke them. *Pompey* receiuing letters of abſolute authoritie from the ſenate to conduct the warre againſt the two kings *Tygranes* and *Mithridates*, cried out: O God, ſhall I neuer come to the ende of ſo many trauels? Shall enuie alwaies hold me in ſuch ſort as hir ſlaue, that newe and great charges daily laying hold vpon me, I cannot rid my ſelfe of theſe ſnares, to the end I may liue ſweetly with my wife and children at my houſe in the countrey? *Pittacus* one of the Sages of Græcia, being conſtrained to take vpon him the charge of an armie, accepted it with great greefe, ſaying before them all: O how hard a matter it is to be a good man! *Pedaretus* the Lacedemonian hauing eſcaped to be elected one of thoſe three hundred ſenators, which gouerned the eſtate of Sparta, returned from the aſſembly verie ioifull, ſaying, that it was an eaſie matter to finde in that citie three hundred better and more honeſt men than himſelfe. What did *Scipio*, of whom we haue already ſpoken, after he had performed a thouſand glorious facts for the greatnes of the Romaine empire? He forced the nature of ambition, which is alwaies caried with a deſire of new glorie, and changed the reſt of his life into quietnes: and abandoning the affaires of eſtate, he went and dwelt in the countrey. *Torquatus* and *Fabritius* abſented thẽſelues from Rome, the one bicauſe he would not haue the dictatorſhip, and the other the conſulſhip. It is not long ſince *Aimæus* duke of Sauoy willingly gaue ouer his duchy into his ſons hands, & became an hermit: and after that being choſen pope, he gaue vp the ſeat willingly to another. *Amurathes*, the ſecond of that name, emperor

The temperance of Pompey againſt ambition.

Pittacus.

Pedaretus.

Scipio.

Torquatus & Fabritius.

Aimæus.

Amurathes.

emperor of the Turks, after he had obtained infinite victories, and vanquiſhed the king of Hungarie, became a monke of the ſtraighteſt ſect amongſt them. That great emperor *Charles* the fift, did he not reſigne his empire into the hands of the princes electors, and withdrewe himſelfe into a monaſterie? But what need we maruell at the knowledge of theſe examples, which ſhewe the effects of this vertue of temperance againſt ſtrange paſſions ariſing in vs, proceeding of our nature corrupted with ſinne, and ruling in vs through the ignorance of that which is good, when we may ſee, that temperance doth not onely ſerue for a good guide and ſchoolmaſter to our paſſions and to our naturall and neceſſarie deſires and pleaſures, that are borne with man from the beginning to rule them with mediocritie and reaſon, but alſo compelleth them oftentimes to ſubmit themſelues, thereby triumphing ouer their neceſſitie, although (as *Thales* ſaid) it be inuincible? And then how much more eaſie wil it be to reſtraine, yea, wholy to ouerthrow the fooliſh deſires of vanitie? *Soüs* a captaine of great renowne, and king of Lacedemonia, being beſieged in a narrow ſtraight, & very craggie place void of water, after he had endured the neceſſitie of thirſt to the vttermoſt, he offred to the Clitorians his enemies, to reſtore vnto them al their land, which he had wonne of them, ſo that he and all his companie might drinke of a fountaine neere vnto them. Which being thus agreed vpon betweene them, he led al his men thither, and ſaid vnto them, that if any one would abſtaine from drinking, he would reſigne his royaltie of Lacedemonia vnto him. But none would accept thereof, inſomuch that all dranke except himſelfe, who going laſt downe into the fountaine did nothing but refreſh himſelfe, and wet his mouth a little on the outſide, in the preſence of his enemies, not drinking one drop thereof. By meanes whereof he maintained, that he was not bound at all vnto his promiſe, bicauſe all dranke not: and ſo he continued the warre to the great honor & aduantage of his country. *Lyſimachus*, one of *Alexanders* ſucceſſours in the empire, had not ſo great

Charles 5.

Soüs.

Lyſimachus.

greate power ouer the like paſſion. For being compelled by thirſt, he diliuered himſelfe and all his armie to the Getes his enemies. After he had drunke, being priſoner, O God (quoth he) how faint-harted am I, that for ſo ſhort a pleaſure haue depriued my ſelfe of ſo great a kingdome!

Cato. *Cato* the yoonger, trauelling ouer the deſerts of Lybia, endured verie ſore thirſt. And when a ſouldier offered him a little water in his morion, he threw it vpon the ground in preſence of them all, to the end his armie might knowe, that he would be in no better eſtate than they. Truely a woorthy example for all captaines: for by ſo doing, that which would hardly haue quenched the thirſt of one, reſtrained it in a whole armie. The emperor *Rodolphus*, who

Rodolphus. of baſe eſtate attained to this dignitie by his vertue, vpon the like occaſion made an anſwere woorthy to be remembred. For when a full cup of beere was brought vnto him in the warre which he had againſt *Ottocarus* king of Bohemia, at what time he was in a place where his whole army was greatly troubled with thirſt, he would not receiue it, but ſaid vnto the bearer thereof, that his thirſt was for all his armie, and not onely for himſelfe, & therfore that cup of beere was not ſufficient to quench it. We read of *Socra-*

Socrates. *tes* that whenſoeuer he felt himſelfe very thirſty, he would not drinke before he had ſpilt and caſt away the firſt pitcher of water, which he drew for himſelfe out of the well, to this ende (as he ſaid) that he might acquaint his ſenſuall appetite to expect the conuenient time of reaſon. Seeing therefore by ſuch examples and infinite others contained in hiſtories we haue certaine and aſſured proofe of the force of temperance ouer naturall and neceſſarie paſſions, how credible is it, that ſhe may haue farre greater power ouer thoſe other paſſions that came from without vs, after we fell from our firſt creation? Let vs therefore conclude by our preſent diſcourſe, that the vertue of temperance is verie neceſſarie and profitable for a happie life, as that which hath this propertie belonging vnto it, to be skilfull in chaſing a mediocritie in pleaſures and greefes, in keeping that which is honeſt & vertuous,

and

and in ſhunning of vice, eſpecially of carnall pleaſures, although ſhe ſerue alſo to moderate all the actions of our life. And if a prudent man auoideth diſhoneſt things in publike places, a temperate man goeth farther, eſchewing them in ſolitarie and obſcure corners. If iuſtice ſuffereth no violence to be vſed, or wrong offered to any, temperance further permitteth none to offend any: and therefore is verie well called of the philoſophers, the mother of all dutie and honeſtie.

Of Intemperance, and of Stupiditie or blockiſhnes. Chap. 18.

ACHITOB. BEing inſtructed in the vertue of temperance, which, as well as hir fellow vertues, conſiſteth in mediocritie, we are now to conſider of hir extremities and vices that are in exceſſe and in defect. Intemperance is cleane contrarie vnto it, which as *Cicero* ſaith, inflameth, prouoketh, and troubleth the tranquillitie of the ſpirit: but concerning the defect, I find no proper name giuen vnto it by the philoſophers. But I leaue the handling of this matter vnto you my Companions.

ASER. Intemperance (ſaith *Plato*) was ſo called of the ancients, bicauſe that peruerſe, cruell, great and variable beaſt *Luſt*, exerciſeth therein more power than it ought, as alſo diſordered ioy doth the like. Whereupon it commeth, that intemperate men enioying the pleaſure of their ſenſes, imagine falſely that true felicitie accompanieth them therein. But truly whoſoeuer obeieth bodilie pleaſures, ſerueth moſt cruell tyrants. Predominant paſſions in intemperance.

AMANA. Nature (ſaid *Architas*) hath giuen no plague more pernitious & hurtful than the pleaſure of the body. For wheras God hath beſtowed vpon man nothing more excellent than the ſoule and reaſon, there is none ſo great an enimie to this heauenlie gift as voluptuouſnes: bicauſe where luxurioufnes and concupiſcence raigne, there temperance can haue no place: yea, all vertues are baniſhed out

out of their kingdome. But let vs heare ARAM diſcourſe of theſe vices heere propounded vnto vs.

ARAM. I red in *Plato* not long ſince, that there were many ſins, which ought rather to be called puniſhments of other ſins going before, than ſinnes. According to the courſe and ſequele of his ſpeech, if my memorie be good, I thinke his meaning is, that men ſuffering themſelues to be ouertaken of vice in the beginning, as it were in ſport, neuer take heed vnto themſelues, vntill they be wholie abandoned and giuen ouer (as S. *Paule* ſaith) to their vile affections, and pleaſures of their harts, in all vncleannes and turbulent paſſions of ignominie and reproch. Inſomuch that after they haue opened the gate to their concupiſcences, and to the deſires of the fleſh, of whooremongers, couetous perſons, reuengers of their owne wrongs, belly gods, gluttons, and from other leſſe imperfections, being notwithſtanding foule and beaſtly, they become Sodomites, Church-robbers, parricides, Epicures, Atheiſts, and full of all execrable villanies, which are comprehended vnder this word of intemperance. Intemperance is very well defined of the philoſophers to be an ouerflowing in voluptuouſnes, forcing and compelling all reaſon in ſuch ſort, that no conſideration of loſſe or hinderance is able to ſtay or keepe backe him that is through long cuſtome infected with vice, from betaking himſelfe of ſet purpoſe, and as a man would ſay, willingly and deſperately, to the execution of all his deſires and luſts, as he that placeth his ſole and ſoueraigne good therein, ſeeking for no other contentation than in that thing, which bringeth to him and to his ſenſes delight and pleaſure. For this cauſe *Ariſtotle* diſtinguiſheth betweene intemperance and incontinencie (albeit many take them indifferently one for an other) ſaying, that an incontinent man chooſeth not, neither conſulteth when he offendeth, as one that knoweth full well that the euill he committeth is euill, and had reſolued with himſelfe not to follow it, but being ouercome with perturbations, yeeldeth thereunto. Whereas the intemperate man committeth euill of election and ſetled purpoſe

Some ſinnes are puniſhments of other ſinnes.

Rom. 1.

What intemperance is.

The difference betweene an incontinent and an intemperate man.

purpoſe to follow it, accounting it a good thing, & to be deſired. And this commeth through a long cuſtom & habit of vice, which is the cauſe that he neuer repenteth him of the fact, but taketh pleaſure therein: whereas on the contrarie ſide the repentance of an incontinent man followeth hard at the heeles of his ſinne and tranſgreſſion. In this maner then proceedeth intemperance, vntill men are wholie addicted and giuen ouer to vice. This is the cauſe why the ſenſuall and vnreaſonable part of the ſoule contendeth no more with reaſon, which then is as it were ſtarke dead, and ſuffereth it ſelfe to be caried to vgly and vnnaturall vices, and to all fleſhly deſires: bicauſe the diuine part of the ſoule is weakened in ſuch ſort, that ſhe hath no more ſtrength, nor feeling of hir eſſence, which is an enimie to vice. And thus accuſtoming hir ſelfe to follow nothing but the will of the bodie, ſhe forſaketh God altogither, who ſeeing himſelfe forſaken, leaueth hir to hir concupiſcences, from whence is ingendred this exceeding luxurioufnes euen againſt nature, this mortall, venemous, and bloodie enuie, this furious and barbarous crueltie, this inſatiable couetouſnes, this bloud-thirſtie ambition, and other incurable diſeaſes of the ſoule, too wel knowen amongſt vs, whereof the ſequele of our diſcourſes will afford a more ample knowledge vnto. Thus we ſee that intemperance (as *Cicero* ſaith) is the mother of all the perturbations in the ſoule, and cauſeth man (as *Socrates* ſaid) to differ nothing from a beaſt: bicauſe he neuer thinketh vpon that which is beſt, but onely ſeeketh how to ſatisfie and content the vnbridled deſires of pleaſure and luſt, hauing no more vſe of reaſon than beaſts haue. Intemperance (ſaith *Euſebius*) corrupteth the ſoule, and deſtroieth the bodie, bicauſe it conſtraineth a man, for loue of pleaſure, and deſire to ſatisfie it, to do that which he knoweth well is diſhoneſt and vile. And as the winds torment and toſſe that ſhip, which they haue ſeazed vpon now heere now there, and will not ſuffer it to be guided by hir maiſter: ſo intemperance moouing and compelling the ſoule to diſobey reaſon, ſuffereth hir not to enioy tranquillitie

A fit ſimilitude.

and

and reſt, which is an aſſured hauen of harbour from all winds. Intemperance (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) is a vice that proceedeth from the coueting part of man, whereby we deſire to enioy vnlawfull pleaſures. It is hir propertie to chooſe the fruition of hurtfull and vile pleaſures, ſuppoſing none to liue happily, but ſuch as paſſe away their life in them. This vice is vnſeparably accompanied with the troubling of all Order, with impudencie, vnſeemlines, luxuriouſnes, ſloth, negligence, and diſſolutenes. In a word, intemperance remooueth and troubleth all tranquillitie of the mind, and leadeth men to all kind of wickednes, the end of one vice being the beginning of another: which *Socrates* called the puniſhment of ſinne, that doth not cleanſe but kill the malefactor. There is no kind of diſſolutenes wherein the intemperate man plungeth not himſelfe, no wickednes or crueltie, which he executeth not for the ſatisfying of his vncleane deſires and vnſatiable luſts, no feare or imminent danger, which can draw him backe. And further, he laboreth oftentimes to procure, that glorie and honor ſhould be giuen to his moſt curſed and execrable miſdemeanors, imagining and fanſying with himſelfe dreames anſwerable and agreeable to that he moſt deſireth. Wherein he reſembleth mad men, who haue alwaies before their eies thoſe Ideas and ſhapes, which worke the apprehenſion of their furie, and hold them in the viſion and inward view of that which moſt troubleth their diſeaſed braine. But to make this vice of intemperance more odious vnto vs, and to moue vs more earneſtly to flie thoſe cauſes that nouriſh it, labouring to cut off all thoſe branches and hurfull fruits, which it bringeth with it, as ſuperfluitie, gluttony, ambition, pride, and other exceſſes in all kind of delight, wherof we will intreat more particularly heerafter, let vs call to mind examples of ſuch pernitious effects, as it hath brought foorth in them that voluntarily ſubmitted themſelues vnder hir tyrannous gouernment. Although we ſhould ſearch throughout all ancient hiſtories, yet hardly could we alledge a more euident teſtimonie, than the life of *Heliogabalus*: bicauſe there

The companions of intemperance.

Intemperate men reſemble mad folks.

Heliogabalus.

is

is no kind of curſed miſchiefe, of deteſtable luſt, of iniuſtice,& of crueltie wherwith he was not defiled. Yea,he fel into ſuch a furious frenſie of vice, that ſeeking to become a woman, and to be maried to one of his minions, thinking in that ſexe better to ſatiſfie his beaſtlines, he apparelled himſelf after ſuch a faſhion,that he was neither man nor woman. And knowing it impoſſible for him by reaſon of his impietie and corrupt life, to eſcape a miſerable end and violent death (which ought rather to haue been vnto him an occaſiō of amendment) he was ſo bewitched with intemperance,that he prepared poiſons ready at hand to poyſon himſelf withall,if he perceiued himſelfe preſſed of his enimies. And to make his death luxurious according to his deſire, he kept his poiſons in veſſels made of precious ſtones. He prouided alſo ſilken halters to hang himſelf withall,if he ſaw that more expedient for him, than to be poiſoned: or if he ſhould thinke it better to murder himſelfe, he kept for that purpoſe kniues made of precious mettals. Likewiſe he cauſed a high tower all gilded to be built, & all t e his death as fitteſt occaſion ſhould be offred. In the meane while he gaue not ouer that execrable kind of life, which through Gods iuſt iudgement he ended, being depriued of all thoſe means wherwith he deſired to ſerue his owne turne in his death. For he was ſtrangled by the ſouldiers of his gard, who trailed him in that maner through all places of the citie of Rome. *Nero*, one of his predeceſſors, was little better than he. For he ſlew a Romane Conſul called *Atticus*, that he might haue the free vſe of his wife: and pleaſed himſelfe ſo much in his crueltie,that he was the murderer of his own mother, brother,ſiſter,& of two wiues which he had, named *Octauia* and *Poppea*. Likewiſe he put to death his ſchoolemaſter *Seneca*, and many other good men. But his end diſſembled not his life. For beyng hated of all and ſought for to be ſlayne,he killed himſelfe. *Commodus* an other emperor, not finding wherwith to ſatiſfie his intemperance in three hundred concubines,& three hundred buggerers, which he kept in his palace, committed inceſt with his owne ſiſters.

Nero.

Commodus.

Caligula. sters. *Caligula* also did the like, but the one of them was
Proculus. slain by his wife,& the other by his concubine. *Proculus* a Romain emperor,was so much giuen to lust,that he bragged how in fifteene dayes he had gotten with child a hundred virgins of Sarmatia,which he had taken prisoners in
Chilpericus I. the warre. *Chilpericus* the first, king of France, to the end he might the better enioy a whore called *Fredegonda*, whō afterwards he maried,compelled his first wife named *Andeuora*, to become a religious woman, and put to death two children which he had by her through the counsaile of his sayd concubine. Then hauing in his second mariage taken to wife *Galsonda* daughter to the king of Spaine, he caused her to be strangled, and maried *Fredegonda*, who perceiuing afterward that he noted in himselfe this looseneſſe of life, and offensiue kind of gouernment, caused him to be slain. A iust punishment suffred by God for his
Xerxes. intemperance. *Xerxes*,monarch of the Persians,was so intemperate and giuen to lust,that he propounded rewards for those that could inuent some new kind of pleasure. And therfore comming into Græci. an infinit number of men to subdue it,he was ouercome and repulsed by a small number, as being an effeminate and faintharted
Epicurus. man. *Epicurus* a learned philosopher was so intemperate, that he placed the soueraigne Good and Felicitie in plea-
Sardanapalus. sure. *Sardanapalus* monarch of Babylon, the first of the foure Empires,was so addicted to lust and intemperance, that he stirred not all day long from the company of women, being apparelled as they were, and spinning purple. Whereby he became so odious,that two of his lieutenants iudging him vnworthy to command ouer Asia, and ouer so many good men as were vnder his Empire, raised his subiects against him, and ouercame him in battell. Wherupon dispairing of his safetie,he caused a great Tabernacle of wood to be set vp in a sure place within the cloister of his palace,and compassed it round about with great store of dry wood. Then he caused his wife and his concubines whom he loued best to enter into it, and all the wealth he had to be brought thither. This done,shut-

ting

ting himſelfe within it, his Eunuches and ſeruants according to the othe which he had taken of them, put fire to the ſaid frame, and ſo this miſerable king of the Chaldeans and Aſſyrians, with all that was with him, was ſuddenly conſumed with fire, and ended his monarchie, which his victorious lieutenants diuided betwixt them, the one taking himſelf for king of Babylon, the other of Medea. *Antonius*, one of Cæſars ſucceſſors in the Empire, procured his own ruine through intemperance & looſenes, and ſtirred vp ágainſt himſelfe, the enuie and murmuring of the Romans for his retchleſneſſe of feats of Arms in that warre ouer which he was generall againſt the Parthians. For to the end he might quickly return to his concubine *Cleopatra* Queene of Egypt, he hazarded all in ſuch ſort, that without doing any thing worthy his firſt reputation, he loſt more than twentie thouſand of his own men. Afterward, *Octauius* his companion in the Empire, beyng armed againſt him, that he might reuenge the iniurie which he had done him in forſaking his ſiſter whom he had wedded, to liue in his vncleannes, gaue him battell: wherein *Antonius* ſeeing his friend *Cleopatra* flie, who had born him company in that warre, folowed her with three skore of his owne gallies, albeit the fight was yet equal, & the victorie doubtful. Thus he betraied thoſe that fought for him, to follow her, who already had begun his deſtruction, to the end ſhe might accompliſh the ſame, as in deed it fel out after. For being beſieged within Alexandria by the ſaid *Octauius*, and without hope of ſafetie, he thruſt himſelf through the body with his ſword, wherof he died: and Cleopatra alſo procured her own death by the biting of the ſerpent Aſpis. *Boleſlaus* the ſecond king of Polonia, being giuen to all vncleannes and filthines, made no dout to take women by violence from their husbands. Whereupon the biſhop of Cracouia often admoniſhed him therof, and when, by reaſon of his obſtinate perſeuerance, he proceeded againſt him euen with excommunication, he was caried headlong with ſuch fury, that he killed this holy man. After that, his ſubiects comming againſt him, he

Antonius.

Boleſlaus 2.

was conſtrained to flie into Hungarie, where falling mad, he ſlew himſelf. The emperor *Adrian* tooke ſuch glory and pride in al execrable vices, that he commanded a Temple with a ſumptuous tombe to be made for a naughtie man named *Antinoüs*, whō he had miſerably abuſed in his life.

Adrian.

Iohannes a Caſa.

In our time *Iohannes a Caſa* Archbiſhop of Beneuento, and Legate in Venice, wrote a booke in praiſe of the abominable vice of Sodomitrie. *Sigiſmundus Malateſta*, lord of a part of Romaignola a prouince of Italy, ſtriued to haue carnal knowledge of his ſonne *Robert*, who thruſting his poinado into his fathers boſom, reuenged that great wickednes. By theſe examples and infinit others whereof hiſtories are full, it appeereth ſufficiently, that man burning with intemperance, careth not at what price, with what ſhame, hurt or hinderance, he may come to the execution and practiſe of all ſuch pleaſure & delight, as he propoundeth to himſelfe. As if he purpoſe to haue his fame continue for euer, he will not ſtick to do it, although it be by ſome notable wickedneſſe. And thus we read of him that burnt the Temple of Diana, which was accounted the fift wonder of the world, & was two hundred & eight and twentie yeeres in building by the Amazones within the citie of Epheſus in Aſia. The planks thereof were all of Cedar wood, and the doores and garniſhing of the wals, of Cypres. This wretched caitife confeſſed, that he put fire to that ſumptuous building for no other cauſe, than to leaue his fame and renowne behind him in the world: but commandement was giuen that none ſhould ſet down his name in writing. Neuertheleſſe he is named *Eroſtratus*, by *Solinus* and *Strabo:* from whence came that prouerb, This is the renowne of *Eroſtratus*, vſed when any man ſeeketh to be famous by a wicked act, which we may alſo apply to all intemperate men. As touching the defect of Temperance, wherof mention was made in the beginning of our preſent diſcourſe, and which hath no proper name, but vnproperly is ealled by ſome Stupiditie or ſenceleſnes, it is rarely found amongſt men, who by nature are giuen to pleaſure, and caried away with all kinds of deſires & luſts.

The Temple of Diana was burnt by Eroſtratus.

Of Stupiditie.

For

For where shal we find any so dul & blockish, that hath no feeling of pleasure, and that is not mooued with glory and honor? Such a man may be truly taken and accounted as one void of sence and feeling, & like to a blocke. Neither doth it belong to temperáce to be depriued of all desires, but to master them. For that man (as *Cicero* saith) that neuer had experience of pleasures and delights, neither hath any feeling of them, ought not to be called temperate, as he that hath done nothing which may testifie his continencie and modestie. Thus ye see we haue no matter offred wherabout to bestow time in reproouing this vice of defect, fró which men are too carefull to keep themselues. But to come to the conclusió of our discourse, we say with *Aristotle*, that concupiscences and desires change the bodie, and make the soule outragious: that so many as are infected with such a pernicious and damnable vice as intemperance is, are no mẽ, but monsters in nature, leading a life altogether like to that of brute beasts, which being destitute of all reason, know nothing better or more honest than pleasure: & hauing no knowledge of the iustice of God, neither reuerencing the beautie of vertue, bestow al the courage, craft & force that nature hath giuen them, to satisfie and to accomplish their desires. So that if death brought with it an end of all sence and feeling, and an vtter abolishing of the soule, as well to men as to beasts, intemperate folks should seeme to gaine much by enioying their desires and lusts during their life time, and to haue good cause to waxe old, and euen to melt in their foule & filthie pleasures. But seeing we know (for truely he that doubteth hereof, is very ignorant & most miserable) that sence and feeling remaine after death, and that the soule dieth not with the body, but that punishment, yea euerlasting payne is prepared for the wicked, let vs be careful to do the will of our father which is in heauen, whilest we haue time, that in the triumphing day of his eternal sonne, we may not heare to our confusion, that sentence of his mouth, Depart from me ye workers of iniquitie. At which time, the iust shall shine as the sunne in the kingdome of Luke 13.27.

God, and the wicked ſhall be caſt headlong into euerlaſting fire, where ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of teeth.

Of Sobrietie and Frugalitie. Chap. 19.

ARAM. *Socrates* vſed to diſpute earneſtly and grauely of the manner of liuing, as of a thing of great importance. For he ſaid, that continencie in meate and drinke, was as it were the foundation and beginning of skill. And truely the minde is much more prompt to comprehend all good reaſon, when the operations of the braine are not hindered by vapours, which the ſuperfluitie of meates ſend vp thither. I am of opinion therefore, that we handle this vertue of ſobriety, which dependeth of temperance, and is contained vnder the firſt part thereof, namely vnder continencie.

ACHITOB. To liue well and frugally (ſaith *Plato*) is to liue temperately: and (as *Epictetus* ſaith) there is great difference betweene liuing well, and liuing ſumptuouſly. For the one commeth of temperance, frugalitie, diſcipline, honeſtie, and moderation of the ſoule, contented with her owne riches: and the other of intemperance, luſt, and contempt of all order and mediocritie. In the end, the one is followed with ſhame, and the other with true and laſting praiſe.

ASER. We can not well vſe our ſpirite (ſaith *Cicero*) when we are ſtuffed with meate. Neither muſt we gratifie the belly and intrailes only, but alſo the honeſt ioy of the mind. For that which is contained in the other parts, periſheth: but the ſoule ſeparated from the body, abideth for euer. Let vs then harken to AMANA, of whome we may vnderſtand howe neceſſary ſobrietie is for a happie life.

The cauſe of the long life of our Elders, and of the ſhortnes of ours.

AMANA. If we ſet before our eies the long and happy life of the Ancients, ſo long as they obſerued ſobrietie and frugalitie: out of doubt we will attribute one principall cauſe of our ſo ſhort life, and ſo full of infirmities, to the

the riot, ſuperfluitie, and curioſitie of diet, which at this day are ſeene amongſt vs. The life of our firſt Fathers, was it not maintained a long time with fruits, milke, honie, and water? Who euer came neere their long and happie daies, ſince thoſe times? What preparation of exquiſite victuals did thoſe ſix hundred thouſand Iſraelites thinke to find, that came out of Egypt to go into a new land, walking fortie yeeres through the wildernes, drinking nothing but water, and many times wanting that? After thoſe firſt ages, the Grecians and Romanes loued ſobrietie, more than all other nations. And as the Hebrewes vſed to eate but once a daye, which was at dinner, ſo the Grecians onely ſupped. For this cauſe we read that *Plato*, being demanded whether he had ſeene any new or ſtrang thing in Sicilia, anſwered, that he had found a monſter of nature, which did eate twice a day. This he ſpake of *Dionyſius* the tyrant, who firſt brought vp that cuſtome in his countrey. In the time of *Iulius Caſar* the Germaines, a ſtrong and warlike people, liued onely of milke, cheeſe and fleſh, not knowing what wheate and wine were, nor yet what it was to labour the ground, or to ſowe. Yea how many millions of men are there at this day in the Weſt regions and Ilands, who know not what all this ſuperfluitie and daintines of fare meaneth, and yet liue long and healthie in all frugalitie, the greateſt part of them vpon herbs and rootes, whereof they make cakes in ſteede of wheate, and others of raw fleſh? Whereby it is eaſie to iudge, that ſobrietie is the preſeruation and maintenance of health, and of naturall ſtrength and vigor, and ſo conſequently of the life of man. But when we looke higher, and with the eies of our mind marke the excellent glorie and immortall praiſe, deſerued by ſo many *Camilli*, *Scipiones*, *Fabritij*, *Metelli*, *Catones*, and by a thouſand other famous families, which executed ſo many woorthy acts by their owne vertue, and yet in the meane while kept ſuch a ſimple and ſober diet, that the moſt of them were contented with bread, herbs, and water, endured and tolerated cheerefully all iniuries of weather, went but homely araied, and altogither

Dionyſius a monſter, and why.

The ſobrietie of old time, and corruption of ours, compared togither.

togither contemned gold and ſiluer: out of queſtion we will iudge thoſe men very blind, and farre from the white of ſuch glorie and honour, who imbrace nothing but diſſolutenes, ſuperfluitie, luſt, dronkennes, pride, and all ſuch like imperfections, that beare ſway amongſt vs, who behold Vice mounted ſo high, that men muſt in a manner bluſh as much to ſpeake of Vertue, or to be vertuous in a thouſand companies, as in that happy time of the Ancients, they were aſhamed of vice, or to be vitious. And truly I thinke that theſe men being paſt ſhame, care but little for the glorie that hath beene in many ages, ſeeing they liue for the body onely, after a brutiſh impietie, without all regard of the ſoule, or of the ſecond life. What ſay I for the body? Nay rather they are the deſtroiers thereof, ſeeing it cannot be denied but that ſobrietie is a great benefit, and helpe to preſerue health and bodily ſtrength, and to expell diſeaſes, and is to be vſed as a good foundation to attaine to a happy old age. The experience heereof is well knowne to euery one, although there were no other proofe but this, that we ſee the ſimple ſort of people, that labor and trauell to liue with bread and water, grow old in health, whereas our Princes and great Lords being delicately brought vp in idlenes, die yoong men, tormented with infinite diſeaſes, eſpecially when they grow a little in yeeres. Further, let ſuch diſſolute men as make pleaſure the ende of their deſire, know, that ſobrietie leadeth thoſe that follow her, to farre greater and more perfect pleaſures, than incontinencie and ſuperfluitie doe. For theſe exceſſiue fellowes neuer expect hunger, or thirſt, or any other pleaſure of the bodye, but through intemperance preuent them, and ſo enioy ſcarce half the pleaſure. But ſober and temperate men, forbearing the fruition of their deſire a long time, haue a farre more perfect taſte of them, bicauſe (as *Cicero* ſaith) the pleaſure of life conſiſteth rather in the deſire, than in the ſatietie thereof. And if mediocrity be not obſerued, thoſe things that are moſt acceptable and pleaſant, become moſt vnpleaſant. Do we not alſo ſee, that when the body is not ouercharged with

Sobrietie preſerueth health.

There is more pleaſure of the creatures in ſobrietie, than in ſuperfluitie.

meate

meate and wine, it is better disposed, and more temperate for euery good action? And as for the spirite, for which we ought chiefly to liue, it is more ready and nimble to comprehend and conceiue what right, reason, and true honestie are. For (as *Aristotle* saith) sobrietie causeth men to iudge better and according to truth, of all things, and in that respect is very necessary for the attaining of Philosophye. Likewise sobrietie retaineth that in a wise mans thought, which a foole without discretion hath in his mouth. And therefore (saith *Cares*) we must striue by all meanes to restraine our belly, bicause that only is alwaies vnthankfull for the pleasures done vnto it, craving continually, and oftener than it needeth: so that whosoeuer is not able to command ouer it, wil daily heape vp mischiefe vpon mischiefe to himselfe. But frugalitie and sobrietie are the mistresses of good counsell, and the badges of chastitie. For this cause *Titus Liuius* commendeth more the barrennes and sterilitie of a countrey, than fertilitie and fruitfulnes, saying that men borne in a fat & fertile soile, are commonly do-littles, and cowards: but contrariwise, the barrennes of a countrey, maketh men sober of necessitie, and consequently carefull, vigilant, and giuen to labor: as the Athenians were, being situated in a very vnfruitfull place. We make great account (saith *Paulonius*) of frugalitie, not bicause we esteeme the creatures themselues vile, and of small value, but that by meanes thereof we may encrease the greatnes of our courage. And if the greatest & chiefest benefit that could come to man, were (said *Solon*) to haue no need of nourishment, it is very manifest, that the next to that is to haue neede but of a little. But amongst so many good reasons of such excellent mẽ, the counsell of *Epictetus* is wel woorth the marking, where he saith: then when we would eate, we must consider that we haue two guests to entertain, the body and the soule, and that whatsoeuer shall be put into the body, departeth away quickly, but what good thing soeuer entreth into the soule, abideth for euer. To this effect *Timotheus* a Grecian captaine, hauing supped with *Plato* in the Academie at

The belly is an vnthankfull beast.

The counsell of Epictetus concerning eating.

at a ſober and ſimple repaſt (for the greateſt feſtiual dainties were oliues, cheeſe, apples, colewoorts, bread & wine) ſaid, that they which ſup with *Plato*, feele the benefit thereof the next day, yea a long time after. For theſe wiſe men met togither at bankets void of exceſſe, not to fill their bellies, but to prepare and dreſſe their minds, & to learne one of another by their goodly diſcourſes of Philoſophie, whereof a vertuous ſoule hath better taſte, than the body of a well reliſhed and delicate meale. Such were the feaſts of *Pythagoras*, *Socrates*, *Xenocrates*, and of other Sages of Grecia, where the diſcuſſing of good and learned matters there handled, brought through the remembrance of them great pleaſure, and no leſſe liked commoditie, and that of long continuance to ſuch as were preſent at them. And as for the pleaſures of drinking and eating, they iudged the very remembrance thereof to be vnwoorthie and vnbeſeeming men of honor, bicauſe it was to paſſe away as the ſmell of a perfume. Neither would they ſuffer that men ſhould bring into their aſſemblies the vanitie of fooliſh delights, as of the ſound of inſtruments, of enterludes, or of any other paſtime, which a wiſe man ought rather to eſteeme as a hinderance of delight, than any pleaſure at all. For hauing within themſelues ſufficient matter of recreation and reioicing, through their learned diſcourſes, it were meere follie to beg ſtrange and friuolous delights from without them. And *Plutark* ſaith, that the brutiſh part of the ſoule, depending of the feeding beaſt, and vncapeable of reaſon, is that which is pleaſed, brought to order, & ſatiſfied by ſongs and ſounds, which are ſung and tuned vnto it: euen as with the whiſtling of lips or hands, or with the ſound of a pipe, ſheepeheards cauſe their ſheepe to ariſe, or lie downe, bicauſe they vnderſtand not an articulate or diſtinct ſpeech, that hath ſome pith in it. Therefore I commend *Euripides*, for reprehending ſuch as vſe the harpe, ſo long as a feaſt laſteth: for (quoth he) muſicke ought rather to be ſent for, when men are angrie, or mourne, than when they are feaſting or making merry, thereby to make them giue more liber-

How wiſe men in old time feaſted one another.

Againſt vaine delights in feaſts.

The bellie a feeding beaſt.

When muſicke is moſt conuenient.

tie

tie to all pleasure, than before. I suppose the Egyptians did better, who vsed in the midst of their bankets to bring in the Anatomie of a dead bodie dried, that the horror thereof might containe them in all modestie. For this cause the memorie of the Emperour Henrie the third, greatly recommendeth it selfe, who banished all pompe and vanitie from his wedding, and draue away the plaiers & iesters, causing a great number of poore folke to come in their place. The custom which the Lacedemonians obserued, when they liued vnder *Lycurgus* lawes, is also worthie to be remembred: which was, that no torches or lights should be brought vnto them, when they departed from feastes at night, that it might be an occasion vnto them to feare drunkennes, and so to auoid this shame, that they onely could not find out their houses. Now in those happie times vines were planted and dressed, that wine might be drunke rather in time of sickenes, than of health: insomuch that it was not sold in Tauernes, but onely in Apothecaries shops. Those ancient Sages commonly measured their drinking by that saying of *Anacharsis*, that the first draught which men drunke, ought to be for thirst, the second for nourishment: and as for the third, that it was of pleasure, and the fourth of madnes. *Pythagoras* being much more religious in this matter, and liuing onely of herbs, fruite, and water, said: that the vine brought foorth three grapes, whereof the first quencheth thirst, the second troubleth, and the third altogither dulleth. He neuer dranke wine, no more did that great Orator *Demosthenes*, nor many other famous men, of whome histories make mention. The kings of Egypt were forbidden wine, which they neuer dranke, except on certaine daies, and then by measure. And truly it bringeth with it pernitious effects, aswell to the soule, as to the bodie. For from it proceedeth the chiefe and most common cause of bodilie diseases, and of the infirmities of the soule. But to continue the examples of loue, which the Ancients bare to the vertue of sobrietie, this was it that caused *Alexander* the Great to refuse those Cookes and Paisterers, which

The custome of the Egyptians at bankets.

The custome of the Lacedemonians.

The manner of drinking in old time.

The sobrietie of Alexander.

Ada

Ada Queene of Caria ſent vnto him, & to ſend her word backe againe, that he had better than they were: namely, for his dinner, early riſing, and walking a good while before day: and for his ſupper, a little dinner. Notwithſtanding, in the ende the Perſian delicacies and riches (which alwaies is the propertie of ſuch goods) cauſed this vertuous monarke to change his commendable cuſtome of liuing, and to approoue and like of exceſſe in drinking: to which vice, that he might giue greater authoritie, he propounded ſix hundred crownes for a reward to him that dranke moſt, and called a great cup after his owne name. Which cup, when he offered to *Calliſthenes* one of his fauorits, he refuſed, ſaying: that he would not for drinking in *Alexander*, ſtand in need of *Eſculapius*. With which the King perceiuing him ſelfe touched, was ſo incenſed againſt him, that he cauſed him to be put in a cage with dogs, where he poiſoned himſelfe, being impatient of his captiuitie. Wherein we may note how ridiculous their blockiſhnes is, who for feare, not of ſuch an entertainment as this wiſe man receiued, but of being taken and reputed as void of good fellowſhip, and vnciuill, caſt themſelues into the danger of a ſore ſicknes, rather than they will refuſe to drinke carouſe, when they are inuited thereunto. Hereby alſo thoſe men ſhew their want of iudgement, and of conuenient matter to talke of, who cannot entertaine their friends without dronkennes and gluttonie. And the other, if they knew how to make denial fitly, and in good ſort, beſides the profit which they ſhould receiue thereby, their companie would be more deſired, than it will be for their dronkennes. *Cyrus*, Monarke of the Perſians, from his childhood gaue great teſtimonie, that he would one daye become a very ſober man. For being demanded by *Aſtyages* his grandfather, why he would drinke no wine, he anſwered, for feare leaſt they giue me poiſon. For (quoth he) I noted yeſterday when you celebrated the daye of your natiuitie, that it could not be, but that ſome bodie had mingled poiſon amongſt all that wine, which ye then dranke: bicauſe in the

Againſt exceſſiue drinking.

Cyrus.

the winding vp of the table, not one of all thoſe that were preſent at the feaſt, was in his right mind. Afterward this vertuous Prince alwaies liued very frugally: for proofe whereof may ſerue his anſwer made one day to *Artabazus*, as he marched in warre, who asked of him what he would haue brought vnto him for his ſupper: Bread, (quoth he,) for I hope we ſhall finde ſome fountaine to furniſh vs with drinke. *Porus* a noble king of India, liued with water and bread onely. *Phaotes* alſo king of the ſame countrey, did the like: and the greateſt feaſtes which he made, or ſuffered his Courtiers to make, was onely with a kind of veniſon. *Alphonſus* king of Arragon, and Cicilia, a very ſober man, was demanded of certaine of his Princes, why he dranke no wine: bicauſe (quoth he) wiſdome is hindred through wine, and prudence darkned: which two things onely are able to make a king worthy of that name he beareth. *Ageſilaus* king of Lacedemonia, hauing beene alwaies brought vp in the diſcipline of *Lycurgus*, who had baniſhed all riot and ſuperfluitie from that citie, by the vtter defacing and aboliſhing of gold and ſiluer, became very woonderfull, by reaſon of his ſimplicity and plainnes, in feeding and clothing his bodie, and in behauing himſelfe as the meaneſt of his ſubiects. He vſed to ſay (which he likewiſe put in vre) that he which commanded and ruled many, ought to ſurpaſſe them, not in dainties and delicacie, but in ſuſtaining labor, and in nobilitie of hart. The benefit which (as he ſaid) he reaped thereby, was libertie, whereof he aſſured himſelfe, that he could neuer be depriued by any alteration and change of fortune. And as he paſſed with his armie by the countrey of the Thaſians, they ſent him certaine refreſhing of floure, & of daintie cates, as comfits, and other daintie deuices made of paaſt: but he would take nothing ſaue onely the floure. And being vrged of others to receiue all, he ſaid: Well, if ye thinke it good, diuide the reſt amongſt the Ilots, (who were their ſlaues) for it agreeth not with them that make profeſſion of manlie fortitude and prowes, to take ſuch iuncates. For that which allureth and inticeth

Porus.

Phaotes.

Alphonſus.

Ageſilaus.

men

men of a ſlauiſh nature, ought not to be acceptable to thē that are of a franke & free courage. But is there any thing now a daies, I pray you, that ſo much allureth and keepeth baſe minds in the ſeruice of great men, as the daintines of their table? And ſurely the Ancients did not vnfitly apply the name of Tyrant to a rich man, keeping a ſumptuous table, as to one that compelleth men to follow & to obey him. Neuertheles, a courageous hart ſuffreth not it ſelf to be takē with ſuch baits: but let vs continue the examples of ſobrietie. *Pompey* the great, hauing all his life tyme loued modeſtie and frugalitie, gaue yet a more certain teſtimonie thereof, when, by reaſon of a lingring diſeaſe, he had loſt his appetite to meate. His Phyſition appointing him to eate of a Blackbird, he was giuen to vnderſtand by his ſeruants, that becauſe they were out of ſeaſon, it would be a hard matter to get any, except it were of *Lucullus*, who kept ſome all the yeere long, and would willingly giue him ſome. What (quoth he then) if *Lucullus* were not a daintie and nice glutton, could not *Pompey* liue? No, no, let me haue ſomthing made ready that may eaſilie be gotten. *Marcus Cato* after he had ouercome Spaine, and triumphed of notable victories, albeit he was now old and very rich, yet he would adde nothing to his ancient maner of liuing, which was very auſtere, but dranke almoſt nothing but water, and for the moſt part did eat nothing but bread and bieſe, laboring in the field in time of peace as much as the meaneſt of his ſeruants. *Epaminondas* the greateſt captain & philoſopher of his time, liued ſo thriftily and temperately, that being inuited by a friend of his to ſupper, and ſeeing great ſuperfluitie and ſumptuouſnes, he returned very angry, ſaying, that he thought he had been requeſted to ſacrifice, and to liue honeſtly together, and not to receiue iniurie and reproch by being entertained like a glutton. *Caius Fabritius* a notable Romain captaine, was found by the Samnite embaſſadors that came vnto him eating of reddiſh roſted in the aſhes, which was all the diſhes he had to his ſupper, and that in a very poore houſe. *Scipio Aemilius* kept a very honorable table for his friends

Good cheere keepeth baſe minds in ſubiection.

Pompeius.

M. Cato.

Epaminondas.

C. Fabritius.

Scipio.

friends (for in his time riot had alredy begun to enter into Rome) but going aside himself, he would eate nothing but bread. *Maſiniſſa* king of the Numidians, was of ſo great ſobrietie, that euen at ninetie yeeres of age he would eate but once a day, and then vpon homely meates without ſauce. *Maſiniſſa.* *Mithridates* king of Pontus, being very old, neuer ſate downe at the table to eate, and liued very frugallie. *Hannibal* fed vpon no other meat, than did the meaneſt of his ſouldiers. *Mithridates.* *Hannibal.* The reaſon why I ſtay longer in the examples of this vertue of ſobrietie, is to ſhew the beaſtlines of men in our age, to whom it ſeemeth an impoſſible, vayne and contemptible thing, to liue in ſuch ſparing and auſteritie of life: ſaying, that there were none but certain fooliſh Philoſophers (for that is the Epithite, which the ignorant ſort giue to vertuous men) & ſome ſimple Hermites, who liued after that maner. Therefore that they may vnſeele their eyes, let them behold here, how in all ſorts and conditions of men, euen in the greateſt, the vertue of temperance, frugalitie and ſobrietie, did appeere and ſhine. The emperor *Veſpaſianus* one day in euery moneth vſed to eate nothing. *Veſpaſianus.* The prieſts of Egypt, the ſages of India and Perſia, and Iupiters prieſts ſeruing falſe gods did neuer eate any fleſh, nor drinke wine. Notable examples for thoſe that haue the firſt places in the Church, who ought to be as a lampe in the midſt thereof. Neither may they take example by Ethnikes and Pagans onely, but alſo by many holy men, who had in them the true loue and feare of God. *Daniel* and his companions neglecting the Kings table, liued with pulſe and water onely. *Daniel.* S. *Iohn Baptiſt* paſſed ouer the greateſt part of his age in the deſert, eating nothing but Locuſts and wilde hony. *Iohn Baptiſt.* S. *Hierome* maketh mention of one *Paul* an Hermite, who liued from ſixteen yeeres vnto ſixtie, of Dates onely: and from ſixtie yeeres vnto the age of ſixe ſkore and fiue yeeres (when he died) he was fed with a litle bread brought daily vnto him by a Crow. *Maxentius* biſhop of Poytiers, liued alwayes with barly bread and water. *Maxentius.* But to the end we may reape profit by all that hath been here ſpoken, let vs learne of *Socra-*

tes,

tes, that the ſoule which hath gotten the habite of frugalitie, and is contented with her eſtate, paſſeth away her dais in this world, as he that in the ſpring time taketh ſmall & eaſie iournies in a pleaſant and fruitful region, with great contentation of mind and litle labour. And let that notable and diuine precept of *Empedocles* ſound often in our eares,

Behaue thy ſelfe full ſoberly, and free from all offence.

Let vs adorne and decke our life with this good and rare vertue of ſobrietie, which wil teach vs to renounce worldly vanitie, and to content our ſelues (next vnto God) in vertue onely, and in heauenly riches. And although delicacie of fare be ſo common amongſt vs Frenchmen, and maintained with ſuch impudencie, that we permit amõgſt vs, and ſtudie kitchin Commentaries, as much as any good Science, ſo that it may ſeem a very difficult matter to take it away, and baniſh it from amongſt vs, yet is it not altogether impoſſible, as many thinke. But let vs follow that ancient precept of *Pythagoras*, *To chuſe the beſt kinde of life*, and no doubt but cuſtome will by litle and litle make it eaſie & pleaſant vnto vs. And if we be deſpiſed & rebuked of others, we may anſwer as *Socrates* did, who being reproued becauſe he had made no greater preparation of meat in a feaſt wherunto he inuited many of his friẽds, ſayd, If they be vertuous, there is enough, and if they be not, there is too much. So let vs not ſeeke to pleaſe and to imitate the moſt part of men, but the beſt and ſmalleſt number: neither let vs looke vnto cuſtome, but to that which is decent and honeſt. But if we perſeuer in our diſſolutenes & ſuperfluitie, as if we were Chriſtians in name and ſect onely, but Epicures in life, we are to feare that in the end need and neceſſitie will force vs to forſake it. And as it fell out to king *Darius*, who after he had liued a long time in all abundance of delights, and neuer knew what hunger or thirſt meant, as he fled from the battell gotten by Alexander was very thirſtie: and after he had drunke puddle water proceeding from a riuer tainted with dead bodies, he burſt foorth into this ſpeech, that in all his life he

Socrates feaſt.

Darius in his thirſt, iudged puddle water to be good drinke.

he neuer dranke better drinke: ſo likewiſe after we haue been tamed with miſeries and calamities, we muſt confeſſe, but too late, and peraduenture (O dangerous downfall) without hope of recouerie, that our eſtate is yet better (albeit moſt miſerable) than our offences haue deſerued, euen then when God for our diſſolutions ſhall withdraw his bleſſing wholy from our grounds & poſſeſſions. This he hath already begun to performe in ſome meaſure, by cauſing the ground to bring foorth vnto vs thiſtles and thornes, in ſteed of good graine and fruite, and by continuing amongſt vs wars and hurly burlies, which are accompanied with peſtiferous diſeaſes, that he may ouercharge thoſe with the ſcourges of his iuſt vengeance, who will not humble themſelues vnder the ſweetnes of his word.

Tokens of the wrath of God.

Of Superfluitie, Sumptuouſnes, Gluttonie, and wallowing in delights. Chap. 20.

AMANA. SEeing we haue ſummarily vnderſtood the excellencie and profit of the vertue of ſobrietie, that it may yet better appeere by the contrarie, and that we may be ſo much the more induced to deſire it amongſt vs, I thinke we ſhall do well to intreat of ſuperfluitie, ſumptuouſnes, and gluttonie, whoſe fruits are weltring in delights, which is the principall cauſe of deſtruction (as *Plato* ſaith) to Kingdoms, Monarchies, and Common-wealths. Therefore I propound theſe vices to you my companions to diſcourſe vpon.

The chiefeſt cauſe of deſtruction to Common-wealths is exceſſe in delights.

ARAM. Whatſoeuer is deſired more than that which is neceſſarie for the life of man, is ſuperfluitie, which cauſeth ſo many fooliſh and exceſſiue expences amongſt vs, that, beſides the ruine and decaie of many good houſes, the deſtruction of the bodie, and, which is more to be feared, of the ſoule alſo, doth for the moſt enſue thereupon. Therefore *Eraſmus* ſaid very well, that nothing is more abiect and hurtfull, than to liue as a ſlaue to the pleaſure of the mouth and bellie.

ACHITOB. Thoſe men (ſaith *Plato*) that are addicted to the ſeruice of their bellies, and care nothing for the foode of their minds, are like beaſts, who neuer enioy true pleaſures. Which thing alſo may be ſaid of them that like fooles depend more of opinion than of reaſon. But it belongeth to thee ASER to handle this matter here expounded, more at large.

ASER. Good things (ſaid *Lycurgus*) are contrary and enemies to him that abuſeth the gifts of nature: as if a valiant man ſhould loue rather to be a theefe, than a ſouldier: or a beautifull perſon an adulterer, rather than a maried man. So is it with the goods of Fortune, as we terme them, the poſſeſſion of which giueth occaſion to thoſe that are vnwoorthie of them, to commit many follies. Amongſt which we may note ſuperfluitie for a verie pernitious vice, hauing this propertie in it to draw the wils of men ſecretly, & to induce them to couet delights. Wherunto after they haue once addicted themſelues, they buſie their mindes with nothing but to make prouiſion of friuolons, exquiſite, and ſumptuous things, taking ſmal care, yea forgetting eaſily thoſe things that are profitable and neceſſarie, whereof afterwards they perceiue themſelues to ſtand in great need. Now the end of all ſuperfluities, wherein men plung themſelues after diuers manners, is pleaſure, which chiefly and for the moſt part they ſeeke in ſuch a riotous and delicate life, as cauſeth the bodie without labor to enioy all his deſires, luſtes, and delights: or elſe in the fruition of worldlie glorie, wherein through vnprofitable and ſuperfluous expences, they ſtriue to excell, or at leaſtwiſe to match thoſe that are greater than themſelues. Concerning the marke whereat they aime, there is nothing more hurtfull to man, than pleaſure and delight, which (as *Plato* ſaith) ſerueth for a baite and allurement to draw him to commit wickednes, as hereafter we may diſcourſe in more ample manner thereof, as alſo of that luxurious life, whoſe deſire and contentation is in whoredome. And that I may begin to handle the other two general points, wherein they that are giuen to ſuperfluitie

Pleaſure the end of ſuperfluitie.

fluitie and coſtlines, ſeeke delight, namely the delicate life and curioſitie of expences: let vs conſider of the fruites that iſſue and proceed from them. Firſt, when men ſuffer themſelues to be ouertaken with the Epicures doctrine, and appeere ſo carefull to ſerue their bellie, nouriſhing it in exceſſe, daintines, gluttonie, and dronkennes, is it not from this headſpring from whence diſeaſes and euill diſpoſitions of the bodie proceed? We are ſicke (ſaith *Plutark*) of thoſe things wherewith we liue, neither is there any proper and peculiar ſeed of diſeaſes, but the corruption of thoſe things within vs, which we eate, and the faults and errors which we commit againſt them. *Homer* going about to prooue, that the gods die not, groundeth his argument vpon this, bicauſe they eate not: as if he would teach vs, that drinking and eating do not only maintaine life, but are alſo the cauſe of death. For thereof diſeaſes gather togither within our bodies, which proceed no leſſe of being too full, than of being too emptie. And oftentimes a man hath more to do to conſume and digeſt meat put into his bodie, than he had to get it. Phiſitions (ſaith *Seneca*) cry out, that life is ſhort, and art long: and complaint is made of nature, bicauſe ſhe hath graunted to beaſts to liue fiue or ſix ages, & appointed ſo ſhort a time of life for men, who are borne for many great things. We haue no ſmal time, but we loſe much time, and life is long enough, if it be well imploied. But when it paſſeth away through exceſſe and negligence, and no good is done therein, in the end through conſtraint of extreame neceſſitie, although we perceiue it not going, yet we feele it is gone. Moreouer a man may reckon greater ſtore of griefs than pleaſures, that come to him frō his nouriſhment: or to ſpeake better, the pleaſure of eating is but ſmall, but the toile and trouble that men haue in prouiding it, is great. It were hard to repeate the ſhamefull paines and toileſome labors wherewith it filleth vs. Many a mans ſoule (ſaith *Solon*) is ouerwhelmed, and as it were clothed with feare, leaſt it ſhould ſtand in need within the bodie, as it were in a mill, and turning alwaies about like a mil-

Of the delicate life.

The ſeed of diſeaſes.

Of the ſhortnes of mans life.

The ſoule of gluttons compared to a mil-ſtone.

ſtone, it ſeeketh after nouriſhment. Heereupon it remaineth void and deſtitute of feeling, and deſire of all honeſt things, and attendeth onely to the inſatiable luſtes of the fleſh, which is neuer contented, bicauſe need and neceſſitie are alwaies ioined with deſire of ſuperfluitie. The ancient Egyptians vſed this cuſtome to cleaue in ſunder the bodie of a dead man, to ſhewe it to the ſunne, and to caſt the guts and intrailes into the riuer, and being thus clenſed, to imbaulme the reſt. And in very deede thoſe inward parts are the pollution and defiling of our fleſh, and are properly the verie Hell of our bodies. But, which is worſe, is it not the ſtuffing and filling of the bellie that maketh the mind for the moſt part dull and vncapeable of any ſcience or reaſon, whereby the diuine part of man is oppreſſed and ouerwhelmed through the waight and force of that part, which is mortall? A wiſe ſoule is a cleare brightnes, ſaid *Heraclitus*. O how hard a matter is it (ſaith *Cato*) to preach to the bellie, which hath no eares, and which will take no deniall, howſoeuer the caſe ſtandeth: And as when we behold the ſunne through thicke clouds and vndigeſted vapours, we ſee it not cleare, but with a pale and wanniſh light, and as it were plunged in the bottome of a cloud: ſo through a troubled and defiled bodie, heauily loaden with food & ſtrang meates, the brightnes and clearnes of the ſoule muſt needes become pale, troubled, and dimmed, not hauing ſuch forceable light, as to be able thereby to pearce through vnto the contemplation of thoſe things that are great, heauenlie, ſubtil, exquiſite, and hard to diſcerne. I thought in my hart (ſaith the wiſe man) to withdrawe my fleſh from wine, that I might bend my mind to wiſedome, and eſchew follie, vntill I knew what was profitable for the children of men. It is not for kings, it is not for kings to drinke wine, nor for princes ſtrong drinke: leaſt he drinke and forget the decree, and change the iudgement of all the children of affliction. To whom is woe? To whom is ſorow? To whom is ſtrife? To whom is murmuring? To whom are wounds without cauſe? And to whome is the rednes of the eies?

The cuſtome of the Egyptians.

Prouerb. 31. 4. 5.

Prou. 23. 29. 30.

Euen

Euen to them that tarie long at the wine: to them that go and seeke mixt wine, which in the beginning is pleasant, but in the end pricketh like a serpent, and poisoneth like a Cockatrice. And in another place, the wise man speaking of gluttonie, saith: that it drieth the bones, and that more die by it than by the sword. We see that beasts fatted vp languish through sloth and idlenes: neither do beasts faint through labor onely, but also by reason of the masse and heauie weight of their owne bodies. Furthermore, the vice of gluttonie and drunkennes is neuer alone, but draweth with it a thousand other excessiue and dissolute fashions. For (as *Plato* saith) it stirreth vp lust, griefe, anger, and loue in extremitie, and extinguisheth memorie, opinion, and vnderstanding. Briefly, it maketh a man twise a childe. And in another place, the same Philosopher saith, that gluttonie fatteth the bodye, maketh the minde dull and vnapt, and which is worse, vndermineth reason. Wine hath as much force as fire. For as soone as it hath ouertaken any, it dispatcheth him. And as the North or Southwind tormenteth the Lybian sea, so, and much more doth wine vexe a man. For it discloseth the secrets of the soule, & troubleth the whole mind. A drunken gouernor and ruler of any thing whatsoeuer, bringeth all to ruine & ouerthrow, whether it be a ship, or a wagon, or an armie, or any other thing committed to his keping. We see by the goodly sentences of these Authors, how many discommodities & mischiefs come as wel to the body as to the soule, by this excessiue superfluitie and curiositie of nourishment, whether it be in drinking or eating. We see also that from this self same springhead proceed those vnmeasurable and loose behauiours in all kind of delights, in carding and dicing, in dauncing, masking and mumming, in loue of maidens and adultery with wiues, the filthines whereof is so shameful, and discouereth it self so much, that I shall not greatly need to loose time in reprooving thereof. For it is most certaine, that all such intentions are meerely heathenish, or rather diuelish, when men commit such reprobate actions with pub-

like libertie and licence. Especially we haue to note this well that concerneth masks and mummeries, so common amongst vs, and the cause of infinite offences, that forasmuch as the face was appointed and ordeined of God to be seen openly, and the mouth to speake, we destroy the ordinance of God, as much as lieth in vs, and become contrary vnto him, when we take vnto vs a false face, and deprive our selues of speech. It may be sayd, that manie thinke no harme when they doe these things. But that which of it self is euil, cannot be excused, and no fashion of liuing taken vp and practised through the onely motion of our sensualitie (such are these delights & pleasures) can be maintained, neither hath it any good and lawfull defence. Now let vs consider some examples of those pernitious effects which proceed from this Epicurian vice of intemperance. *Esau* sold his birth right through a gluttonous desire. The self same cause mooued the Israelites to murmure many times against God. The drunkennesse of *Lot* caused him to commit incest with his daughters. *Alexander* the great darkned the glory of his valiant acts with this vice. For being ouertaken with wine, he slew *Clitus* one of the valiantest captains he had, to whom he was beholding for his own life. Afterward, when he was come to himself, he would oftentimes haue murdered himself, and wept three dayes togither without meat and drink. *Dionysius* the yonger, was sometime more than nine dayes togither drunken: and in the ende he lost his estate. *Cyrillus* sonne in his drunkennes wickedly slew that holy man his father, and his mother also great with child. He hurt his two sisters, and defloured one of them. Ought not this to cause the haire of our head to stand vpright, as often as any occasion is offred vnto vs, whereby we might fall into such inconueniences? Amongst the Romanes *Lucullus*, a man of great dignitie, and commended of Historiographers for many braue exploits of warre which he did in Armenia, and for his bountie, iustice, and clemencie, is yet greatly blamed, because towards the end of his dais, omitting all intermedling with the gouernment of publike affaires,

Against masks & mummeries.

The Israelites.

Lot.

Alexander.

Dionysius.

Lucullus.

faires, he gaue himſelf to all kind of exceſſiue ſumptuouſnes, & ſuperfluous waſting of that great ſubſtance which he had. Whereof this only teſtimonie recited by *Plutarke*, ſhall ſerue for ſufficient proofe. *Cicero* and *Pompey* meeting him one day in the citie, told him that they would ſup with him on this conditiõ, that he ſhould prepare nothing for them but his owne ordinarie diet. At the leaſt wiſe (quoth he vnto them) giue me leaue to bid my Steward make ready ſupper in my hall of *Apollo*: and by that he beguiled them. For his ſeruants vnderſtood therby what coſt he would haue beſtowed thereupon: in ſo much that a ſupper of fiftie thouſand drachmes of ſiluer, which amount to fiue thouſand crownes, was prepared for them. This was ſo much the more wonderfull, bicauſe ſo great and ſumptuous a feaſt was made ready in ſo ſhort a time. But this was his ordinarie diet which he cauſed manie times to be prepared for himſelfe alone. And as his men asked him on a day who ſhould dine with him, ſeeing he commanded them to make readie ſuch a great feaſt; *Lucullus* (quoth he) ſhall dine with *Lucullus*. This ſuperfluous pompe & magnificence, wil not be thought verie ſtrange, if we compare it with that which not long ſince a ſimple Franciſcan frier called *Peter de Ruere* made, after he had attained to the dignitie of a Cardinal through fauour of the Pope his kinſman. For within the ſpace of two yeeres which he liued in Rome, he conſumed in feaſts and banquets the ſumme of two hundred thouſand crownes, beſides his debts, which came to no leſſe ſumme. *Philoxenus* the Poet wiſhed that he had a necke like a Crane, to the end he might enioy greater pleaſure in ſwalowing downe wine and meat: ſaying, that then he ſhould longer feele the taſt thereof. We read of the emperor *Vitellius Spinter*, that he was ſo much giuen to ſuperfluitie and exceſſe, that at one ſupper he was ſerued with two thouſand ſeuerall kinds of fiſhes, and with ſeuen thouſand flying foules. But within a very litle while after he changed his eſtate, being executed publikely at Rome at the purſuite of *Veſpaſianus*, who was choſen emperor in his place. In our time *Mule-*

The ſumptuouſnes of a Franciſcan Frier.

Philoxenus.

Vitellius.

Muleaſſes.

aſſes king of Thunes, was ſo drowned in pleaſure and delight, that after he was baniſhed from his kingdom bicauſe of his whoredom, in his returne out of Almaign, being without hope that the emperor *Charles* the fift would helpe him at all, he ſpent one hundred crownes vpon a pecock dreſſed for him, as *Paulus Iouius* rehearſeth: and that he might take the greater delight in muſike, he couered his eyes. But the iudgement of God was ſuch vpon him, that his owne children made him blind with a bar of hote iron. Concerning exãples of the miſerie that followeth & accompanieth riot & delight in playing, dancing, & mumming, we ſee daily that a thouſand quarrels, blaſphemies, loſſe of goods & whoredoms proceed frõ thence. And oftentimes God ſuffreth the puniſhment therof to be notorious, euen by vnlooked for & ſtrange means: as not long ſince it hapned to *Lewes* Archb. of Magdeburg, who dancing with gentlewomẽ vntil midnight, fell down ſo fiercely vpon the ground, that he brake his neck with one of the women which he led. *Charles* the 6. being clothed like a wild mã with certain of his familiar friends, & dancing by torchlight, was alſo in great peril of burning, if a gẽtlewoman had not caſt her cloke vpõ his ſhoulders. And I think it wil not be from the matter, if we ſay that it is a ſhameful thing to ſuffer amongſt vs, or to looſe time that ought to be ſo precious vnto vs, in beholding & in hearing plaiers, actors of Interludes and Comedies, who are as pernitious a plague in a common wealth as can be imagined. For nothing marreth more the behauior, ſimplicitie and natural goodnes of any people than this, bicauſe they ſoone receiue into their ſoules a liuely impreſſion of that diſſolutenes and villanie which they ſee and heare, when it is ioyned with words, accents, geſtures, motions & actions, wherewith players and iuglers, know how to inrich by all kind of artificiall ſleights, the filthieſt and moſt diſhoneſt matters, which commonly they make choice of. And to ſpeake freely in few wordes, we may truely ſay, that the Theater of players is a ſchoole of all vnchaſtnes, vncleannes, whoredom, craft, ſubtletie and wickednes. Now let

Lewes Archbiſhop.

Charles 6.

Againſt plaiers.

vs ſpeake of thoſe that propound (as we ſaid) vnto themſelues the vainglory of outward ſhew among the beſt, and men of great calling, through friuolous, vnprofitable and ſuperfluous expences, as in ſumptuous and coſtly apparel, precious and rich moueables, goodly furniture and trapping of horſes, great traine of ſeruing men, dogs, birds, & other vanities, gifts and preſents ſent to ſuch as are vnwoorthie, thereby to obtaine the good will of them that are moſt wicked in authoritie, to the end to prepare a way vnto high callings, and to preferments vnto offices. Beſides the waſting of their goods hereupon to their ſhame and confuſion, which they ſhould imploy vpon charitable works, they ſpend many times other mens goods, euen the ſubſtance of the poore, which they craftily get by vnlawfull meanes. This is that which at length (as *Crates* the Philoſopher ſaid very well) ſtirreth vp ciuill warres, ſeditions, and tyrannies within cities, to the end that ſuch voluptuous men, and ambitious of vaine glorie, fiſhing in a troubled water, may haue wherewith to maintaine their fooliſh expences, and ſo come to the ende of their platformes. Heerof we haue many examples in the ciuil wars amongſt the Romanes, as namely vnder *Cinna*, *Carbo*, *Marius*, and *Sylla*. Likewiſe in the conſpiracie of *Catiline* & his complices, who being of the chiefe families in Rome, and perceiuing themſelues to be brought to the eſtate of bankrupts, as we commonly ſay, ſought by all meanes to proſecute their firſt deliberation, which was alwaies to ſeeme great and mightie. Thus dealt *Cæſar* in procuring to his countrey that ciuill warre, which he made againſt *Pompey*, after he had indebted himſelfe in ſeuen hundred and fiftie thouſand crownes, to get the fauor and good liking of the people. This is that which *Heraclitus* meant to teach his countreymen, when, after a ſedition appeaſed and quieted, being asked what waie were beſt to be taken, that the like ſhould not fall out againe: he went vp into that place from whence orations were made to the people, & there in ſteed of ſpeaking, began to eate a morſell of browne bread, and to drinke a glaſſe of water.

Againſt the curioſitie of ſuperfluous expences.

The beginning of ciuil warres.

How Heraclitus diſſwaded ſuperfluitie.

Which

Which being done, he came downe againe, and ſpake neuer a word. Heerby he would ſignifie, that vntill daintines of fare were baniſhed the citie, and immoderate expences cut off, and ſobrietie and modeſty brought in their place, they ſhould neuer be without ſedition. If this counſell were euer requiſite in a Monarchie, it is certainly moſt neceſſarie at this preſent for ours, wherein all kind of ſuperfluitie, riot, and weltring in pleaſures, curioſitie in apparell, tapiſtrie, and pictures, veſſels, perfumes, and painting of faces, aboundeth in greater meaſure than heertofore it did amongſt the Perſians, which was the cauſe of their finall ſubuerſion, and of *Alexanders* greatnes, who ſubdued them. That which for the ſpace of fiue hundred yeeres and more, maintained the Lacedemonian eſtate, being the chiefeſt in Grecia for glory and goodnes of gouernment, was the cutting off and aboliſhing of all ſuperfluitie in diet, apparel, moueables, and of all ſtrang wares, which *Lycurgus* baniſhed. Whereby alſo forraine merchants (the cauſe of corruption) baniſhed themſelues, as they that ſeeke not after others but for gaine, by ſelling their nouelties very deere vnto them. Neither did the Romane Commonwealth floriſh more at any time, than when thoſe men that caried about them perfumes and ſweete ſmels, and thoſe women that were found ſwilling like drunkards, were corrected with the ſame puniſhment. This cauſed *Cato*, being the Cenſurer of the election of two captaines, that one of them might be ſent as General of the Pannonian warre, to ſay with a loud voice, that he would diſmiſſe *Publius* his Allie, bicauſe he neuer ſaw him returne wounded from the war, but had ſeene him walke vp and downe the citie of Rome perfumed. What would he haue ſaid of our Courtiers, ſo finely curled, ruft, and perfumed? The Kings and Magiſtrats of thoſe ſo happie times, were the principall obſeruers of their owne lawes and edicts, reforming themſelues before all others, and liuing ſo auſterely, that their example conſtrained their ſubiects more to follow them, than all the puniſhments which they could haue deuiſed to propound vnto them.

Lycurgus baniſhed all ſtrange wares from Lacedemonia.

Why Cato would not chuſe Publius General of the warre.

We

We haue a notable testimonie heereof in *Agis* king of Sparta, who in his returne from the warre wherein he had ouercome the Athenians, being desirous to sup priuately with his wife, sent into the kitchen that was appointed for his band and company (for they liued all in common, being seuered into quarters) to haue his portion. But this was denied him, and the next morning for this fact he was fined by the Ephories, who were ioined in soueraigne authoritie with the kings, for the maintenance of lawes and of iustice: in which sentence and iudgement of theirs, he willingly rested. *Agis.*

But to returne to our matter, how ought we to blush for our riot and excesse in apparell, which we maintaine with such glorie? What follie is it to imploy the industrie of the soule, ordained for heauenlie things, in trimming, decking, and gilding hir enimie, hir prison, and if I may so speake, hir poison, the bodie? Excesse of apparell (saith *Erasmus*) is an argument of the incontinencie of the soule, and rather whetteth the eies of the beholders thereof to wicked desires, than to any honest opinion and conceite. Decke not thy house (saith *Epictetus*) with tables and pictures, but paint it with temperance. For the one is to feede the eies vainely, but the other is an eternall ornament, and such a one as can neuer be defaced. If we make account of things of small importance, we despise those that are of great weight: but in not caring at all for little things, we make our selues woorthie of great admiration. That great Monarke *Augustus Cæsar* ware no other garments than such as his wife and daughters made, and those very modest. *Agesilaus* king of Lacedemonia, neuer had but one kind of garment for winter and sommer. *Epaminondas* Generall Captaine of the Thebanes, was contented with one onely gowne al the yeere long. Further, if we looke vnto their simplicitie and modestie in their traine and followers, truely it was woorthie of reuerence, being without pride, pompe, or superfluous magnificence. *Scipio Africanus* that great Captaine, going as delegate into Asia, to compound and end certaine contentions that were betweene the kings of that

Against excesse in apparell.

Augustus.

Agesilaus.

Epaminondas.

Examples of moderate traine of seruing men.

that countrey, was accompanied but with two of his friends, and with seuen slaues. *Cato* the elder, visiting the prouinces of his gouernment, tooke but three seruants with him. Nowe a daies we see, that the least accounted gentleman amongst vs, thinketh it a cracking of his credite to ride so ill furnished. And yet the most part euen of the greatest, neuer make any great inquirie how their traine defray their charges. But howsoeuer they may say, that they know not of the excesse and riot committed vnder their authoritie, and in their seruice, yet they are not thereby excused. For we ought carefully to beware, that no man abuse our name. Now, if princes and gouernours of Commonwealths in steede of abridging superfluous charges, take delight therein themselues, from thence proceedeth the necessitie of charging and ouercharging their people with impostes and subsidies to maintaine their excesse, and in the end commeth the ouerthrow and subuersion both of the one and the other. But they ought rather both to abstaine from such vanities themselues, and also to seeke by all meanes to banish them from their subiects: and where their owne example and bodilie punishments are not sufficient for this purpose, there ought they to lay great impostes vpon all such things as serue but to spill and corrupt their subiects. Such things are all exquisite dainties and prouocations of appetite, all sorts of toies and trifles, perfumes, cloth of gold and siluer, silkes, sypers, networks, lace, wouen works, & all works of gold, siluer, and inammell: all kind of superfluous apparel, with colours of skarlet, crimson, and such like, the forbidding whereof hitherto hath profited little. For the nature of men is such, that they find nothing more sweete and acceptable, than that which is straightly forbidden them: so that the more superfluities are prohibited, the more they are desired, especially of foolish men, & of such as are vainely brought vp. Therefore it were good to raise the price of these things so high by meanes of impostes, that none but rich men and daintie folks may vse them. And such subsidies would asmuch set forward the glorie of God,

A good lesson for Princes and Magistrats to learne.

Commendable impostes for Princes to lay vpon their subiects.

God, the profite of the common wealth, the deſire of good men, and reliefe of the poore, as many others now vſed are quite contrary hereunto. Then theſe ſpeeches would no more be ſo common amongſt vs, as now we heare them daily vttered by our Courtiers: We will (ſay they) keep company and be ſeen amongſt the greateſt, & be eſteemed thereafter. If we ſpend not freely, men will make no account of vs. It is our honor and greatnes, and the way to procure glory and renowne to our houſes and families. But I would gladly tell a great number of them, that they would be very much troubled to make anſwer to a law made by *Amaſis* king of Egypt, and after eſtabliſhed in Athens by *Solon*, whereby it was enacted, that euery one ſhould yeerely make it appeere vnto his Prouoſt or Bailie how he liued, and if he approoued not his maner & trade of life to be iuſt and reaſonable, he was condemned to die. If in like caſe theſe great ſpenders were to giue an account from whence they receiue wherewith to ſatiſfie their pride and vanities, a man ſhould find that their purchaſe (as we ſay) is far better vnto thē than their rents, & that they commit a thouſand wrongs and deteſtable vices to make ſupply to their lauiſh expences. As for them that haue goods lawfully gotten, yet in ſpending of them waſtfully, they giue ſufficient teſtimonie, that they care & ſeeke for nothing but a vaine and vaniſhing glory, which oftentimes, contrary to their expectation, is waited vpon with great infamie, and with the certaintie of perpetual puniſhment. And in the meane while they neglect that glorie which is eternall and always profitable, which they ſhould enioy by well vſing, and not by miſpending their goods, whereof they are but Gardians and Stewards, & muſt one day yeeld vp an account of them. O witleſſe man (ſayd one of the ancient Sages) what will the remembraunce of vaine glory profite thee, if thou art tormented and vexed where thou art, and praiſed where thou art not. This deſerueth a longer continuance of ſpeech, but we may hereafter diſcourſe thereof more at large. In the meane tyme let vs note an other miſchief, which commonly followeth

A good law to cut off the occaſions of idle expences.

ſuperfluitie

Pouertie ſoloweth ſuperfluous expences.

ſuperfluitie of expences, namely pouertie, whereinto many rich men fall before they be aware, and are then verie much grieued therewith, and not able to beare it. But the ſhame and reproch thereof is yet greater, becauſe they fell into it by their own folly and miſgouernment. Therefore to the end we walke not in ſuch a ſlipperie way, which in the beginning is large and pleaſant, but yet leadeth the trauailer vnto a down-fall frō which he can neuer eſcape, let vs leaue and forſake the diſcipline and life of Epicures, and beware that our pallate and toong be not more ſenſible than our hart. Let vs lead a life woorthy an honeſt Academie, and beſeeming the doctrine of the ancient Sages, that is, a ſimple, ſober, and modeſt life, adorned with temperance and continence, knowing that diet and decking of the body ought (as *Cicero* ſaith) to be referred to health and ſtrength, not to pleaſure and delight, and that all outward exceſſe is a witneſſe of the incontinencie of the ſoule. And for the perfection of all that laſting and ineuitable miſerie which belongeth to them that are giuen to voluptuouſnes and ſuperfluitie, let vs heare that ſentence of ſcripture, and feare leaſt we be comprehended vnder the iudgement thereof, *Continuall miſerie and mourning be vpon you that haue liued in pleaſure on the earth, and in wantonneſſe, and haue nouriſhed your harts as in a day of ſlaughter.*

Our pallate muſt not be more ſenſible than our hart.

Iames 5.1.5.

The ende of the fift daies worke.

THE SIXT DAIES WORKE.

Of Ambition. *Chap.* 21.

ASER. AS often as I remember the ſtrãge tragedie of the Romane Emperors, ſince the time that the Empire was mounted vp to the verie top & height of hir greatnes vntill hir declination, according to the vncertaintie of all humane things, and how within the ſpace of one hundred yeeres, wherein there were three skore and thirteene emperors, onely three of them died of ſickneſſe in their beds, & all the reſt by violent death; I cannot ſufficiently admire (conſidering the inconſtancie and ſhort continuance of ſo great a gouernment, which cannot but be well known to euery one) the folly of men, which commonly affecteth them with an vnmeaſurable deſire to rule, whereby they are all their life time ſlaues to ambition, which is one point of the vice of intemperance whereof we ſpake yeſterday. And thus in my opinion we are to begin our days worke with the deſcription of this pernitious paſſion.

73. Emperors of Rome within 100. yeeres.

AMANA. It is natural in man, the greater his ſtomack is, the more to labor to excel others, which is accompanied with an exceeding deſire to rule: whereupon he is eaſily driuen forward to do vniuſtly, if by wiſdom he be not moderated.

ARAM. Ambition and contention for honour (ſaith *Cicero*) are miſerable. And many forget iuſtice, after they are fallen into a deſire of glory, empires and honors. Go to then *Achitob*, let vs vnderſtand of thee more at large what are the effects of this vice.

ACHITOB. *Eudoxus* a Greeke Philoſopher deſired of the gods that he might behold the ſunne very neere, to com-

comprehend the forme, greatnes, and beautie therof, and afterwards be burnt of it, as the Poets report, that *Phaëton* was: ſuch a hardie and bold paſſion to vndertake moſt difficult & dangerous things, is the deſire of enioying any pleaſure whatſoeuer. This may chiefly be ſpoken of ambition, which is the moſt vehement, ſtrongeſt, & moſt diſordred paſſiõ of all thoſe deſires which ſo ſore trouble mens minds, and fil them with an inſatiable greedines of glory, and with an vnbrideled deſire to rule. But to handle it more profitably, we will make two kinds of ambition, the one reſpecting priuate mẽ only that liue vnder the power and gouernment of heads, of eſtates and pollicies: the other ſhal be of the heads themſelues, of monarchs and gouernors of peoples and kingdoms. In the meane time we may thus generally define ambition, calling it an vnreaſonable deſire to enioy honors, eſtates, & great places. Further it is a vice of exceſſe, and contrary to modeſty, which is a part of temperance. For that man (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) is modeſt, who deſireth honor as he ought, and ſo farre foorth as it becommeth him: but he that deſireth it more than he ought, and by vnlawful means, is ambitious, and caried away with a perturbation of intemperance. Ambition neuer ſuffreth thoſe that haue once receiued hir as a gueſt, to enioy their preſent eſtate quietly, but maketh them alwayes emptie of goods, and full of hope. It cauſeth them to contemne that, which they haue gotten by great paines and trauel, and which not long before they deſired very earneſtly, by reaſon of their new imaginations and conceites of greater matters, which they continually barke foorth, but neuer haue their minds ſatiſfied & contented. And the more they growe and increaſe in power and authoritie, the rather are they induced and caried headlong by their affections to commit all kind of iniuſtice, and flatter themſelues in furious and frantike actions, that they may come to the end of their infinite platformes, and of that proud and tyrannicall glory, which, contrary to all dutie they ſeeke after. Theſe imperfections happen vnto them, bicauſe from the beginning they ſtudied

The force of deſire to enioy any pleaſure.

Two kinds of ambition.

What ambition is.

The effects of ambition.

died to hoord, and heape vp externall, mortall and hurtful riches, before they had laid a good foundation of reason through knowledge and learning, thereby to direct aright their purposes and doings, according to comelines and honestie. And therfore oftentimes they are deceiued and misse of their intent, and euen loose that which they might haue had, because they sought ouer boldly to laie hands on that which they could not so much as touch. So that we may wel say with *Timon*, that the elements & matter of mischiefs, are ambition & auarice, which are found both together for the most part in the same persons. But to enter into a more particular consideration of the nature of euery ambitious mã, he hath commonly this propertie, to enuie the glory of others: whereby he becommeth odious, and stirreth vp against himself the enuy and ill will of euery one. Moreouer this his ielousie ouer another mans glory, is so much the more hurtfull vnto him in that he might, being set in high estate and authoritie, vse the helpe and company of such as are vertuous and noble minded in the execution of great matters, if in stead of taking them for his aduersaries in the pursuite of vertue, he fauored them, and drew them neere vnto himself. Whereby we may iudge, that there is none so pernitious a plague for the ouerthrow of vertue, as ambition, bicause it is neuer without contention for glory and honor, euen against the greatest friends, from whence in the end proceed the greatest enmities. *Cicero* also saith very well, that whatsoeuer hath this qualitie, that many things of the same kind cannot be excellent, thereof ariseth for the most part such strife, that it is a very hard matter to obserue holy society. For equitie is not easilie kept inuiolable, when one desireth to be greater than all the rest. It commeth through the fault of ambition (saith *Aristotle*) that many seditions arise in cities. For the mightier, not the vulgar sort, contend for honors and promotions. But if, as *Plato* writeth, there were a Common-wealth of good men, you should see as great strife for the auoiding of offices, as now men contend to command and rule. Also the honor of a good

The cause of ambitious desires.

Enuie a note of an ambitious man.

Sedition a fruit of ambition.

man (ſaith *Plutark* to *Traian*) conſiſteth not in that eſtate or office which he preſently inioieth, but in his former deſerts; ſo that it is to the office wherunto men giue new honor, as for the perſon he hath but a painful charge. Out of the ſayings of theſe great Philoſophers, we will draw this concluſion, that we muſt labor more to deſerue eſtates & honors, than dare to procure them, and account that thing vnwoorthie and vnbeſeeming vs, which is obtained by vnlawfull meanes. Now, as the ambitious man is intollerable in all his actions, ſo eſpecially he bringeth himſelfe in deriſion and reproch, through this burning deſire of glorie and praiſe, which he looketh that others ſhould yeeld vnto him, and wherein he taketh vnmeaſurable delight. Now, if he perceiueth that he cannot be commended for his doings that are vnworthie of honor, the thirſt of glorie wherewith he pineth away, compelleth him to borow of himſelfe by his owne commendation againſt all ſeemelines: which is neither more nor leſſe, than if the bodie of a man in time of famine, not receiuing nouriſhment elſewhere, ſhould take of it owne ſubſtance againſt nature. Further, if we ſhould go about heere to make recitall of thoſe notable euils and miſchiefs, which the ambition of ſome particular men hath brought vpon Monarchies, cities, and Commonwealths, and generally vpon all thoſe perſons which were vnder their bloudie raigne, the whole life of one man would not ſuffice to deſcribe them. But to touch this point briefly: we may note in all ancient hiſtories, that the greateſt plagues of flouriſhing eſtates, and oftentimes their vtter ſubuerſion, came from ciuill warres and diſſentions ſtirred vp by ambitious men, deſirous to command, and to be preferred before others. What did at any time procure the ruine of Grecia, flouriſhing in armes and ſciences, ſo much as the ambition of thoſe men who ſought to bring the publike offices into their owne hands, as *Leoſthenes*, *Demoſthenes*, and many others did, who were not afraid to kindle the fire of domeſticall diuiſion, not caring what would be the iſſue of their damnable enterpriſes, ſo they might make waie for their deuiſed

Ambitious men full of ſelfe-praiſe.

Ciuill warres a fruite of ambition.

deuiſed platformes? How many miſchiefs did *Alcibiades* procure to his countrey, being an enimie to peace, and giuen to all kind of nouelties and ſeditions? Who vſed to ſay, that a noble hart ought to labor but for one thing in this world, namely, to be great among his owne countreymen, and to purchaſe fame & renowne among ſtrangers. Which had been well ſpoken, if he had added, by *Iuſtice*, and *Vertue*. Was it not from the ſame fountaine of ambition, that ſo hurtfull wars to both thoſe Common-wealths of the Lacedemonians and Athenians, the one being maiſters of the ſea, and the other of the land, tooke their beginning, and thereby were both brought to ruine in the end? Was it not the ſame cauſe of ambition in certaine particular men, which procured the ſpeedie returne of that good king *Ageſilaus*, to redreſſe the ciuill diſſentions of Grecia, when he was in Aſia continuing thoſe goodlie victories, which he had againſt the Barbarians, for the comfort and libertie of many Grecian cities? O yee Grecians (ſaid that wiſe Prince, being then verie ſorowfull) howe many more miſchiefes doe yee procure to your ſelues, than were procured vnto you by the Barbarians banded togither for your ouerthrow, ſeeing yee are ſo vnhappie as to ſtaye with your owne hands that good ſpeede, which conducted you to the top of felicitie, and to turne backe into your owne entrailes, thoſe weapons which were ſo well guided againſt your enimies, by calling backe the warre into your owne countrey, from whence it was ſo happily baniſhed? The great and large ſcope of the Romane Empire ouer three partes of the world, could not ſatisfie the ambition of *Ceſar* and *Pompey*, whileſt the one could abide no equall, and the other no ſuperior: inſomuch, that they omitted and forgat no meanes to increaſe their greatnes, although it were with the charges of the Common-wealth. As we may read among other things of *Ceſar*, who, to ground & vnderprop his power well for continuance, gaue at one time to *Paulus* the Conſul, nine hundred thouſand crownes, for feare leſt he ſhould oppoſe himſelfe againſt his enterpriſes: and

Alcibiades.

A very fit admonition for France.

Ceſar & Pompey.

to *Curio* the Tribune he gaue fifteene hundred thouſand crownes, that he ſhould take his part. After the death of theſe two Princes, that great dominion could no better content the Triumuirate, namely, *Octauius*, *Antonius*, and *Lepidus*, who by force of armes ceaſed not to put their countrey to ſword and fire, vntill the ſoueraigne authoritie became reſident in one alone. But why ſhould we ſeeke among the Ancients, or amongſt our neighbours for examples of the pernitious effects of this vice, ſeing we haue ſo many at our owne gates? Who kindled that fire in France, which had taken hold of all the parts thereof, and almoſt conſumed it vtterly vnder the raigne of the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, who ſtroue togither for the gouernment of the kingdome? Were there not vpon the ſame occaſion more than foure thouſand men ſlaine in one daye within Paris, the moſt of them being men of name, at the inſtigation and procurement of the Duke of Burgundy, who had taken poſſeſſion thereof? But alas the continuall and preſent remembrance of our late and vnſpeakeable miſeries, procured chiefly from the ſame fountaine of ambition, and knowne to women and children, ſtaieth me from ſeeking farther for teſtimonies of this our preſent matter. Yea, I feare greatly, that we ſhall ſhortly ſee (I would to God I might be deceiued) the finall and intire ruine of our Monarchie, which hath flouriſhed as long as euer any did, and continued longer vnuanquiſhed of ſtrangers. For we ſee hir owne children bathing their hands in hir bloud, and ſeeking to plucke out hir hart and intrailes, and to caſt them as a pray before hir enimies. O how would Princes chaſe farre from them all ambitious perſons, if they were well inſtructed in vertue, and in the knowledge of thoſe euils which ſuch men procure! ſeeing it is impoſſible that any good counſell ſhould proceed from them, but onely ſuch as tendeth to the aduancement of their priuate greatnes. Now if ambition be the mother of ciuill warres, is it not the ſame alſo of all other warres, which are daily bred betweene Kings & Princes, through the deſire of increaſing their bounds,

The Triumuirate.

The ambition of the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy.

Ambitious men can be no good counſellers to Princes.

of

of seazing vpon other mens territories, to the treading downe, oppression, and ruine of their poore subiects, and oftentimes of their owne estats? Is it not ambition which blindeth men so, that they are not content to be chiefe among a million of others ouer whom they command, vnles they be equal or superior to one or two of those whom they know to be greater than themselues? The desire of hauing more (saith *Plutark*) is a vice common to Princes and great Lords, which, by reason of ambition and desire to rule, bringeth foorth in them oftentimes an vnsociable, cruell, and beastly nature. And as *Ennius* saith, there is no faith or assured societie in kingdomes. For they, whose greedines neither sea, nor mountaines, nor inhabitable deserts can staie, and whose insatiable desire of hauing, cannot be limited with those bounds, which separate Asia from Europe, how will they content themselues with their owne, and not seeke to vsurpe that which belongeth to another, especially when their confines and borders touch one another, and are ioined so neere togither, that nothing is betweene them? It is impossible. And in truth, howsoeuer they dissemble, they purposely warre one with another, watching continually for meanes to surprize and ouerreach each other. But in outward shew they vse these two words of *Peace* and *Warre*, as a peece of monie, according as it shall make best for their purpose, not for duties sake, or vpon reason and iustice, but for their owne profite and aduantage, wickedly disguising in that manner the intermission and surceasing from the execution of their ill will and purpose, with the holie name of iustice and amitie. Princes therfore must not thinke it strange, if sometime priuate men (howbeit that doth not excuse them) find the like dealing profitable vnto them, according as it falleth out for their purpose. For in so doing, they do but imitate and follow them that are their maisters in all disloialtie, treason, and infidelitie, thinking that he bestirreth himselfe, who least of all obserueth that which equitie and iustice require. This did *Dionides* the pirat fitly giue *Alexander* the Great to vnderstand, when he asked of him why

Effects of ambition in great men.

The names of *Peace* and *Warre* abused much by Princes.

Dionides answer to Alexander.

he troubled the whole sea, and robbed euery one. Know (quoth he to him) that thou and I are of one disposition and calling, except in this, that I am called a Pirate for skouring the seas with a few men, and thou a prince, bicause thou inuadest and spoilest euery where with great & mightie armies. But if thou wert *Dionides* and I *Alexander*, it may be I should be a better prince than thou a good pirate. With which free speech *Alexander* was so delighted, that in stead of a guiltie man brought before him to be punished, as was *Dionides*, he made him one of his great captains. But to continue our matter, if Right (say Ambitious men) may be violated, it is to be violated for a kingdom. O speech ful of all impietie, yea such as wil cause thé to buy the violating of so holy a thing very deerly, seeing they spare not him who calleth himself equitie & iustice it selfe. Further, if (as histories teach vs) some haue been so wretched & miserable, as to giue themselues to the Art of Necromancie, and to contract with the deuill, that they might come to soueraigne power and authoritie, what other thing, how strange soeuer it be, will not they vndertake that suffer themselues to be wholy caried away with this vice of ambition? It is ambitió that setteth the sonne against the father, and imboldeneth him to seeke his destruction of whom he holdeth his life. *Henry* the fift by force depriued his father from the Empire, & caused him to die miserably in prison. *Fredericke* the third, after he had raigned thirtie yeeres, was miserably strangled by *Manfroy* his bastard sonne, whom he had made prince of Tarentum. And after he had committed this Parricide, he poisoned his brother *Conradus*, lawfull inheritor to *Fredericke*, that he might make himselfe king of Naples. *Antoninus* & *Geta*, brothers & successors in the Empire to *Seuerus* their father, could not suffer one another to enioy so large a Monarchie: for *Antoninus* slew his brother *Geta* with a dagger, that himself might rule alone. *Solyman* king of the Turkes, grandfather to him that now raigneth, when he heard the loud acclamations and shoutes for ioy which all his armie made to *Sultan Mustapha* his sonne, returning

Examples of the fruits of ambition.

Fredericus.3.

Antonius and Geta.

Solyman.

out

out of Persia, after he had caused him to be strangled in his outward chamber, and presently to be cast out dead before his whole armie, he made this speech to be published with a loud voice, that there was but one God in heauen, and one *Sultan* vpon earth. Within two dayes he put to death *Sultan Seba*, bicause he wept for his brother, and *Sultan Mahomet* his third sonne, bicause he fled for feare, leauing one onely aliue to auoid the inconueniencie of many Lordes. These are but of the smaller fruits of this wild plant of ambition, in respects of those that cause men to put innocents to death, that themselues may take surer footing to growe vp and encrease. And no doubt but for the most part, iust punishment for example to mē, foloweth such an ambitious passion, whereof there are infinite examples both in the Greeke and Latin histories. *Marcus Crassus* a Romane Consul, and the richest man in his time, not contenting himself with many goodly victories gotten by him, but burning with an excessiue ambition and desire of new triumphes, and being iealous of *Cæsars* glory, obtained by his great feats of armes, presumed at the age of three score yeeres to vndertake the warre agaynst *Arsaces* king of the Parthians, contrary to the will of the Senate, feeding himselfe with vaine hope, which led him to a shameful death ioyned with publike losse and calamitie. For being ouercome and his armie discomfited, he was miserably slaine with twentie thousand of his men, & tenne thousand taken prisoners. *Marius* hauing passed through al the degrees of honor, and been six times Consul, which neuer any Romane before was, not content with all this, would notwithstanding take vnto himselfe the charge of the warre against *Mithridates*, which fell to *Sylla* by lot, euen then when he was weakened with olde age, thinking with himselfe to get the Consulship the seuenth time, and to continue that soueraigne authoritie in his owne person. But this was the cause of his vtter ouerthrow, & of that slaughter, wherby all Italy & Spaine were imbrued with bloud by *Sylla*, & the popular estate brought in the end to extreme tyrannie. *Spurius Melius* a Senator

Marcus Crassus iustly punished for his ambition.

Marius.

S. Melius.

of Rome, was murthered for his ambition, and his house rased by *Cincinnatus* the Dictator, because he sought by meanes of a certain distribution of wheate, to make himself king of Rome. *Marcus Manlius* was also vpon the like occasion throwen downe headlong from the toppe of a rocke. Therefore it appeereth sufficiently vnto vs how pernitious this vice of ambition is in the soules of great men, and worthy of perpetuall blame. And although the matter be not of so great waight, when they that follow this vicious passion are but meane men and of small account, yet we are to know, that all they depart farre from dutie and honestie, who, for the obtaining of glorie and renowne, shew themselues inflamed and desirous to excel others in all those things which they ought to haue common together for the mutuall aide and comfort of euery one. Onely we must seeke, without pride and enuie, after excellencie and preferment in that which is vertuous, and profitable for humain societie, contenting our selues notwithstanding with that, which we are able to performe, & so we shall neuer be blamed: but iustly may we be condemned, if we vndertake that which is aboue our strégth. Especially let our desires and passions giue place to the benefit of the Common-wealth, as heretofore *Cretes* and *Hermias*, two great men of Magnesia, delt one towards an other. Their citie being besieged by *Mithridates*, & themselues hauing before been at great strife for honor & preheminence, *Cretes* offered *Hermias* to let him haue the charge of captaine generall, in the meane time he would depart the citie, or if he had rather depart, that he should leaue that office to him. This offer he made, lest if both of them should be together, their ielousie might breed some mischief to their countrey. *Hermias* seeing the honest offer of his companion, and knowing him to be more expert in feats of war, willingly surrendred the authority of cómanding vnto him. Now to end our present discourse, let vs learne to know their outragious folly, who for imaginarie honors, and those of so smal continuance, that the wise mã compareth them to smoke dispersed of the wind,

M. Manlius.

How and wherin we may seeke for honor.

Cretes and Hermias.

desire

desire nothing more than to run out the race of their days in continuall miseries and calamities, trauels and cares, depriuing themselues of all libertie, and which is worse, pawning their soules to an eternall and most miserable thraldome. Thus let vs detest ambition, which is an infinite euil and companion of pride, so much hated of God and men. Let vs consider a little that point of Philosophy which we find written by *Traian* to *Plutarke*. *I praise* (sayd this good prince) *Cincinnatus, Scipio Africanus, and Marcus Portius, more for their contempt of offices, than for the victories which they haue gotten: bicause a conquerer is for the most part in fortunes power, but the contempt and refusall of offices and honours consisteth onely in prudence.* Let vs marke well the example of the emperor *Flauius Vespasianus*, who being admonished by his friends to beware of one *Metius Pomposianus*, (bicause it was a common rumor that he should one day be emperor) was so farre from procuring him any harme or displeasure, or from hating or enuying him, (as it is the propertie of ambitious men, to feare aboue all things least their estate be touched, bicause they would raigne alone) that contrarywise he made him Consull the next yeere. Whereat his familiar friends wondring, and disswading him from it, *My meaning is* (quoth he to them) *that he should one day remember this good turne.* Let vs also propound to kings and princes that sentence of *Titus* the emperor, who making a feast one day with a cheerful countenance to the contentation of euery one, in the ende of the banquet strake himselfe on the brest at the table, and fetched a great sigh withall: Wherupon his fauorites demanding the cause why, *I cannot* (quoth he) *keepe my selfe from sighing and complaining, when I call to mind that this great honor which I haue, dependeth vpon the will of fortune: that my estates and dignities are as it were in sequestration, and my life as it were laid in pawne & pledged vnto me.* Let the saying of that good prince *Philip* king of Macedonia be well noted of great men, who on a day falling all along in that place where wrestling was exercised, and beholding the fashion of his body printed in the dust, *Good Lord* (quoth he) *how little ground must we haue*

Traians letter to Plutarke.

Vespasianus.

A notable saying of Titus.

Another of Philip king of Macedonia.

haue by nature, and yet we desire all the habitable world. According to his example let vs all humble our selues in the acknowledgement of our imbecillitie and poore humain estate, and let vs moderate our vnruly affections through the contempt of those things which worldly men desire and seeke after, iudging them an vnworthy reward for vertue. Let euery one of vs content himself with his estate and calling, so that it tendeth to the right end, namely, to his glory that gaue it vnto vs, and to the benefit and profit of his creatures, and let all be done according to that measure of graces which he shall bestow vpon vs.

Of Voluptuousnes and Lecherie. Chap. 22.

ACHITOB. AMong those faults which men commit, being led with desire and pleasure that is naturally in them, we noted a little before, luxuriousnes and whoredome. But bicause we then reserued it to a more ample handling of Voluptuousnes, and of a lustfull life, which is the chiefe worke therof, & whose desire and contentation is in lecherie, to the end we may the better discouer that sugred poison, which lurketh vnder these detestable vices, I am of opinion that we must begin to enter into this large field, so fruitfull for thornes and thistles, which to sicke eyes many tymes seeme faire blossoms of some goodly fruits: propounding to the sight of euery one, the nature and effects of the tyrannical power of pleasure, a mortall enemie to the raigne of Vertue.

ASER. Pleasure (saith *Plato*) is the hooke of all euils, bicause men are taken thereby as fish by a hooke. For it quencheth the light of the soule, hindreth all good counsell, and through inticements turneth men aside from the way of vertue, throwing them downe headlong into the gulfe of confusion, which is luxuriousnes and whoredom, a most wicked & abominable vice aboue all others, wherby all vertue is hurt and offended.

Pleasure the hooke of all euil.

AMANA. He that is giuen to pleasure (saith *Cicero*) iudgeth

iudgeth all things, not according to reason, but according to sence, esteeming that best, which most delighteth him: so that he easily suffreth himselfe to be kindled with the burning fire of luxuriousnes, which is hurtfull to euerie age, and extinguisheth old age. But let vs heare ARAM vpon this matter.

ARAM. It is no new opinion, that many iudging according to their sensualitie, and being altogither ignorant of the true nature and immortality of the soule, haue placed their soueraigne *Good* in pleasure, and in the enioying of those things which most of all tickle the sences. *Aristippus* and all the Cyrinaiks, *Epicurus*, *Metrodorus*, *Chrysippus*, and many others, who falsly tooke vnto themselues the name of Philosophers, laboured to prooue it by many arguments, cloking their wickednes with graue and loftie words, saying: that none could perfectly attaine to pleasure, except he were vertuous and wise. But that which *Cicero* alleadgeth against them, is sufficient to discouer the maske of their impudencie, and to conuince them of lying: namely, that we must not simply looke to mens sayings, but consider whether they agree in their opinions. For how is it possible, that he which placeth his chiefe *Good* in the pleasure of the bodie, and in neuer-feeling griefe, should make account of, or imbrace vertue, which is an enimie to delights and pleasures, and commandeth vs rather to suffer a cruell and dolorous death, than to start aside against dutie? It is certaine, that he which placeth his chiefe *Good* in pleasure, hath no regard to do any thing but for his priuate profit. Whereby he declareth sufficiently, that he careth not at all for vertue, especially iustice, which commandeth nothing so much, as to leaue our owne particular pleasure and profit, and to imbrace, though with our perill & losse, the publike welfare. Moreouer, how could he be couragious, if he thought that grief were the extreamest and greatest euill, or temperate, supposing pleasure to be perfect felicitie? Besides, what can be more vnbeseeming man, appointed for all great and excellent things, than to take that for his chiefe *Good*, whereof

Who they were that placed their chiefe *Good* in pleasure.

whereof brute beaſtes haue better part than we, and to leaue the care of that which is diuine and immortall in vs, to attend to that which is mortall and ſubiect to corruption? But theſe erronious and falſe opinions, being contrarie to themſelues, are ſo abſurd and full of blockiſh ignorance, that we neede not here looſe much time in confuting them, and conuincing them of lies. Notwithſtanding, it being ſo common a thing with men, to imbrace pleaſure as the principall end of their actions, bicauſe naturally they deſire pleaſure, and ſhun griefe: it will be eaſie for vs to ſhew, that ignorance only guideth them, when being depriued of the knowledge of that *Good* which is to be wiſhed for, and is pleaſant and acceptable, they ſeeke after, through an euill choice, the greateſt miſchiefe of all, I meane pleaſure, vnſeparably followed of griefe, which men labour moſt of all to eſchew. Let vs then ſee what pleaſure is, and what fruites ſhe bringeth with hir. Voluptuouſnes or pleaſure (ſaith *Cicero*) is properly called that delight, which mooueth and tickleth our ſences, which ſlideth and ſlippeth away, and for the moſt part leaueth behind it occaſions rather of repentance, than of calling it again to remembrance. For many through wicked and vnneceſſarie pleaſure haue fallen into great diſeaſes, receiued great loſſes, and ſuffred many reproches. It alwaies (ſaith *Plato*) bringeth damage and loſſe to man, ingendring in his mind ſorow, ſottiſhnes, forgetfulnes of prudence, and inſolencie. Whereſoeuer ſweete is (ſaith *Antipho*) there preſently followeth ſowre. For voluptuouſnes neuer goeth alone, but is alwaies accompanied with ſorow and griefe. Pleaſure (ſaith *Plutark*) reſolueth mens bodies, mollifieng them daily through delights, the continuall vſe of which mortifieth their vigor, and diſſolueth their ſtrength, from whence abundance of diſeaſes proceedeth, ſo that a man may ſee in youth the beginnings of the weakenes of old age. Voluptuouſnes is a cruell beaſt, making men hir ſlaues, and chaining them (as *Sophocles* ſaith) with diamond chaines. She is ſo much the more

What pleaſure is.

The fruits of pleaſure.

more odious, by how much the more ſhe hideth hir venom, putting vpon hir the garment of good liking, betraying vertue, and killing a man euen when ſhe flattereth him. When pleaſures come (ſaith *Eraſmus*) they flatter vs with a diſguiſed viſage, and when they depart, they leaue vs full of ſorow and ſadnes. Which *Xenophon* very wittily deuiſed vnder the name of *Hercules*, ſaying: that as he went one day into the fields, in a certaine threefold highway he met Vertue and Vice, both of them being in the ſhape and apparell of women. Vice being clothed in a ſtately, delicate, gorgeous and laſciuious gowne, with a ſmiling, painted, and coloured countenance, which did woonderfull allure by reaſon of the ſweetnes and flouriſhing beautie that ſeemed to be in it, offred her ſelfe ſuddenly vnto the ſaid *Hercules*, ſaying: that if he would follow hir, ſhe would cauſe him to lead his whole life in delight and pleaſure. But Vertue with a ſorowfull, leane, and diſmaied face, and clad with a long and plaine robe, without any decking of hir ſpeech, vſed theſe words: If thou wilt come to me *Hercules*, thou ſhalt be indued, not with bodilie ornaments, nor with vading and vaniſhing beautie, but with certaine other riches which are more worth, and indure for euer. For whoſoeuer beleeueth me, forſaking that which ſeemeth faire, & cleauing to thoſe things which outwardly appeere auſtere and hard, he receiueth in the end an eternall felicitie. Let vs vncloth voluptuous men (ſaith *Plutark*) and conſider their doings. They are drunkards, whoremongers, ſluggiſh in all waightie matters, neglecting the benefit of the Common-wealth, of their parents and of their friends. But of all kind of voluptuouſnes, Lecherie is moſt defiled, filthy, vile, and pernitious, whereof eſpecially we are now to diſcourſe, being properly called of the Philoſophers a furious paſſion, which corrupteth the ſence of man, and a burning fire that conſumeth him. All vnmeaſurable pleaſure, which men take by their fiue ſences, is vile and diſhoneſt: but the Grecians after a ſpeciall manner called thoſe men incontinent and immoderate, who exceeded in taſting and touching.

The ſundry praiſers which Vice and Vertue made to Hercules.

What whoredome is.

touching. And *Hippocrates* said, that he supposed copulation to be a part of that foule disease, which we call the Epilepsie or falling sicknes. And truly there is nothing more certaine, than that immoderate vse of the venereous act spoileth beautie, defileth the bodie, drieth it vp, and causeth it to stinke, maketh the face pale, wanne or yellow, weakneth the members and ioints, ingendreth Sciaticke goutes, collick passions, griefes of the stomacke, giddines of the head, or dimnes of sight, the leprosie and pocks. It shortneth life, taketh away the vnderstanding, darkeneth the memorie, and as the Prophet *Osey* saith, taketh away the hart. Moreouer, how odious all whoredome ought to be vnto vs, so that it be not so much as once named amongst vs, the onely curse that is laid vpon it of God, ought sufficiently to perswade vs, seeing thereby he condemneth it both with temporall and with eternall death. But we haue besides, many goodlie sentences and notable examples of Ethnicks and Pagans, and namely of the iust punishment, which for the most part followed this detestable vice hard at the heeles, and which ought to stir vs vp to hate it, and to flie from it with all our might, especially when adulterie is ioined therwith, which is when the sacred knot of mariage is violated and broken. Concupiscence (saith *Aristotle*) changeth mens bodies, and breedeth madnes in their soules. The end thereof is luxuriousnes, from whence proceede a thousand wrongs, violences, incests, murders, poisonings, and innumerable other impieties. Is it not then a signe of great loosenes and basenes of mind, for a man to subiect himselfe to carnall concupiscences, which are disordered desires contrarie to reason, and whose office and practise is to chuse euill for good? Let vs heere giue eare to *Socrates* disputation with *Euthydemus*, being very fit for our present matter. Tell me O *Euthydemus*, doest thou thinke that libertie is a good, great, and profitable possession, whether it belongeth either to a man, or to a citie? Verie great. Therefore whosoeuer serueth the pleasures and vnbrideled desires of the bodie, so that for loue of them he cannot execute

The effects of immoderate copulation.

Osey.4.11.

The effects and end of concupiscence.

Socrates disputation against incontinencie.

cute that which he knoweth to be very good, Doeſt thou thinke that he is free? No. It may be thou iudgeſt it a thing woorthy a free man to be able to put in practiſe whatſoeuer he taketh to be good, and contrarywiſe, to be hindred from ſo doing, to be ſeruile and ſlauiſh. So it is. Thou beleeueſt then that no incontinent men are free. Yea truly, and that iuſtly. Thinkeſt thou that incontinent men are hindred frō doing that which is honeſt, or compelled to commit vicious things? I thinke they are as much compelled to do the one, as hindered from practiſing the other. But what maiſters doeſt thou thinke them to be, who forbid well doing, and conſtraine men to embrace euill? In good truth, very wicked. And doeſt thou not thinke that bondage of all others moſt troubleſome, when one ſerueth moſt wicked and naughtie maiſters? Yea. Then incontinent men are of all others moſt miſerable, of what eſtate or condition ſoeuer they be. Beſides, he that neuer thinketh vpon goodnes, but ſeeketh by all means to fulfill his vntamed deſires of pleaſure and luſt, hath no more vſe of reaſon, than beaſts haue. This wiſe Philoſopher teacheth vs ſufficiently how hurtfull and pernitious a thing it is to ſuffer the deſires of the fleſh to raigne in vs, conſidering that they draw vs vehemently to the practiſe of them, to our owne deſtruction: eſpecially whoredom, which bringeth with it all kind of miſchiefe, diſſolueth and weakneth the body, and offendeth all the vertues and goods of the ſoule. Through hir it commeth that men abaſe themſelues ſo lowe, as to ſubmit both their bodies and ſoules to the inconſtant will and vnrulie deſire of a fooliſh woman. For we ſee ſome men ſo bewitched with a harlot, that if neede be, and ſhe commaund it, they will hazard their honour and credit, and oftentimes make themſelues an example to a whole country vpon an open ſcaffold. And then they labor to couer their folly with this goodly name of *Loue*, which is better termed of *Euripides* by the name of *Furie* & madnes in men. For true & good loue, which is the fountain of friēdſhip, is alwais grounded vpō vertue, & tendeth

The fruits of whoredom.

to

to that ende: but this ſlipperie and looſe loue, is a deſire founded vpon the opinion of a *Good*, which in deede is a moſt pernitious euil. And if adulterie follow vpō it (which according to *Ariſtotle* is a curious inquirie after another mans loue) the vice is two fold more deteſtable and wicked, bicauſe that he which committeth it, ſeeketh againſt all dutie of nature to take away another mans honor and reputatiō, ſpoileth him of that which he accounteth moſt precious, namely, of the loue and friendſhip of his wife, breaketh the peace of a houſe, cauſeth the wife to looſe hir ſoule, who otherwiſe peraduenture would not haue yeelded, if he had not corrupted hir. In a word, it is the cauſe of infinite miſeries & offences which we daily ſee come to paſſe. Amongthe Auncients this vice was ſo odious, that it was narowly ſought out, and chaſticed with very grieuous puniſhments. In ſo much that *Iulius Ceſar* cauſed one of his captains to be beheaded, bicauſe he had diſhonoured the miſtreſſe of the houſe where he lodged, not ſtaying vntill one accuſed him, and without any complaint made vnto him by hir husband. There was a law among the *Locrians*, eſtabliſhed by *Zaleucus*, which condemned all thoſe that were conuicted of this vice of adulterie, to haue their eyes puld out. This lawe was afterward ſo well kept, that his ſonne being taken with the fact, and all the people intreating for him, *Zaleucus* would neuer ſuffer the puniſhment to be any thing leſſened. And yet to ſatiſfie their importunitie in ſome ſort, he cauſed one of his own, and another of his ſonnes eyes to be plucked out, chuſing rather to beare halfe the puniſhment allotted for the offence, than that it ſhould remaine vnpuniſhed, & the law violated. *Auguſtus Ceſar* made the law *Iulia*, intituled *of Adulteries*, wherein is declared, how proceſſe ought to proceed againſt thoſe that are attainted of it, and how ſuch as are conuicted thereof are to be puniſhed, euen to permit the father to kill his daughter being taken in the fact with the adulterer. After that *Fabius Fabritius* was ſlain by his wife through trecherie, to the ende that ſhe might haue greater libertie to commit adulterie, one of his yonger

The miſerable effects of Adulterie.

Zaleucus law againſt adulterie.

The law of Iulia againſt adulterers.

ger ſons whē he came to age ſlew his mother with the adulterer, & was abſolued therof by the Senate. We read alſo that the leſt puniſhment vſed by the Egyptians againſt adulterers, was to cut off the womās noſe, & the priuy parts of the man. Briefly, we ſhall find, that in all nations where honor and ciuilitie is neuer ſo little regarded, this vice of adulterie hath been grieuouſly puniſhed, and greatly hated of all noble minds. Herein the example of *Alexander* is woorthy to be remembred, who, when a woman was brought vnto him one euening, demanded of hir why ſhe came ſo late: to whom ſhe anſwered, that ſhe ſtayed vntill hir husband was gone to bed. Which he no ſooner heard, but he ſent hir away, being very angry with his men, bicauſe they had almoſt cauſed him to commit adultery. He would not ſo much as touch his friends Concubine, although he loued hir: and he tooke on wonderfully with *Caſſander*, bicauſe he would by force kiſſe a minſtrels maid. So farre off was he from beyng willing to ſuffer his courtiers to force any wiues or daughters of his ſubiects, or to induce them to ſuborne any for him. But contrarywiſe, we ſee now adayes, that they are moſt eſteemed of great men whoſe skill is greateſt in corrupting of women. *Antonius Venereus* duke of Venice may be vnto them an example worthy to be folowed, who cauſed his owne ſonne to die in priſon, bicauſe he had rauiſhed a maid. But let vs note a litle the eye witneſſes of Gods wrath, who neuer, or very ſeldome ſuffreth whoredome to go without preſent payment meete for ſuch peruerſe wickednes. The reading of holy Scriptures doth furniſh vs with notable examples, in the death of foure and twentie thouſand Iſraelites for whoredome: in the puniſhment of the ſame ſinne committed by *Dauid*, with the death of more than threeſcore thouſand men in Iſrael: in the puniſhment of the ſame ſinne in *Salomon* vpon his ſonne, who was depriued of ten parts of his kingdome: in the ouerthrow of the Cities of Sodomah and Gomorrah, and in many other places. Whē Sathan ſeeketh for a readie way to cauſe men to fall, he commonly vſeth whoredom. When *Balaam* taught *Balaac*

The puniſhment of adulterers vſed among the Egyptians.

Alexander hated adulterie.

Anthonie duke of Venice.

Teſtimonies of Gods wrath againſt whoredome.

Numb. 25. 9.

This ſinne of Dauid was in numbring the people, as appeereth, 2. Sam. 24. 1. 1. King. 12.

Gen. 19.

that ſubtill practiſe to cauſe the Iſraelites to commit idolatrie, it was by meanes of the faire women of his countrey, thereby to cauſe them to fall into the wrath and indignation of God. Concerning hiſtories written by men, the number of examples of Gods wrath vpon whoremongers is infinite, of which we will heere alleadge ſome, making mention of violent puniſhments, and of the depriuation and ſubuerſion of flouriſhing eſtates, which haue proceeded from the ſame cauſe of whoredome. And truly it is more dangerous for a Prince in regard of his eſtate, than any other vice, yea than crueltie it ſelfe. For crueltie maketh men fearefull, and ſtriketh a terror in the ſubiects, but whoredome draweth with it hatred and contempt of the Prince: bicauſe euery one iudgeth an effeminate man vnwoorthie to command a whole people.

The danger that dependeth vpon the looſenes of a Prince.

Tarquinius. *Tarquinius* king of Rome, for his loftines ſurnamed the proud, was depriued of his kingdome, bicauſe of the violence which one of his ſonnes offered to *Lucretia*, a Romane Ladie. And although he gathered togither great forces, thinking thereby to reenter into his eſtate, yet he could neuer attaine therunto. Since which time the name of a king hath beene ſo odious among the Romanes, that they would neuer ſuffer any to beare that title amongſt them, but from that time forward, changed the gouernment of a Monarchie into a Democraty or popular eſtate, aboliſhing all lawes appertaining to a king. In place of which they ſent to the Athenians for *Solons* lawes, which afterward were obſerued by the Romanes, and called the lawes of the twelue Tables. *Appius Claudius*, one of thoſe ten that had all authoritie in the gouernment of the Romane eſtate, bicauſe he would haue rauiſhed *Virginia*, daughter to *Virginius* a Citizen of Rome, who ſlew hir to ſaue hir honor, was baniſhed with all his companions in that office, and their manner of gouernment changed into the authoritie of Conſuls. What was like to haue befallen that mightie *Caſar*, after he had conquered France, Almaigne, England, Spaine, Italy, and *Pompey* himſelfe, but a ſhamefull death, by reaſon of a fooliſh loue, which

Appius Claudius.

Caſar.

cauſed

cauſed him to go into Alexandria in diſguiſed apparell to enioy *Cleopatra*, where an Eunuch and a child had almoſt ſlaine him, if he had not caſt himſelfe from a high tower into the ſea, and ſo ſaued himſelfe by ſwimming to his campe vnder the gallies of his enimies? *Teundezillus* king of Spaine was, for committing violent adulterie with a ladie of a noble houſe, depriued both of life and kingdom. *Teundezillus.*

Marcus Antonius Caracalla Emperour, being caried away with intemperate luſt, maried his mother in law: and within a while after he loſt both his empire and life. *Childericus* the firſt of that name, king of France, after he had raigned a long time, was driuen out of his kingdome for his whoredome. *Caracalla.* *Childericus.*

Iohn, Countie of Arminack, maried one of his owne ſiſters, and being therefore excommunicated of the Church, was depriued of his eſtate and life by the Emperor *Charlemaigne*. Iohn Earle of Arminack.

Rodoaldus king of Lumbardy being taken in adultery, was ſlain by the womans husband, whome he abuſed. *Rodoaldus.*

Roderigo king of Spaine, was depriued of his kingdome and life by the Sarraſins, who were called in by an earle named *Iulian*, that he might be auenged of his king, who had forced his daughter. *Roderigo.*

Galeatius Maria Duke of Millan being at maſſe, was ſlaine by a Citizen, who ſtroke him into the ſtomack with a dagger, faining that he would haue ſpoken with him. The chiefe cauſe heerof was for a ſuſpition which he had conceiued, that this Prince intertained his wife. Galeatius Duke of Millan.

In the time of *Philip* the faire, king of France, two knights that were brothers, named *d'Aunoy*, were flaied aliue for their whoredomes committed with a Queene of Nauarre, and with the Counteſſe of March, daughter to the Countie of Burgundie, which twaine alſo were condemned to perpetuall priſon. Two brothers flaied aliue.

Not long ſince, *Peter Lewes* Duke of Placentia, was murdred for his inceſts, and incredible whoredoms. Among other things, it is written of him, that he forced *Coſmes Chers* biſhop of Valentia, whome he cauſed to be held by his men, and after poiſoned him, leaſt he ſhould haue accuſed him to the Emperour. *Peter Lewes.*

Alſo not long ago, the cities of Almendine & Delmedine, were cut off from the king- Almendine and Delmedin.

dome of Fez, and brought vnder obedience to the Portingales, bicauſe a yoong woman was taken away by force from hir husband, by the Gouernor of them, who was afterwards ſlaine. *Abuſahid* alſo king of Fez, was murdered with ſixe of his children by his Secretarie, whoſe wife he had abuſed. This is ſet downe by *Leon* in the deſcription of Africke. In our time, and euen amongſt vs, too many ſuch examples of the pernitious fruits of whoredom haue fallen out. Neuertheles, it beareth ſuch ſway in this deſolate France, that they are accounted the gallanteſt men, who are the greateſt pillers of whoredome. Yea, the greater ſort, that ought to be paterns of chaſtitie to others, are bold in the practiſe thereof, thinking to couer their ſhame, to cloke and diſguiſe their whoredome with the maske of vertue, accounting it a point of glorie and honor to be the chiefeſt and moſt expert in that ſchoole. But let vs know that this viſard is but to make them altogither without excuſe before him, from whom nothing can be hidden, and who abhorreth all maliciouſnes and ſhameles impudencie, wherwith whoremongers ſet forth their face. And ſeeing that he, whoſe mercie is endles, ſupplieth the want and infirmitie of his creatures, this vice of whoredome is without all colour of excuſe before him, bicauſe he hath giuen vs a holie and honourable remedie againſt it, which is mariage, permitted to euery one, but yet deſpiſed of all whoremongers, to their ruine and eternall confuſion. And if they were not wholly blinded through continuance in vice, the ſcourges of ciuill warre, of hereſie, of famine, and of rebellion, which Fraunce at this day ſuffereth, would be more than enough to vnſeele their eies, that they might acknowledge the wrath of the Almightie, readie to deſtroy them both bodie and ſoule. Therefore let vs that are better inſtructed by our Academie, learne of *Socrates*, that a wiſe man ought to paſſe by pleaſures as by the Syrens, if he long to attaine to vertue, his moſt happie countrey and dwelling place. And for a good helpe heerunto, let vs take the counſell of *Epictetus*, ſaying: *When thy ſpirite is drawne with ſome deſire of pleaſure, beware*

Abuſahid.

The whoredom of Frenchmen.

The ſcourges that France endureth.

Good counſell againſt whoredome.

beware thou tumble not into some downefall: and meditate a litle, considering diligently, that after thou hast beene ouercome of pleasure, there remaineth nothing but repentance, and thy hatred against thy selfe. Whereas if thou abstaineſt, a stedfast and assured ioy possesseth thy hart, which wholy driueth away sorow. Thus let vs endeuor to decke our selues with puritie, chastitie, and vprightnes, hating in such sort voluptuousnes and lecherie (the deere and costlie pleasure whereof passeth away as the winde, and leaueth behind it a shamefull remembrance) that following the will of our law-maker, we shun all dissolutenes tending that way, whether it be immodest garments, vnchast gestures and countenances, or vile and filthie words, which may induce others to euill. Let vs remember in good time what *Archelaus*, a Greek Philosopher said to a yoong man clothed with superfluous apparell, *that it was all one in what part soeuer of his bodie he declared his vnchastnes, and that it was euermore to be condemned.* But aboue all things let that diuine sentence sound without ceasing in our eares, *that no whoremonger hath any inheritance in the kingdome of Iesus Christ.* And if, being naturally giuen to loue pleasure, and to feare griefe, we would delight our soule with a ioy that is both profitable and pleasant: let vs lift it vp in the meditation of those vnspeakeable and endles riches, which are promised vnto it in that happie immortalitie: and so we shall weaken and make fruitles that desire of worldlie pleasure, which is borne togither with vs.

1.Cor.6.9. Ephes.5.5.

Of glorie, praise, honor, and of pride. Chap. 23.

ARAM. MEn hauing their eies couered with ignorance, vse commonly to say, that he hath a great loftie and noble mind, who aspireth to honors, estats, riches, and other worldlie vanities. Albeit truly, if we narrowly looke vnto the end wherefore they direct their intents and actions that way, we shall see nothing els in them but a desire of vaine-glorie & praise,

The iudgement of ignorant men touching noblenes of mind.

thereby to feede their pride and naturall paſſions, which are ſo pernitious in the ſoule, that if they be not ruled by temperance and mediocritie, and grounded vpon vertue, which is the fountain of honor, they will bring foorth very dangerous effects, cleane contrary to mens deſires.

How we ſhould make choice of a happy life.

ACHITOB. They (ſaith *Seneca*) that would make choice of a happy life, muſt not follow the faſhion & maner of life vſed by the multitude and greateſt part of men, but ſuch a one as is altogither contrary therunto. And this we ſhall do, if we deſpiſe the glory, honor, praiſe and pride of the world, and iudge nothing woorthy to be cared for of vs, but onely vertue, which is able to bring vs to the fulneſſe of true glory, and of euerlaſting felicitie.

ASER. The glory (ſaith *Pindarus*) that a man taketh to ſee himſelfe in honor and credite, maketh pains to ſeeme pleaſant, and trauell tollerable. It is the propertie of a ſtone (ſaith *Cicero*) not to haue any feeling of the difference that is betweene praiſe and diſpraiſe: but it belongeth to a wiſe man not to be ſo mooued with all theſe things, as that they ſhould cauſe him to draw backe from duetie. Let vs thā heare AMANA diſcourſe more at large of the matter which is here propounded vnto vs.

The common down-fall of the paſſions of the ſoule.

AMANA. Moſt certain it is, that commonly nothing affecteth a man more than the coueting of glory, of praiſe and of honor, whereof he is by nature deſirous. But as all the paſſions and diſeaſes of the ſoule are for the moſt part folowed with thoſe inconueniences, which men pretend moſt of all to eſchew, ſo oftentimes they that glaunce at honor, as if that were vertue it ſelfe, leauing behind them the path of that vertue from whence honor ought to proceed, and which is able of it ſelfe to adorne & decke men, fall into the ſame reckoning that *Ixion* did, who (as the Poets ſay) had to do with a cloud, ſuppoſing it to haue been the goddeſſe *Iuno*, whereupon the Centaures were engendred. Euen ſo worldly men embracing vaine-glory onely, which is but a falſe ſhadow of true vertue, all their doings deſeruē ſo ſmall commendation, that if they were well waied, they ſhould rather be found worthy of blame

and

and dishonor, than of that honour, which they so greatly seeke and aske after. For this cause the ancient Romanes built two Temples ioined together, the one being dedicated to Vertue, and the other to Honor: but yet in such sort, that no man could enter into that of Honor, except first he passed through the other of Vertue. But seeing the way of vertue is so litle frequented at this day, no maruell (as *Hesiodus* saith) if so great a heape of wickednes be dispersed through the world, that all shame and honor haue forsaken and abandoned the life of man. Now if an honest man preferre the losse of his honor before his owne life, to the ende he be none of those that content themselues with a deceitful Idea and platforme, in stead of the thing it self, let him learn aboue all things to know wherin true glory and honor consist, and from whence he may deserue praise: which first is in Goodnes and Iustice: Secondly, in guiding all humane actions prudently according to duetie, comelines, and honestie. These are the only meanes to get durable and eternall honour, glory, and praise, which always folow vertue as the shadow doth the body, hauing this propertie to make men wise, iust, good and prudent, and to bring them to the best, excellentest, and most diuine habite that can be in men, which is the vprightnes of reason and iudgement, and to the perfection (next after God) of the reasonable nature, which is such a disposition of the soule as consenteth and agreeth with it selfe. Therfore that goodnes and excellencie which proceedeth of wisedome and good instruction is the first step to come to honor, bicause from that as from a liuely fountain floweth euery vertuous and praise-woorthie action, practised by a prudent man. For (as *Cicero* saith) no man can be prudent, but he must needs be good. Now this is cleane contrary to the common opinion of those that run so swiftly now adays after honor and reputation, who, being ignorant of euery good cause and reason, and hauing corrupt and wicked conditions, imagine in their mindes, that so long as they do some act well liked of great men, and for which they may be noted out by them to be men

The Romanes built two Temples, the one to Vertue, & the other to Honor.

The first step to Honor.

Wherin worldlings place honor.

of valure, making good penywoorths of their skin, and of their conſcience alſo, whether it be in fight, or in the execution of ſome other commandement of theirs, they ſhal haue cauſe to thinke themſelues worthy of great honour, and to be preferred before other men. For they ſuppoſe that honor ought to be meaſured by that good wil and liking which men conceiue of thē, although they thēſelues be moſt wicked, and not by the triall of the worke whether it be good or euil in it ſelfe. But I wonder at their follie. For ſeeing they haue no goodneſſe in them, how can they iudge what ought to be done or left vndone, according to equitie and iuſtice? And what honor wil they deſerue in all their actions, being guided onely with a deſire of worldly glory, which (as *Quintilian* ſaith) is the chiefe & principal euil? Do not they alſo propound to themſelues as a recompence of their paine and trauell, aduancement to high eſtates and dignities, that they may the better enioy worldly pleaſures? Whereby they become ſlaues to mortall goods and riches all their life time, and depriue themſelues of that precious libertie of the ſoul, for which a noble hart ought to fight & to ſuffer death. But a good man adorned with goodnes and iuſtice, propoundeth vnto himſelfe a farre other end. For admiring nothing but vertue, he ſeeketh not to be honored but in obeying hir, in following hir ſteps, and in referring all his doings to the infallible rule thereof. He knoweth (as *Seneca* ſayth) that glory is to be followed, not to be deſired: that it is gotten by ſuch a noble courage as meaſureth al things by conſcience, not doing any thing for oſtentation and vanitie. The price and reward which he expecteth in this life for euery laudable action, is to haue done it: and yet he depriueth not himſelfe of glory, which remayneth immortal vnto him among good men for his iuſt & vertuous deedes, neither careth he at all what the wicked or ignorant ſort think or ſpeake of him. Hauing layd this ground and foundation of all his intents and purpoſes, he looketh not to the moſt beaten way, not to the preſent ſtate of things, that he might apply himſelfe to the tyme, as though

The White at which euerie good man ought to aime.

though he feared that he ſhould be left behind, but deſireth rather to abide vnknown in his ſimplicitie, than with the hurt and detriment of his ſoule, to intrude himſelfe among the greateſt. And if he vndertake, or execute any thing, he hath iuſtice and prudence alwaies for his guids: and then neither feare nor danger is able to driue him from his determinate purpoſe, which, howſoeuer it falleth out, is alwaies no leſſe woorthie of honor and praiſe, than their actions, who do nothing but for worldlie glorie, deſerue blame and diſpraiſe, which they feare moſt of all, and labor to auoid. True it is, that theſe men, who ambitiouſly ſeeke after vaine glorie and greatnes, may ſay vnto me, that things go farre otherwiſe than I ſpeake of, and that their doings, who apply themſelues to the pleaſure and liking of the greater ſort, without ſparing their liues, are as much extolled, as the others that reſpect the vprightnes of cauſes, are ſet light by and contemned. But I anſwer them againe, that it is the dutie of a prudent man, rather to feare the iudgement and opinion of a few wiſe men, than of an ignorant multitude. Neither ought he to leaue his conceiued purpoſes grounded vpon reaſon for the praiſe of men. For they that do otherwiſe, declare euidently, that they liue not but for the world, hauing no care of the principall and chiefe end of their being. *Bion* compared ſuch men very fitly to veſſels with two handles, which are eaſily caried by the eares whatſoeuer a man will. So theſe men being praiſed and much made of, vndertake all things boldly: yea, the burning heate of glory oftentimes carieth them ſo farre, that they praiſe & commend their owne doings to no purpoſe. Which is ſo vnſeemelie a thing (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) that it is more blameworthie than lying, which commonly goeth with it, and is alſo a great argument of an inconſtant mind. But as *Plutark* ſaith, the more reaſon a man hath gotten by Philoſophie, the more he looſeth of his pride and arrogancie, and they that haue nothing before their eies, whereunto they aſpire, but vertue and dutie onely, vſe the occaſion, time, and ſequele of their affaires, without caring for any other

The iudgement of the beſt, not of the moſt, is to be preferred alwaies.

other praiſe than that which proceedeth from the nature, iudgement and conſent of all good men. It is true, that ſometime it is tollerable in good men, yea neceſſarie for the benefit of others, to commend themſelues in ſome ſort, by ſpeaking of themſelues to their aduantage. As if laboring to be beleeued, we rendred a reaſon of our vertue and goodnes by our former effects, that ſo hauing meanes to continue our vertuous actions to the benefit of many, we may, as it were againſt their wils, worke their ſafetie, and compell thoſe men to receiue a good turne, who ſhun all occaſions thereof. This cauſed *Themiſtocles* to vſe thoſe ſpeeches in the Councell of the Athenians, whome he perceiued to be wearie of him. *O poore men* (quoth he to them) *why do ye oftentimes receiue benefits of the ſame parties?* And another time he vſed theſe words. *In rainie and ſtormie weather ye haue recourſe to me, as to the ſhelter of a tree, but when faire weather returneth, ye ſnatch euery one a branch, as ye paſſe by.* *Homer* bringeth in *Neſtor* rehearſing his prowes and valiant acts, to incourage *Patroclus* & the other nine knights to vndertake the combat againſt *Hector* man to man. Moreouer, exhortation hauing the teſtimonie of works readie at hand, and examples ioined with the pricke of emulation, are liuely, and woonderfully whetteth men on: yea they bring togither with courage and affection, hope of abilitie to attaine to the end of that thing, which is perceiued not to be impoſſible. But in this caſe, as in euery other action, let vs aboue al eſchew pride, hated of God and men, and the cauſe of the corruption and tranſgreſſion of mans nature. Yea, it cauſeth that worke to become wicked, which of it ſelf is good: ſo that humble ſubmiſſion is better than the proud boaſting of our good deedes, which cauſeth a proud man oftentimes to fall into more deteſtable vices than he was in before. Now in requiring firſt and chieflie thoſe praiſes that proceede of bountie and iuſtice, my meaning is not that we ſhould contemne, but rather ſearch diligently after thoſe that procure vnto vs immortall glorie by noble and courragious acts, prouided alwaies that they paſſe not the bounds

A good man may ſometime praiſe himſelfe.

Themiſtocles did ſo.

And Neſtor.

The effects of pride.

bounds of equitie and iuſtice. For otherwiſe they cannot but falſly be called works of fortitude and generoſitie, as heerafter in our diſcourſes vpon theſe vertues we may vnderſtand more at large. Therefore it is the ielouſie of glorie gotten by vertue, after the examples of our predeceſſors that liued well, which ought to pricke forward euery noble hart, to build for himſelfe an eternall monument through heroicall deedes, when dutie and reaſon inuite vs thereunto. Thus did that good and valiant captaine *Mattathias* behaue himſelfe, who, denying obedience to the tyrannicall edicts of *Antiochus*, after he had ſubiected and ſubuerted Ieruſalem, and taking armes with his fiue ſonnes, went into the fields out of a poore village where he dwelt, and called vnto him ſuch as would follow him to recouer againe their liberty. And after many victories obtained by him, when he perceiued that he drew neere to death, he exhorted his ſonnes to follow his iuſt and holie deliberatió without feare of any danger. True it is (quoth he to them) that our bodies are mortall, and ſubiect to the ſame decree that others are, but the memorie of excellent deedes procureth to it ſelfe an immortalitie, whereunto I would haue you aſpire in ſuch ſort, that ye thinke not much to die in behauing your ſelues valiantly. Thus it is lawfull for vs to be touched, and ſtirred vp with the ielouſie of a good glorie, ſo that it be without enuying the proſperitie and preferment of others, but onely ſo farre foorth as it may ſerue for a ſpur vnto vs to vndertake and to effect all vertuous and commendable things. As for example: *Themiſtocles* hearing of the great victorie that *Miltiades* had obtained in the plaine of Marathon, ſaid: that that newes would let him take no reſt: meaning thereby, that he ſhould neuer be quiet, vntill by ſome other act of vertue he had deſerued as much praiſe, as did this excellent Captaine *Miltiades*. *Titus Flaminius* a Romane Conſul, who deliuered Grecia from bondage, and twice in battell ranged, ouerthrew *Philip* king of Macedonia, ſhewed himſelfe likewiſe touched greatly with a deſire of glorie and honour, not to be blamed, but

The works of fortitude muſt be grounded vpon equitie and iuſtice.

Mattathias exhortation to his ſonnes.

How ielouſie of glorie is tollerable.

Themiſtocles.

T. Flaminius.

to

to be practiſed of all excellent and noble natures, by putting too his helping hande whenſoeuer he coulde, with the firſt, yea, ſometimes alone, to euery matter and exploit of importance. He kept company oftner and more gladly with thoſe that ſtood in neede of his helpe, than with ſuch as were able to aide him in well doing, accounting theſe men to be his competitors in the purchaſing of honor and glory, & the others to be matter whereupon he might exerciſe his vertue. It was an argument of yong yeeres, which ſeemed to promiſe much, and to be borne to all great enterpriſes, when *Iulius Caſar* being yet very yong, and beholding the image of *Alexander* the great at foure and twentie yeeres of age, fell to weeping, and ſaid: Am not I miſerable that haue done nothing woorthy of memorie, and yet this prince at theſe yeeres had executed ſo many notable things? Moreouer, we may obſerue among the Ancients infinite woorthy examples quite contrary one to another, in that many great & famous men haue altogether deſpiſed the honor of vaine-glory, which is neuer without preſumption and pride: & contrarywiſe, others being led with pride and arrogancie, haue fowly abuſed their authoritie and greatnes, purchaſing to themſelues more blame and diſhonor, than praiſe and honour. That great *Cyrus* Monarch of the Perſians, was of ſo meeke and gentle a nature, and ſo little deſirous of vainglory, that he would neuer prouoke his equals in age to any exerciſe wherin he perceiued himſelf the ſtronger, but thoſe rather, who were better practiſed than himſelfe, to the end he might not diſpleaſe them by bearing away the price from them, as alſo that he might reape this benefit to learne that which he could not do ſo well as others. O right noble hart, giuing euident proofe of the contempt of baſe and vile things, to treaſure vp thoſe that are great and excellent! But now adayes where about do we ſtriue moſt? namely, who can moſt cunningly ſtrike with the ſword, run at the ring, or ride and manage horſes. And I would to God we did no worſe. But as for excelling others in vertue, theſe times require no ſuch matter.

Cæſar wept at the ſight of Alexanders image.

Cyrus.

ter. We read of an Indian, who being commanded by *Alexander* the Great to shoote before him, bicause he had heard that he was very excellent in that art, would do nothing. Wherupon the Monarch being incensed, condemned him to death, if he would not obey him. The Indian going to execution, told one of those that led him, that he had been in deede heeretofore a very good Archer, but bicause he had of long time intermitted that exercise, he feared that he had forgotten it: and therefore had rather die than loose the reputation, which he had once obtained. To this fellow we may compare those of whome we haue alreadie spoken, who glorie in nothing but in this, that they are taken of the greater sort for valiant men, &, as they vse to say, for such as make profession, that they carie about them a sharpe swoord for their seruice. These men had rather die in a naughtie quarrell, with the danger of looſing their soule, than to fal from this their reputation, which they desire to carie with them. But let vs follow our examples of the contempt of vaine-glorie, and of certaine others ledde away with an ouerweening pride. *Pompey* the Great, shewed a notable argument that he was not touched with vaine-glorie or pride, when, after he had vtterly vanquished *Tigranes* king of Pontus, and made him his prisoner, he chose rather to set him againe in his kingdome, and to make him an allie and confederate of the Romanes, than to reserue and lead him in maner of a triumph into Rome, according as they vsed then to deale with enimies, and with their spoiles: saying like a vertuous Monarch, that he much more esteemed the glorie of a whole age, than of one day. The Great *Tamberlane* being puffed vp exceedingly, bicause of a Peasants sonne he attained to so great a Monarchy, vsed farre greater and more barbarous seueritie towards *Baiazet* Emperour of the Turks, whome, after he had ouercome him, and made him his prisoner, he caused to be ledde about with him in a cage, whereseuer he went, feeding him onely with the crums that fell vnder his table: and whensoever he tooke horse, he vsed his bodie for an aduauntage. After the

A notable historie of an Indian.

Examples of the contempt and desire of vaine-glorie. *Pompeius.*

Tamberlanes seueritie towards Baiazet the great Turke.

Saphors towards Valerianus.

the ſame maner *Valerianus* the emperor was handled by *Saphor* king of Perſia, by whom he was diſcomfited in a battell, which this Barbarian had wonne of him. He that

Pope Alexanders towards Friderike.

trode vpon the emperor *Friderike Barbaroſſa* his necke, and puſht him twiſe with his foote when he had him at his deuotion, ſhewed himſelf more proud, cruell, and arrogant, in that he vſed for a pretence and cloke of his pride & wickednes, that text of Scripture, *Thou ſhalt walke vpon the Lion and Aſpe, the yong Lion and the Dragon ſhalt thou tread vnder foote*, as if it had been ſpoken to him. That heathen mā

Pſal. 91. 13.

Agathocles.

Agathocles king of Sicilia, left behind him a farre more notable example of the contempt of glory, that we ſhould not be lift vp too much, nor forget our ſelues by reaſon of the greatnes of our eſtate. For being come to that eſtate by his vertue, bicauſe he was borne of a poore Potter, he cauſed himſelfe to be ſerued ordinarilie at his table with earthen veſſels, intermingled with his cups of gold, ſaying thus to thoſe that came to ſee him, thereby to inflame them with a deſire of weldoing: *Behold what it is to perſeuer in trauel & in taking of pains to become vertuous and courageous. Heretofore we made theſe pots of earth, and now we make theſe of gold.* Further we muſt know, that when fortune (if it be lawful for vs vnder this word to vnderſtand the ordinãce of God) lifteth vp men of low degree vnto great and honourable places through their valure and deſert, and exalteth alſo many men that are vnwoorthy, letting vs ſee how proudly and wickedly theſe men behaue themſelues in abuſing their authoritie, and contrarywiſe how the other ſort vſe it wel, ſhe doth thereby ſo much the more honor, and recommend vertue vnto vs, as the onely thing whereof all the greatnes, glory and honor of men dependeth, and not of the dignitie wherin they are placed. Now how greatly hautineſſe of mind is hated both of God and men, among infinite teſtimonies which we haue, that of *Herode Agrippa* king of the Iewes, ought well to be marked. For being gone vp into the pulpit appointed for Orations, and reioycing bicauſe the people cried out to his praiſe, *That it was the voice of God, and not of man*, he was ſud-

The honor of great men dependeth of their vertue, not of their dignitie.

Herodes.

denly

denly ſtroken from heauen: ſo that when he perceiued himſelf to conſume away with Vermine, he cried out to the people, ſaying: *Behold how he dieth now with intollerable griefs, whō not long ſince ye called God. Diocleſianus* the emperor was ſo puft vp with pride, that he called himſelfe brother to the Sunne and Moone, and made an Edict whereby he would haue all men to kiſſe his feete, whereas his predeceſſors gaue their hands to the Nobilitie, and their knees to the ſimpler ſort: but God ſuffered him to die a mad man. Moreouer we ſee daily, that proud men become odious to euery one, and are in the end contemned, yea, that oftentimes it coſteth them their life. The puniſhment that *Philip* king of Macedonia laid vpon *Menecratus* the Phyſition was more gentle, yet pleaſant, and woorth the noting. This fellow bicauſe he was excellent in his Arte, cauſed himſelfe to be called *Iupiter* the Sauior. The good prince minding to correct him for his arrogancie, inuited him to a feaſt, and made a table to be prouided for him by himſelfe, whereof at firſt he ſeemed to be very glad. But when he ſaw that in ſtead of meat they gaue him nothing but incenſe, he was greatly aſhamed, and departed from the feaſt in great anger. Now for the concluſion of our diſcourſe, we ſay with *Solon*, that to name a preſumptuous and glorious man in right termes, is to call him a foole, as contrarywiſe, curteſie and meekenes is the foundation of wiſedom and of a quiet life. Whereunto that we may attaine, let vs learne, that whoſoeuer beholdeth with the eyes of his mind the eſtate of mans nature, and conſidereth the baſenes of his condition, together with the ſhortnes of this preſent life, ſubiect to an infallible decree, and marketh alſo the foule pollutions that are ioyned with the fleſh, he ſhall neuer fall in that headlong downfall of arrogancie and pride. And thus deteſting all preſumption and loue of vanitie, let vs ſeeke for honor by the means of Vertue onely, which as *Euripides* ſaith, is alwayes either followed or preuented with glory and praiſe. And let vs not greatly care for the praiſes of men, but onely do thoſe things that are woorthie of commendation. Let vs rather reioyce

Diocleſianus.

Menecratus finely puniſhed for his pride by Philip.

Euery vain-glorious man is a foole.

reioyce and glory that we excell and go beyond others in all good duties towards them, than in any other aduantage, either of worldly glory, or of our priuate profit. Lastly let vs rather loue to abide always as it were vnknowen to the world, than by seruing vanities to turne aside from one onely iot of the duetie of goodnes and iustice, which by the grace of God may procure vs a perpetuall praise among good men, & make vs acceptable before him, who euermore lifteth vp the humble, and beateth downe the proud.

Of Shame, Shamefastnesse, and of Dishonor. Chap. 24.

AMANA. HItherto we haue briefly intreated of those principall points, which respect the vertue of Temperancie, and the vice of Intemperance, contrary vnto it. Neuertheless for the finishing of our dayes worke, I thinke we are to consider what shame and shamefastnes are, which, as the Philosophers say, are ioyned with this vertue of Temperance. For the more we loue glory and honor, the more we feare, and labor to eschew shame & dishonor. Now seeing we haue been taught where to seek for true glory and honor, we shal receiue no lesse profit, if we learne wherein we ought to feare shame and dishonor.

Shame is the keeper of all vertues.

ARAM. There is (saith *Cicero*) a certain shame & bashfulnes in Temperance, which is the gardian of all the vertues, & deserueth great commendation, being also a most goodly ornament to the whole life, as that which fashioneth it according to the patern of decencie & honestie.

ACHITOB. Two things (saith *Plato*) are very wel able to direct his life that is to liue vertuously, namelie, shame of dishoneſt things, & desire of those things that are good & vertuous. Let vs therfore heare ASER discourse more amplie of that which is here propounded vnto vs.

ASER. As we see that a good ground, although it be fat and fertill, bringeth foorth notwithstanding naughty and wild plants: so a good nature, although it be endued with

with many great perfections, is yet neuer without some shame. And this of it selfe seemeth to be a hurtful passion in the soule, albeit it may easily by the means of vertue be dressed and made profitable, if we cure it of all feare of reproch, by doing that which is good, decent and honest; and contrarywise suffer it to augment, and to strengthen it self more and more, when occasion, either of doing ill, or of speaking, approouing, and counsailing any thing that is against the dutie of a good man, shal be offred. Honest shame and shamefastnes (saith *Quintilian*) is the mother of all good counsaile, the right Gardian of dutie, the mistresse of innocencie, well liked of hir neerest friends, in all places, & at all tymes courteously intertained of strangers, as that which hath a fauorable countenance. Honest shame, being (as *Cicero* saith) the moderator of concupiscences, procureth vnto vs a stedfast and commendable authoritie amongst al men. *Hesiodus* calleth it the hostesse of iustice. Of this *Socrates* spake, when he sayd, that vertuous shame beseemed youth. I looke for small goodnes of a yong man (saith *Seneca*) except of such a one as blusheth after he hath offended. For he that blusheth (saith *Menander*) is not voyd of all good nature. Therefore shamefastnes is to be nourished and much made of. For so long as it remaineth in any mans spirite, there is good hope to be conceiued of him. Many haue shrunke through feare of shame, with whom no reason or torment could in any sort preuaile. A wicked mā (saith *Euripides*) hath no shame in him. Shamefastnes (saith one of the Ancients) is sister to continencie, and companion of chastitie, yea by means of hir societie and fellowship, chastitie is in greater safetie. A fault is lessened through shame, as it is made greater by contention: and shame mollifieth the hart of a Iudge, but impudencie prouoketh him to anger. He that is touched to the quicke through a sharpe reprehension for the reformation of his maners, and yet is nothing restrayned thereby, nor full of sweate and blushing for shame, which causeth heate to ascend into the face of euery one well borne, but remaineth inflexible and vnmooueable, smi-

How shame may be made profitable in a man.

ling and iesting thereat, such a one I say, giueth a great argument of a very blockish and senceles nature, which is ashamed of nothing, by reason of his long custome and confirmation in doing of euill. To sinne (saith *Diodorus* the Athenian) is a thing naturally ingrafted in men: neither was there euer any law so rigorous, that could staie the course thereof, although new paines and punishments were dailye added to offences, to see if men might bee drawne from vice through feare of them. But some gather boldnes through pouertie; others because of their riches become insolent, ambitious, and couetous; and others haue other passions and occasions which moоue and induce them to do ill. Now to turne these aside, & to make them fruitles, there is no better way than deepely to imprint in our soules the feare of perpetuall shame and infamie, which are the inseparable companions of all wickednes and corrupt dealings. And as often as we commit any fault through frailtie, we must togither with repentance imprint in our memorie a long remembrance thereof: yea we must lay it often before our eies, as also the shame and dishonor that might haue ensued thereof vnto vs, to this end, that afterward we may be the better kept backe, and more aduised in the like matters. Heerin let vs follow the example of wayfaring men, that haue stumbled against a stone, and of Pilots that haue brused their ships against a rocke, who, being mindfull of their mishap, are all their life time greatly afraid, not onely of those stones and rocks, which were the causes of their euils, but also of all such as resemble them. There was a prohibition (as *Aulus Gellius* writeth) that no yoong Romane should dare to enter into a strumpets house, but with his face couered: and if it so fell out, that any man was so shameles as to come out of that place vncouered, he was as seuerely punished, as if he had committed some forced adulterie. And truly when one is ashamed that he hath offended, we are to hope well of his amendment. Now, as shame of euill, seruing for a bridle to vice, is commendable, so that shame wherein want of prudence and of wisedome beareth

Sinne is naturall in man.

How we must auoid and represse sinne.

A notable custome among the Romanes.

reth sway, is euil and very hurtfull, not onely to those that are touched therewith, but oftentimes procureth great euils to Comminalties and Common-wealths. Whereof those men haue too great experience that liue vnder such Gouernors, Magistrats, and Iudges, as of a foolish basenes and cowardlines of mind, either for feare to displease the greatest, or to be blamed and reprooued of an ignorant multitude, bow and bend to another mans becke against right and equitie, as though they were ashamed to do wel. Whereupon thinking to eschew a light and smal reproch, they fall into a perpetuall note of infamie and dishonor, not beeing able to declare more plainly the smalnes of their courage (which fitly resembleth a weake temperature of the bodie, vnable to resist heate and cold) than in consenting to euill, bicause they dare not gainesay least they should be misliked. But *Seneca* saith, that he is no meete scholler of Philosophie, who cannot contemne a foolish shame. And this causeth farre greater mischiefes, when the soueraigne Princes of any estate are intangled therwith. Which may be verified of them, if through ouer great bountie and simplicity void of prudence, they wholy giue ouer themselues to their pleasure that haue them as it were in possession, & dare not gainesay or deny them in any matter. For heerof it commeth, that flatterers, brokers, and such as are most wicked, carie away offices, charges, benefices, gifts, and wastfully consume the publike treasure: so that a man may behold an impunitie and libertie of vices, and of execrable offences, bicause a simple and bashfull king dare not deny a request. And thus vnder such a Prince publik welfare is turned into priuat wealth, and all the charges fall vpon the poore people. But not to stray farre from our purpose, hauing so neerely touched a matter worthie of a large discourse, I thinke we shall reape no small profit, if we call to mind heere certaine notable instructions, which *Plutark* giueth vs, to teach vs to repell farre from vs all foolish and dangerous shame: namely, that so soone as yeers of discretion worke in vs any knowledge of goodnes, we should exercise our selues in those

What kind of shame is very hurtfull.

How we must learne to resist all naughtie shame.

things, which of themselues are easie enough to practise, being without feare that any thing can (as the prouerbe saith) hang or take hold of our gowne. If at a feast (saith that great Philosopher) thou art inuited to drinke more than reason, or thy thirst requireth, be not ashamed to refuse to do it. If any babler or ignorant fellow seeke to stay and keepe thee by discoursing of vaine and tedious matters, be not afraid to rid thy selfe of him, and to tell him freely that another time thou maist come and visite him, not hauing at that time any leasure to keepe him companie any longer. If thy friend, or any other man, communicate with thee any act or purpose of his, wherein thou knowest somewhat, though neuer so little, that is to be reprehended, tell him thereof hardly. If any man be importunate with thee by requests & intreaties, neuer promise more than thou art able to performe, and blush not bicause thou canst not do all things, but rather blush to take vpon thee things that are aboue thy abilitie. If any man aske thee a question of any matter whatsoeuer, confesse freely that which thou knowest not, to the end thou maist receiue instruction. Now, if we exercise our selues in this sort, honestly to refuse, to depart, to breake off, to speake freely, and to submit our selues after a comelie manner, so that no man can lightly complaine of vs, or blame vs, but vpon very slender occasion, we shall be in a readie way to accustome our selues not to be ashamed in matters of greater waight, and such as are necessarie for the preseruation of dutie. For otherwise, if we are afraid to put backe a glasse of wine, which some one of our acquaintance in drinking doth offer vnto vs, howe will we resist the request of a Prince, which is as much as a commandement, or the importunate suite of a whole people, in an vniust and vnreasonable matter? If we are ashamed to be rid of a babler; if, as flatterers vse to do, we commende one contrarye to our opinion, whom we heare praised of many; or if wee feare to tell our friende of some small fault of his, howe will we set our selues courageously against those slaunderers of the truth, and

maintai-

maintainers of lies, that are placed in authoritie? Or how shall we dare to reprooue notorious faults boldly, beyng committed in the administration of a magistrate, and in ciuill and politicall gouernment? This is that which *Zeno* very well taught vs, when meeting with a familiar friend of his that walked heauily by himselfe, he asked him the cause thereof: I shun (said the other) a friend of mine, who requesteth me to beare false witnesse for him. *What* (quoth *Zeno*) *art thou so foolish, that seeing him voyd of shame and feare to request vniust and wicked things of thee, thou hast not the hart to deny him & to put him back vpon iust & reasonable considerations?* *Agesilaus* may be vnto vs a good Scholemaster in this matter. For being requested by his father to giue sentēce against right, he was not ashamed to deny him graciously with this answer. *You haue taught me (O Father) frō my youth to obey the lawes, and therefore I will now also obey you therein by iudging nothing against the Lawes.* *Pericles* being likewise requested by a friend of his to sweare falsly for him, sayd, I *am a friend to my friends vnto the aultars:* as if he would haue sayd, so farre as I offend not God. The same reason was the cause that *Xenophanes* being called a Coward at a feast bicause he would not play at dice, answered without feare of being accounted voyd of ciuilitie and good fellowship, *I am in deed a coward and feareful in dishonest things.* Now besides all those pernitious effects of fooliſh and naughtie shame that are already touched by vs, oftentimes it maketh the sences of a man so brutish through a long custome, that he neglecteth the care of that which concerneth his safetie and priuate benefit, yea sometimes of his owne life. I will not here stand to speake of those that say they are ashamed to aske their due, or by way of iustice to pursue such as deuour the substance of their poore families, whereby they make it knowen, that they haue neither vertue, hart nor courage. To this agreeth fitly that which we read of one named *Perseus*, who being to lend monie to a very friend of his, went with him to the common place of bargaining, calling to mind that precept of *Hesiodus*, who saith:

Zeno.

Agesilaus.

Pericles.

Xenophanes.

Other pernitious effects of fooliſh shame.

Perseus.

Euen when thou dost disport with thine owne brother,
Let present be some witnes one or other.

His friend thinking this somewhat strang, said: what, so orderly by law? Yea quoth *Persius*, that I may haue it againe of thee friendly, and not be compelled to demand it againe by order of law. But what shall we say of so many great personages as are mentioned in histories, who vnder pretence of a foolish shame badly grounded vpon this conceit, that they would not distrust them whome they tooke for their friends, offered themselues euen to the slaughter? *Dion* endued with great perfections, and one that deliuered from tyrannie and freed from thraldome the citie of Syracusa, although he was aduertised that *Calippus* whom he tooke for his Host and friend, watched opportunitie to slaie him, yet he went to that place whether he had inuited him, saying: *that he had rather loose his life, than be compelled to distrust his friends, and to keepe himselfe asmuch from them as from his enimies.* And in deed it fell out so, that he was slaine there. The like befell *Antipater*, being bidden to supper by *Demetrius*. It seemeth also that *Iulius Cæsar* aswell as they, was in some sort the cause of his ownemishap, bicause hauing had many aduertisements, suspicions, and forewarnings of the miserable death that was intended against him, yet he neglected them all, as appeereth by that speech, which he vsed the euening before he was murdered, being at supper with *Marcus Lepidus*. For a controuersie arising amongst the guests about this proposition, *What kind of death was best*, euen that said this Monarch, *which is least looked for*. True it is which may be said, that destinie may possibly be better foreseene than auoided. But this were an euill conclusion thereupon, that we must let goe all care of keeping those Goods, which God giueth vs as a blessing proceeding from his grace. For it is the dutie of a good and sound iudgement to conferre that which is past, with the present time, to the end to foresee in some sort, and to determine of that which is to come, which is alwaies doubtfull and vncertaine vnto vs. Moreouer, to resume our former matter of honest

Dion.

Antipater.

I. Cæsar.

What death Cæsar thought best.

shame and shamefastnes, which is the guide of our life to decencie and vertue, we may see amongst the ancients infinite examples, how it hath been recommended and precisely obserued, and what strength it hath had in right noble mindes. The Persians brought vp their youth in such sort, that they neither did nor spake any thing that was dishoneſt, putting him to death that stripped himself starke naked in the presence of another. Yea they iudged, euery vnciuill action how litle soeuer, committed before others, to be great wickednes. The Parthians would neuer suffer their wiues to come among their feastes, least wine should cause them to doe or to speake any dishoneſt thing in their presence. *Hippocratides* as he was walking, met with a yong man in a wicked mans company, & perceiuing that he began to blush, said thus vnto him. My sonne thou must goe with such as will not cause thee to blush: but be of good cheere, for thou maiest yet repent thee. Blind *Eutichus* was set without the aray of the battel by *Leonidas*, but being ashamed to leaue his fellowes in danger, he caused a slaue to lead him to the place where they fought, and there wonderfully doing his endeuor, he was slain. The Romans were so shamefast amongst themselues, that the father would not bathe himselfe with his sonne, nor the sonne in law with the father in law. They so greatly esteemed honeſt shame and bashfulnes, that when Philip king of Macedonia was accused before the Senate of many crimes, the shamefastnes of yong *Demetrius* his sonne, who blushed and held his peace, stood him in greater stead than the shameleſſe boldnes of the eloquenteſt Orator in the world could haue done. The sonne of *Marcus Cato* the Censor, beyng at that battell wherein *Perses* was discomfited, and fighting with a iaueline, his sword fell out of his scabberd, wherof he was so ashamed, that alighting on foote in the midst of his enemies, & doubling his courage and strength, he tooke it vp and mounted againe, fighting on horsebacke as before. The sonne of *Marcus Aemilius Scaurus*, hauing abandoned and giuen ouer the keeping and defence of the countrey of Trenta

How the Persian youth was instructed.

Hippocratides saying to a yong man that blushed.

Eutichus.

The shamefastnes of the Romanes.

Cato his sonne.

Scaurus his sonne.

committed to his charge, was so ashamed thereof, that not daring to returne againe to his father, he slew himself.

Parmenides. *Parmenides* taught his Disciples, that nothing was terrible to a noble mind but dishonor, and that none but children and women, or at least, men hauing womens harts, are afraid of griefe. When speech was ministred at the banket of the seuen Sages, concerning that popular gouernment which was happiest, wherein all haue equall authoritie, *Cleobulus* affirmed, that that citie seemed vnto him best guided by policie, wherein the Citizens stood in greater awe of dishonor than of the law. *Plutark* rehearseth a very notable historie of the force of honest shamefastnes in the Milesian maidens, who were fallen into such frenzie and perturbation of spirite, that without any apparant cause to be seene, they were suddenly ouertaken with a longing to die, and with a furious desire to hang themselues. Which thing many of them had alreadie put in practise, so that neither reasons, nor teares of fathers and mothers, no comfort of friends, no threatnings, policies, or deuices whatsoeuer, could preuaile with them, vntill such time that a wise Citizen by his aduice procured an edict to be made by the Councell, that if any heerafter hung hir selfe, she should be caried starke naked in the sight of all men, through the market place. This edict being made and ratified by the Councell, did not onely represse a little, but wholy staied the fury of these maidens that longed to die. Insomuch, that a simple imagination and conceit of shame and dishonor, which yet could not light vpon them before they were dead, did preuaile more with them than all other deuised meanes could do, yea, than death it selfe, or griefe, which are two of the horriblest accidents which men commonly stand in feare of. To conclude therefore our present discourse, we learne that honest shame and shamefastnes, are alwaies commendable and beseeming all persons that purpose to obserue modestie in their words, gestures, countenances, and actions. We learne also that spirits well brought vp, are more easily wonne by shame, than by feare, according to that saying

Cleobulus.

A notable historie of the shame fastnes of the Milesian maidens.

Honest shame is alwaies commendable.

saying of *Quintilian*, *that shamefastnes is the propertie of a free man, and feare of a bond man*. Further, we learne that euery temperate man ought to be more ashamed of himselfe, when occasion of doing ill is offered, than of any other: that he must shun all euil, excessiue and pernitious shame, proceeding from the want of discretion, bicause it hindereth men from effecting all good, wholesome and honest things, insomuch that of it selfe it is able to procure vnto vs losse, dishonor, and infamie.

The ende of the sixt daies worke.

THE SEVENTH DAIES WORKE.

Of Fortitude. Chap. 25.

ASER. MAN endued with reason, & seeking to imitate asmuch as lieth in him the author of his being: who, albeit simply & absolutely he standeth not in neede of any thing whatsoeuer, yet doth woonderfull workes without ceasing, for the benefit of his creatures, feeleth himselfe touched to the quicke in his soule, with a desire to profit all those among whome he liueth, by all high, great, laudable, and laborious meanes, not fearing any perill, nor forcing any paine. Moreouer, meditating & weighing the dignitie of the immortalitie of his soule, he careth not for earthly and mortal goods, nor standeth in feare of the contrarie: and whether it be for the hauing or not hauing of them, his minde is nothing at all the lesse quiet, neither doth he thinke that any good vpon earth can be taken from him. All which great and rare excellencies flowe into him from the third riuer of the fountaine of Honesty, whereof we are now to speake: namely,

Fortitude is the third riuer of Honestie.

namely, of the vertue of *Fortitude*, which (as *Cicero* saith) cannot be forced by any force.

AMANA. This vertue (saith *Seneca*) is very great, being able to resist and to fight against extreame miseries. Which is the propertie of *Fortitude*, that guideth a noble nature through hard and difficult things, that he may attaine to the end of his iust deuices.

ARAM. *Fortitude* is the cause that neither for feare nor danger we turne aside from the way of vertue and iustice. And as *Plato* saith, it lifteth vp our minds to attend to that which is most excellent, laudable, best, and most profitable. Therefore let vs heare ACHITOB discourse of the woonderfull effects of this great and woorthie vertue.

Wherein the perfection of euery worke consisteth.

ACHITOB. Whatsoeuer is done manfully, and with a great courage, appeereth very decent, and beseeming a man. But the perfection of euery work consisteth in this, that it be done by a staied and constant reason, which teacheth vs, that there is nothing after God, but honestie, which we are to admire, to make account of, & to desire: and that we ought not in any sort to shrinke and yeeld vnto perturbations, or to any other humane accident whatsoeuer. Which opinions being well imprinted in our minds, pricke vs forward to enterprize those things that are most excellent, difficult, and fullest of labors & perils. For being free from all earthly care, and void of feare or sorow, we contemne euen death it selfe, and are in such sort prepared against all griefes, that our contentation lieth heerin, that the greatest and most exceeding paines will not continue long, that the least will vanish away of themselues, and that we shall be maisters of the middle sort. This is that which the Philosophers by infinite learned writings required to be in the vertue of *Fortitude*, with which the force and strength of the bodie hath nothing common, as that which is a Good that belongeth to the bodie. But this is an immortall Good of the soule, consisting in the power and direction of the spirite, being fortified and confirmed through the studie of Philosophie, and

Fortitude is a Good of the soule, not of the bodie.

and causing man of his owne accord to make choice of, and to perfect all honest things for their owne sakes. *Fortitude* then (as *Cicero* saith) is that part of honestie, which is knowne by the excellencie, greatnes, and dignitie of the hart, which after aduised counsell and good consideration, causeth man to vndertake without feare, all perillous matters, and constantly to endure all kind of trauell. For constancie and dignitie are neuer farre from *Fortitude* in greatest distresses: bicause it adorneth him that possesseth hir with the contempt of griefe and of death, causing him to esteeme nothing vntollerable that can happen to man, neither any thing euill that is necessarie. And so it is the preseruation of a firme & setled iudgement in things that seeme terrible & full of danger, seeing it is the knowledge of that which a man ought to indure. *Plato* also calleth it the knowledge of all good and euill: as though he would say, that nothing can come to a valiant and noble minded man, against his expectation, although it may be contrarie to his will, bicause he is setled and prepared to vndergo all euents, as if he had certainly foreseene them. *Aristotle* saith that *Fortitude* is a mediocritie betweene fearing and enterprizing. Moreouer, it maketh a man fit for all occasions of dangers and trauels, and holdeth him betweene these two extremities of cowardlines and rashnes, which vices are very hurtfull to a happie and commendable life. The same Philosopher saith, that whosoeuer will be strong and valiant, must be free from all feare of death, constant in aduersities, void of feare in perils, chosing rather to die honestly, than to saue himselfe vilanously. He must endeuor to build noble enterprises, hauing for his companions hardines, greatnes of hart, good confidence and hope, besides industrie and patience. Then he commeth to set downe many kinds of *Fortitude*. *Cicero* agreeing well with him, saith: that *Magnificence*, *Confidence*, *Patience*, and *Perseuerance*, are the parts of *Fortitude*. *Magnificence* sheweth it selfe in doing great & excellent things: *Confidence* in this, that a valiant man conceiueth good hope of the euent of them: *Patience* in a voluntarie and continu-

The properties that are required in a valiant man.

The parts of Fortitude.

continuall ſuffering for the loue of honeſtie and vertue: and *Perſeuerance* in a perpetual conſtancie, and in a firme and ſtedfaſt abiding in his purpoſes and reſolutions vndertaken with good conſideration following reaſon.

Fortitude fighteth for iuſtice onely.

Moreouer, *Fortitude* (as the Stoicks ſaid very well) is a vertue that fighteth for equitie and iuſtice. And therefore neither they that ſuffer for vniuſt matters, nor they that fight for their priuate commodities, not being led onely with zeale of publike benefit, can boaſt (except falſly) that they are decked with this pretious vertue. For theſe latter ſort of men are rather to be called cruell, barbarous, mercenaries, and hired hangmen, deſtroying all humanitie: and the others impudents, ſhameles, and deſperate, yea ſo much more woorthie of blame, as guiltie of wilfull madnes, in that they ſhew themſelues conſtant in doing euill. But thoſe men are valiant & of great courage, who thinke that no action whatſoeuer, no time or ſeaſon ought to be void of iuſtice, who deliuer the oppreſſed, and thoſe that are wronged, who build all their deuiſes vpon vertuous works. They (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) are void of generoſitie, who fight either for feare of reprehenſion, or by conſtraint, or being ſtirred vp with other mens ſpeech, or of choler, or through ignorance of dangers. And this was *Platoes* meaning, when he ſaid that all ſtrong and valiant men were hardie, but not all hardie men, valiant: bicauſe hardines commeth to men either by arte, anger, or pollicie: but *Fortitude* is ingendred in the ſoule by nature and holie education. And therefore this vertue ſtandeth not in need either of choler, rancor, ambition, pride, or of any other euill paſſion, whereby to bring to paſſe braue and glorious effects, but is rather an vtter enimie vnto them, becauſe it proceedeth from a mature and ripe conſideration and election of reaſon, which cauſeth a man boldly to put in execution whatſoeuer he knoweth to belong to dutie and honeſtie, according to that place whereunto he is called. And this alſo is the cauſe that he neuer taketh any thing in hand raſhly, what pretence ſoeuer it hath, neither is he kept backe by any feare in thoſe matters which offer

All hardie men are not valiant.

him

him good occasion of putting to his hand, what hazard or imminent danger soeuer seemeth to threaten him. But (according to that sentence of *Socrates*, *that the hardest things ought to be taken in hand and executed with greater constancie and valure of hart*) after he hath well and prudently grounded his enterprise vpon a certaine knowledge, and firme discourse of reason, neither reproches, nor praises, neither promises nor threatnings, or torments, neither pleasures nor griefs, are able to cause him to breake off, or in any sort to alter and change his resolution, which remaineth alwaies praise-woorthie, and is neuer subiect to repentance, how soeuer the matter falleth out: bicause we are not to iudge of enterprises by the euents, which are altogither out of our power, but by the ground-worke and foundation wherupon they were built. And further, when the greatest dangers are, then is the time wherein a valiant man being nothing at all abashed, most of all sheweth his strength & prowes, neuer taking himselfe to be ouercome as long as his vertue is free and at libertie to giue him new supplie of meanes to set forward againe his matters, otherwise in a desperate case. Briefly, to speake in a word, *Fortitude is the cause*, that neither for feare nor danger we turne aside from the path waie of vertue and iustice, neither yet repent vs of well doing for any torment. And thus it belongeth properly to this vertue, to command chiefly ouer these two perturbations grounded vpon the opinion of euill, namely, *Feare* and *Griefe*: as before we saw that *Temperance* exerciseth hir power ouer vnbridled *desire*, & *excessiue ioy*. Furthermore, bicause they that naturally haue greater stomacks, and more excellent spirits, are desirous and greedie of honors, power, and glorie, and seeing that an excessiue desire to rule and to excel others, commonly groweth with the greatnes of the hart, it is necessarie that this vnrulie affection should be moderated by the contempt of such things as are common to all men by nature. And this also is a propertie belonging to this vertue of *Fortitude*, which desiring the greatest and best things, despiseth those that are base and abiect, aspiring

The resolution of a valiant man is alwaies commendable and vnchangeable.

Fortitude contemneth mortal things.

ring to celeſtiall and eternall things, ſhunneth humane & mortall things, and iudgeth honors, riches, and worldlie goods, an vnwoorthie recompence for his valiant acts. Which is the cauſe, that whoſoeuer hath this vertue of *Fortitude* perfectly (if ſo great happines could be among mortall wights) he remaineth free from all perturbations of the ſoule to enioy a bleſſed tranquillitie, which togither with conſtancie, procureth vnto him dignitie and reputation. For this cauſe *Cicero* teacheth vs, that they which giue themſelues to the gouernment of affaires, ought (at leaſt aſmuch as Philoſophers) to make light account of temporall goods, from whence proceedeth all the reſt of our mindes: yea, they ought to ſtriue to that end with greater care and labor than Philoſophers do, bicauſe it is eaſier for a Philoſopher ſo to doe, his life being leſſe ſubiect to *Fortune*, & ſtanding in leſſe need of worldly Goods, than doth that of Politicks. And if any miſhap befall them, it toucheth the Philoſopher a great deale leſſe. But whether it be in war, or in ruling a Common-wealth, or in the gouernment of a houſe, there are alwaies means enough to exerciſe the works of *Fortitude*: & many times this vertue is moſt neceſſarie in things that ſeeme to be of ſmalleſt account. Beſides, that honeſty which we ſeeke after, is perfected by the forces of the ſoule, of which euery one hath great need, not by thoſe of the bodie. I will not ſay, that the firme knitting togither of the members, and the good diſpoſition of nature to ſuſtaine manfully the iniuries of wether, & al kind of paine & trauel without ſickneſs, is not a good helpe towards the execution of noble enterpriſes: only I ſay, that it is not ſo neceſſarie, but that many being troubled with a thouſand ill diſpoſitions in their perſons, eſpecially ſuch as were placed in offices of Captaines and Conductors of armies, haue executed infinite great and glorious exploits, ſurmounting all weakenes of their bodies, through the magnanimitie of their hart. Yea, oftentimes they haue as it were conſtrained their bodies to change their nature, that they might be made fit to execute whatſoeuer their wiſe ſpirite iudged

Magiſtrates ought to make leſſe account of worldlie goods than Philoſophers.

Of bodily force.

to

to belong to dutie. Was there euer any Captaine among the Romanes greater than *Iulius Cæsar*? Yet was he of a weake and tender complexion, subiect to great headaches, and visited somtimes with the falling sicknes. But in steed of vsing the weaknes of his bodie for a cloke to liue nicely and delicately, he tooke the labors of warre for a fit medicine to cure the vntowardnes of his bodie, fighting against his disease with continuall labor and exercise, liuing soberly, and lying for the most part in the open aire, which made him to be so much the more admired and loued of his souldiers. As it may appeere by that which is reported of him, that being one daye by reason of a great storme and tempest greatly vrged with want of lodging in a plaine, where there was but one little cottage belonging to a Peasant, which had but one chamber, he commanded that *Oppius*, one of his Captaines, who was il at ease, should be lodged there: as for himselfe he laye abroad with the rest, saying: that the most honorable places were to be appointed for the greatest, and the most necessarie for such as were most diseased. What shall we say of those, who being impotent in some part of their members, did notwithstanding not diminish in any sort, but augment the glorie of their doings? *Marcus Sergius*, a Romane Captaine, hauing lost his right hand in a battell, practised so well with the left hand, that afterward in an armie he chalenged foure of his enimies, one after another, and ouercame them: such force hath a good hart, that it can doe more in one onely little member, than a man well made and fashioned in all points, that hath but a cowardly hart. We might heere alleadge infinite examples, whereof histories are full, of all those effects, which we said were brought foorth by the vertue of *Fortitude* in noble minds: but we will content our selues to touch certaine generals that were of notable and politike prowes and valure, and constant in their resolutions, aswell for shortnes sake, as also bicause heereafter we shall haue further occasion to bring others in sight, when we handle more at large the parts and branches that proceed from this happie stalke

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Fabius the Greateſt.

of *Fortitude*, *Fabius* the Greateſt commeth firſt to my remembrance, to prooue that the reſolution of a courageous hart grounded vpon knowledge and the diſcourſe of reaſon, is firme and immutable. This Captaine of the Romane armie being ſent into the field to reſiſt the furie and violence of *Hannibal*, who being Captaine of the Carthaginians, was entred into Italy with great force, determined for the publike welfare and neceſſitie to delay and prolong the warre, and not to hazard a battell but with great aduantage. Whereupon certaine told him, that his owne men called him *Hannibals* ſchoolemaiſter, and that he was ieſted at with many other opprobrious ſpeeches, as one that had ſmall valure and courage in him, and therfore they counſelled him to fight, to the end he might not incurre any more ſuch reprehenſions and obloquies. I ſhould be (quoth he againe to them) a greater Coward than now I am thought to be, if I ſhould forſake my deliberation neceſſarie for the common welfare and ſafetie, for feare of their girding ſpeeches and bolts of mockerie, and obey thoſe (to the ruine of my countrey) whom I ought to command. And in deed afterward he gaue great tokens of his vnſpeakeable valure, being ſent with three hundred men onely to encounter with the ſaid *Hannibal*, and ſeeing that he muſt of neceſſitie fight for the ſafetie of the Common-wealth, after all his men were ſlaine, and himſelfe hurt to death, he ruſhed againſt *Hannibal* with ſo great violence and force of courage, that he tooke from him the diademe or frontlet, which he had about his head, and died with that about him.

Pompey the Great.

Pompey, who by the renowme of his high enterpriſes got to himſelfe the ſurname of *Great*, being readie to ſaile by ſea, and to paſſe into Italy, whether he was to cary a certaine quantitie of wheate to meete with a famine, according to the commiſſion giuen him of the Senate, there aroſe a very great tempeſt, inſomuch that the mariners made great doubt to weigh vp their anchors. But his reſolution beeing well made before, and grounded vpon the dutie of a noble hart, he tooke ſhipping firſt of all, and cauſed the ſailes to be

beſpread in the wind, ſaying with a loud and cleare voice, It is neceſſarie that I go, but not neceſſarie that I liue. *Caius Marius*, who was ſix times Conſul, being in war againſt the Allies of the Romanes that were reuolted, incloſed himſelfe one day with trenches, and ſuffered a thouſand iniuries and vaunting ſpeeches, both of his enimies and of his owne men, but yet cared nothing at all for them, nor went from his deliberation, which was that he would not fight at that time. And when *Publius Sillo*, one of the chiefe captaines of the enimie cried vnto him, ſaying: If thou art ſuch a great Captaine, *Marius*, as men report of thee, come out of thy campe to battell: Nay, doe thou, (quoth he againe vnto him) if thou art a great Captaine, compell me to come out to battell in deſpite of my teeth. Afterward this *Marius* ſhewed himſelfe to be one of the moſt valiant and courageous men of his time, aſwell in the diſcomfiture of the ſaid enemies, as in two other battels which he wan againſt the barbarous Cimbrians and Flemings, who were entred into Italy to inhabite there: in one of which battels about a hundred thouſand fighting men were ſlaine in the field. *Agis* king of Lacedemonia, being reſolued to fight his Councellors told him, that there was no reaſon ſo to doe, bicauſe his enemies were ten againſt one. *It muſt needs be* (quoth this courageous Prince) *that he which will command many, muſt fight alſo againſt many. We are enough to put naughtie men to flight.* The Lacedemonians vſe not to aske what number there is of the enemies, but onely where they are. The anſwer which *Dienecus* made to one that told the Councell of Grecia, that the multitude of the Barbarians was ſo great, that their arrowes couered the ſunne, commeth neere to the courageous ſaying of king *Agis*. For concluding with their opinion who perſwaded to fight, *Dienecus* made this anſwer: *Thou telleſt vs very good newes.* For if the multitude of the Medes is ſuch, that they are able to hide the Sunne, they will offer vs the meanes how to fight in the ſhadowe, and not in the heate of the Sunne. We may not heere paſſe ouer with ſilence the teſtimonie of inuincible *Fortitude*,

C. Marius.

Agis.

Dienecus.

which alwaies findeth meanes to effect hir glorious pur-
Themistocles. poses, giuen by *Themistocles*, when he saw the sundrie opi-
nions of the Chieftaines of the Grecian armie vnder the
leading of *Euribiades* the Lacedemonian, touching the
place where they should fight with *Xerxes* fleet. The grea-
test part determined to forsake Salamis, where they were
at that time, and to retire to Peloponnesus, fearing the
great force of their enimies, who were about twelue hun-
dred vessels, whereas they themselues had but three hun-
dred. But *Themistocles* sent *Sicinnus* his childrens Schoole-
maister secretly in a Sciffe towards the Persians, aduerti-
sing them of the resolution which the Grecians had ta-
ken to flie, faining (as he made *Xerxes* beleeue) that he fa-
uored their side. Vpon this watchword *Xerxes* sent part
of his armie to the other side of Salamis. Whereupon the
Grecians considering that they were enuironed, resolued
and setled themselues as men constrained to fight, and in
deed the victorie remained on their side, to the confusion
& ouerthrow of their enemies, who departed out of Gre-
cia, which otherwise would haue been greatly shaken, had
not *Themistocles* vsed this notable stratageme, thereby to
staie the shamefull flight of his Countreymen. It was this
Damindas. vertue of *Fortitude*, which caused *Damindas* the Lacedemo-
nian to make this answer to one who told him, that the
Lacedemonians were in danger to suffer much mischiefe,
if they agreed not with *Philip*, who was armed against the
Grecians. O my friend (quoth he) that art halfe a wo-
man, what euill can he cause vs to suffer, seeing we make
Dercyllides. no account of death it selfe? *Dercyllides* being sent from
Sparta towards king *Pyrrhus*, to know wherefore he mar-
ched with his armie vpon their borders, and vnderstan-
ding of him, that he commanded them to receiue againe
their king *Cleonymus*, whome they had banished, or else
he would let them know, that they were not more valiant
than others alreadie subdued by him, made this answer:
If thou art a God we feare thee not, bicause we haue not
offended thee: but if thou art a man, thou art no better
than we. The answer which certaine Polonian Embassa-

dors

dors made to *Alexander* the Great, who threatned their countrey, sheweth also the excellencie of their courage. We are afraid (quoth they to him) but of one only thing, namely: least the skie should fall vpon vs. Thunder (as *Plato* saith) terrifieth children, and threatnings fooles. *Anaxarchus* being likewise threatned by the same Monarke that he should be hanged: *Threaten this* (quoth he) *to thy Courtiers, who feare death: for my part, I care not whether I rot in the ground, or aboue ground.* *Socrates* also answered thus to one that asked him whether he were not ashamed to commit any thing that would procure his death: *My friend, thou doest not well to thinke that a vertuous man ought to make any account either of danger, or of death, or to consider any other thing in all his actions, than this; whether they are iust or vniust, good or bad.* If we desire to see farther what effects *Fortitude* bringeth foorth in the greatest and most sinister dangers, *Marcus Crassus* shal serue vs for sufficient proofe. When he was three skore yeeres of age, albeit he had receiued the foile in a battell against the Parthians, wherein the greatest part of his armie was destroied, and his sonne being Captaine of a thousand men, was slaine, whose death seemed more to astonish the rest of his men, than anye other danger, yet he shewed himselfe in this mishap more vertuous than euer before, & went through all his bands crying aloud in this manner: *It is I alone, my friends, whome the sorow and griefe of this losse ought to touch.* But the greatnes of the fortune, and glorie of Rome remaineth whole and inuincible, as long as ye stand on your feete. Notwithstanding, if yee haue any compassion of mee, seeing mee loose so valiant and vertuous a sonne, I praye you shewe the same by changing it into wrath against your enemies, to take vengeance of their crueltie, and be not abashed for any mishap befallen vs: for great thinges are not gotten without losse. Patience in trauels, and Constancie in aduersities, haue brought the Romane Empire to that greatnes of power wherein it is now placed. With such speeches he fought vnto the death. Will wee haue other examples of woonderfull

A notable answer of certaine Polonians.

Anaxarchus.

Socrates.

M. Crassus.

A notable oration.

Iudas Macchabeus.

prowes and courage? *Iudas Macchabeus*, after many victories obtained by him against the Lieutenants of *Antiochus*, and against those of *Demetrius*, was set vpon and assailed with two and twentie thousand men (others say two and thirty thousand) hauing himselfe but eight hundred, or a thousand with him. And being counselled to retire into some place of safetie, *God forbid* (quoth he) *that the Sunne should see me turne my backe towards mine enemies. I had rather die, than staine the glorie which I haue gotten by vertue with an ignominious and shamefull flight.* In this resolute perswasion he greatly weakened his enemies, and yet died more through wearisomnes, than of blowes or woundes which he had receiued in fight.

Leonides.

Leonides king of Sparta, hauing with him but three hundred naturall Lacedemonians, fought and put to flight at the strait of Thermopylis, three hundred thousand Persians: but he and all his died of the woundes which they receiued in that fight.

L. Dentatus.

Lucius Dentatus a Romane, was endued with such Fortitude and Generositie, that one writeth of him, that he was in sixe skore battels and skirmishes, and eight times came away Conquerour from fighting hand to hand: that he had receiued of his Captaines by waye of rewarde, and in token of his valure, eighteene launces, twentie bards for horses, foure skore and three bracelets, and sixe and thirtie crownes: and lastly, that by his meanes nine Emperours triumphed in Rome.

Eumenus.

Eumenus a Macedonian Captaine, hauing beene put to the woorst by *Antigonus*, retired into a strong hold, where being besieged, and brought to parly through necessitie of victuals and munition, it was signified vnto him from his enemie, that reason would he should come and speake with him vnder his faith and promise without Hostages, seeing he was both greater and stronger. But *Eumenus* made him this answer, *that he would neuer thinke any man greater than himselfe, as long as he had his sword in his owne power.* And therefore demanding of him no woorse conditions, than as one that thought himselfe to be his equall, he salied foorth vpon his enemies with such valure and

and courage, that he saued himselfe out of their handes, and afterward greatly troubled *Antigonus*. *Aristomenes* the Messenian, being taken by the Lacedemonians, and deliuered fast bound to two souldiers to be kept, he drew neere to a fire, and burned asunder his bands with a litle of his flesh: afterward comming suddenly vpon his keepers, he slew them both, and saued himselfe. *Lysimachus* being cast to a Lion by *Alexander*, bicause he gaue to *Calisthenes* the prisoner that poison wherewith he killed himselfe, fought with it, and stretching foorth his arme and hand all armed into his throte, he tooke hold of his toong and strangled him. Whereupon the Monarch euer after greatly esteemed and honoured him. By this small number out of infinite examples, which I could heere mention, we see the great and woonderfull effects of this vertue of *Fortitude*, which are no lesse in euerye part thereof touched in our discourse, as heereafter I hope we shall declare at large. Wherefore we may well say, that this vertue is very necessarie to liue well and happily, and to lead vs to the end of our being, which is to referre both our life and death to the onely exercise of dutie and honestie: that by it we enioy the true rest of the soule, which is nothing else (as *Cicero* saith) than a peaceable, sweete, and acceptable constancie, which vndoubtedly alwaies followeth *Fortitude*, being crowned with these two inestimable rewardes, the contempt of griefe, and of death, whereby we forsake that which is mortall, that we may imbrace heauenlie thinges in the hope and certaine expectation of that happie immortalitie.

Aristomenes.

Lysimachus.

Of Timorousnes, Feare, and Cowardlines, and of Rashnes. Chap. 26.

ACHITOB. WE may call to remembrance that saying of *Plato* before mentioned, that a temperate man, not indued with the

vertue of *Fortitude*, falleth eaſilie into cowardlines & baſenes of mind, which is the defect of that vertue, which euen now we deſcribed: and likewiſe, that a ſtrong and valiant man without the direction of *Prudence* and *Temperance*, is eaſily caried away with temeritie and boldnes, which is the exceſſe of the ſame vertue. Which two vices are ſo hurtfull in the ſoule, that he which is infected with them, holdeth much more of the nature of a beaſt, than of that eſſence wherein he was created. Let vs then conſider what theſe imperfections are, that through the horror of that infamie which followeth them, we may be more zealous to follow that which is decent and honeſt.

ASER. We muſt take good heede (ſaith *Cicero*) leaſt through feare of peril we commit any thing that may iuſtly argue vs to be timorous and fearfull. But withall we muſt beware that we offer not our ſelues vnto dangers without cauſe, than which nothing is more fooliſh and blame-woorthie.

AMANA. It is not ſeemely for a man (ſaith *Plato*) to commit any cowardly act to auoid perill. Temeritie alſo ſetteth foorth it ſelfe with courage, and contempt of dangers, but vnaduiſedly and to no purpoſe. But let vs heare ARAM, who will handle this matter more at large.

ARAM. Albeit there is no greater diſgrace than to be iuſtly reproched with a cowardly and faint hart, eſpecially for youth to be called effeminate, yet is that feare good, which turneth vs away from diſhoneſt things, and maketh man ſtaied and wel aduiſed. This is the cauſe why the Ancients ſpeaking of feare, made it twofold, the one good & neceſſarie, the other euill and hurtfull. The firſt, which they grounded vpon a good diſcourſe of reaſon & iudgement, was ſo eſteemed and honored of them, that in the citie of Sparta, which for armes & arts flouriſhed moſt among the Grecians, there was a temple dedicated & conſecrated to this feare: which, as they affirmed, better maintained and preſerued the eſtate of Common-wealthes, than any other thing whatſoeuer, bicauſe thereby man was led to ſtand more in awe of blame, reproch, & diſhonor,

Two kinds of feare.

A Temple dedicated to feare.

nor, than of death or griefe. Which thing maketh him both apter & readier to vndertake & to execute all vertuous & laudable matters, whensoeuer good & iust occasion shall be offred, & also more staied against euerie rash & vniust enterprise that might procure dammage to the common-wealth. And this was the occasion of that Prouerbe, *Feare alwaies accompanieth shame.* Another reason alleadged by these wise men, whie they honoured in such sort this fained goddesse, was, bicause to doubt and feare nothing was more hurtfull to Common-wealths, than their verie neighbour enimies, the feare of whome was their safetie and assurance. The other naughtie and pernicious feare standeth of two kinds. The first beeing destitute of all good reason and assured iudgement, is that which we call Cowardlines and Pusillanimitie, alwaies followed of these two perturbations of the soule, *Feare* and *Sadnes*, and is the defect of the vertue of *Fortitude*, which wee purpose chiefly to handle at this present. The Grecians called it by these two words δεος and θαμβος, the one signifieng trouble, the other a band; as if they would haue said, that it held the soule bound, and wholie troubled. They affirmed also, that this feare was as it were a giddinesse and alienation of the mind from the right sense, making the soule idle, dead, void of euerie good exploit or effect whatsoeuer. The last kind of feare is that which worketh in the wicked a feare of paine and punishment appointed for offences, wherby they are as it were with a bridle kept backe and restrained from presuming to commit their villanies and damnable purposes. Now as the first kind of feare said to be good and necessarie, is a great token of a commendable and vertuous nature, as that which for good cause is grounded vpon the feare of reproch and infamie, and vpon a desire to effect whatsoeuer belongeth to dutie: so the one of these two last kinds testifieth a vile, contemptible, and abiect nature; and the other a wicked & corrupt disposition. *Plutark* speaking of this good feare calleth it one of the Elements & grounds of vertue, saying, that it is chieflie requisite and necessarie for those

The feare of neighbour enimies is the safetie of a Common-wealth.

Two sorts of pernicious feare.

Of the good feare.

that haue authoritie ouer others, who ought to feare rather to practise euil, than to receiue punishment for the same, bicause the first is the cause of the latter, not onelie to themselues, but to so manie as wallow in wickednesse, which is neuer without recompense. Therefore a prudent and well aduised man ought to haue this feare alwaies before his eies, I meane this childlike feare, which is vnseparably ioined with the true loue we owe to our common father, and is the beginning of all wisedome, wherby we are induced to honour him. And looke how much the more the ancient Pagans were kept in awe by this good feare, so much the more shall our condemnation be doubled, if we despise it. The dutie also of this profitable feare is, to haue an eie vnto the good and safetie of our countrie, and to cause vs faithfully to discharge euery charge committed vnto vs, to the end we incurre not perpetuall shame and infamie among all good men. It causeth vs to feare onelie the dishonor of an vnaduised counsel or action, and to account it very seemelie & honorable to be blamed and euil spoken of for well dooing, which Alexander the great said did well become a king. This good feare made *Phocion*, who for his desert and valure was chosen generall of the Atheniens fiue & fortie times, to saie, that he would neuer counsell, but hinder to the vttermost of his power that enterprise of war, which they would haue concluded against Alexander. For (said he) although the Athenians would cast awaie themselues, yet I will not suffer them to doe so, bicause I haue for that intent & purpose taken vpon me the charge of a Captain. And when *Demosthenes*, who persuaded this warre, said vnto him, the people will kill thee if they enter into a furie: *Phocion* replied, Naie they will kill thee, if they be well in their wits. *Antigonus* the second, king of Macedonia, declared what benefit commeth of this good feare necessarie for the foresight of a wise and experienced captaine in warre, when retiring once from before his enimies who came to assaile him, and being told by certaine that he fled, he answered, It is cleane contrarie. For I looke

It is ioined with the true loue of God.

It causeth vs to respect the good of our countrie.

Phocion.

Antigonus.

looke backe to that profit wich is behind me. As touching the opinion of the ancients alreadie mentioned, that to stand in feare of nothing is more hurtful to Commonwealthes than foraine enimies: it is that which *Scipio Nasica* a Romane Senator meant to signifie, when vpon the hearing of some, who said that Rome was in safetie, if Carthage were laid wast; he replied, that it was farre otherwise. For (said he) we are in greater danger now than euer, bicause we stand no more in awe of anie: whereby he wiselie inferred, that too great and vnlooked for prosperitie of cities is commonly the cause of raising ciuill wars in them & secret diuisions, or else of bringing into them so great idlenes, that by it a gate is opened to all vices, as in truth it fell out with the Romans. For then beeing in the top of their felicitie and greatnesse, by reason of the destruction aswell of the Carthaginians by *Scipio* the yonger, as of the Macedonians vnder *Perseus* and *Antiochus*, the people began to abuse their authoritie, preferring vnto estates and places of honour, not the best and iustest citizens, but such as flattered them most in their vices and dissolutenes, and wan their hearts with prodigall and superfluous feasts and distributions, to whome they solde their publike voices. Whereupon in the end, those ciuill wars arose, which was the cause of their finall ouerthrow, and of the alteration of their popular estate into a tyrannie, afterwards called a Monarchie. But this discourse being the matter of another Subiect, let vs come to the defect of the vertue of Fortitude, which is a feare voide of reason and assurance, and argueth a faint and cowardlie hart, causing a man through want of sense and vnderstanding to account this the surest waie, to doubt all things, and to distrust euerie one. Of this feare one of the ancients said, *Feare taketh awaie memorie and all good effects from euerie art and industrie.* Yea sometimes some haue beene found so faint-harted, that as soone as this feare seazed vpon them, they gaue vp the ghost, not beeing oppressed with anie other euill or violence. It is in this passion that *Feare* and *Greefe* fullie practise their power, being

Scipio Nasica.

The effects of too great prosperitie in Commonwealths.

Of that feare which is the defect of Fortitude.

being grounded vpon a falſe opinion of euill, and ſworne enimies to all reſt and tranquillitie, gnawing and conſuming life as ruſt doth ſteele or yron. Neither is this feare without an vnrulie deſire and immoderate ioie in things that are worldlie, baſe, and contemptible, whereupon the ſoule is continuallie carried hither and thither, with pernicious and immoderate paſſions, which depriue hir of the excellencie of hir immortalitie to attend to the mortall and corruptible affections of the fleſh. Alexander ſpake of ſuch as are poſſeſſed with this feare, when he ſaid, that no place is ſo ſtrong by nature and ſituation, which fearefull men iudge ſafe enough. Therefore the Satyricall Poët ſaid verie well, *that Fortune alwayes maketh timorous men little*. For although they be borne bigge of ſtature, yet the ſmall courage of their hearts maketh them ſo much the more contemptible, bringing foorth worſe and more dangerous effects, and making them vnwoorthy of all intermedling with matters of eſtate, of policie, or of warre. In this number, among many whom hiſtories mention, we may heere reckon *Claudius* the firſt of the *Ceſars*, who was ſo faint-harted, baſe-minded, & blockiſh, that his mother ſaid often of him, that *Nature had begun, but not finiſhed him*. And truly a hartles-fellow, or one of litle-hart, is nothing els but a bodie without a ſoule. The memorie of ſuch men (of whome we ſee but too many examples among vs) ought to be buried in obliuion, and during their life time they ſhould remaine vnknowne aſwel for their owne honor, as for the good of the common ſocietie of men, to which they could not but be offenſiue and hurtfull. For the moſt part they are not onely afraid of men, of the hazards of warres, of troubles & ſeditions, of the dangers of long voyages, of the loſſe of their goods, of diſeaſes, of dolors, yea, of the leaſt diſcommodities and aduerſities that can befall men: the euent of all which, cauſeth them vſually to forget all reaſon and dutie, but they are alſo frighted with dreames, they tremble at ſights and viſions, they credite falſe abuſing ſpirits, and with a forlorne feare they ſtand in awe of the celeſtiall ſignes.

Timorous men are alwaies litle.

Claudius Ceſar.

The feares of faint-harts.

ſignes. Briefly, vpon the leaſt occaſions that may be, and ſuch as are vnwoorthie the care of a prudent and valiant mind, they fall oftentimes into ſuch vexation of ſpirite, that they looſe it altogither, and become mad and inraged: inſomuch, that many haue haſtened forward with their owne hands, the end of their ſo miſerable daies. As we read of *Mydas* king of Phrygia, who being troubled and vexed with certaine dreames, grew to be deſperate, and died voluntarily by drinking the bloud of a Bull. *Ariſtodemus* alſo, king of the Meſſenians, being in warre againſt his ſubiects, it happened that the dogs howled like woolues, which came to paſſe by reaſon of a certain herbe called Dogſteeth, growing about his altar at home: Wherupon vnderſtanding by the Southſayers that it was an euill ſigne, he was ſtroken with ſuch a feare and conceit thereof, that he ſlue himſelfe. *Caſſius* the captaine had a better hart when he anſwered a Chaldean Aſtrologian, who counſelled him not to fight with the Parthians vntill the Moone had paſſed Scorpio; *I feare not* (quoth he) *Scorpions, but Archers.* This hee ſpake bicauſe the Romane armie had beene put to the worſt before in the plaine of Chaldea by the Parthian archers. Neuertheles that which we ſpake of *Midas* and *Ariſtodemus* is ſeldome followed, yea is rarely found amongſt cowards, and baſe minded fellowes, who commonly flie from temporall death as much as may be, as alſo from griefe, which they feare in ſuch ſort, that contemning all vertue and iuſtice, they labour for nothing more, than to preſerue their liues togither with their carnall commodities, for the obtaining of which they ſeeme to liue cleane without all care of their ſoule, as if hir portiō were in this world, & ſhould end togither with the bodie. The effects of this feare of death are ſufficiently felt of euerie one in particular, the number of them being verie ſmall, who would not willingly make (as we ſay) a ſluce to their conſciences, that they might be deliuered thereof. Let vs then confeſſe our ſelues to be fearefull and faint-harted, and not boaſt of Fortitude and generoſitie of hart, which will not ſuffer vs

Mydas.

Caſſius.

Baſe minds ſtand in great feare of death and griefe.

to

to ſtand in feare, no not of certaine death in an holie and honeſt cauſe: ſo farre is it from fearing and forſaking dutie through doubt of an vncertaine death. That which *Speron* rehearſeth in his dialogues of a gentleman of Padua ſufficiently ſheweth what maruellous force is in the apprehenſion and conceit of death, which extendeth it ſelfe not onelie vpon the ſpirites of men, but alſo changeth the nature of their bodies, who want conſtancie to beare and ſuſtaine a ſmall and light griefe for the inioieng of eternall goods. This yoong gentleman being put in priſon vpon ſome accuſation, it was tolde him, that of a certaintie his head ſhould be cut off the daie following. Which newes altered him in ſuch ſort, that in one onelie night hee was all white & greie-headed, whereof before there was no ſhew or appearance, and ſo he liued long time after. Beſides, experience daily miniſtreth vnto vs ſufficient proofe of the miſchiefes which proceed of want of courage and faint-hartednes, eſpecially in matters of eſtate, gouernment, and publike offices, wherein a fearefull and ſoft man, for euerie reproch, diſlike, or euill opinion of the world, yea of ſuch as are moſt ignorant, and much more for the leaſt dangers of his perſon, and for feare and threatnings of the greater ſort, yeeldeth eaſilie againſt all dutie, and ſuffereth himſelfe to be drawne to the error of the wicked and common ſort. As for the middle and leſſer ſort, wherefore ſerue they being void of reaſon and aſſurance? *Homer* ſaith, *that king Agamemnon diſpenſed with a rich Coward for going to warre perſonally, for a Mare which he gaue him*. Wherein truly he had great reaſon, bicauſe a fearefull man hurteth much and profiteth little, not onely in warre, but euen in euery good and vertuous action. This cauſed that great captaine *Paulus Aemilius* to ſay, that magnanimitie and courage were for the moſt part reuerenced in euery enimie of theirs, but that cowardlines, although it had good ſucceſſe, yet was it alwayes and of all men deſpiſed. I might here mention ſundry vices, which ordinarily growe and are nouriſhed of cowardlines and puſillanimitie, as namely, crueltie, treaſon,

A ſtrange alteration of a Gentlemans haire in one night.

Agamemnon diſpenſed with a rich coward.

ſon, breach of promiſe, impatiencie, idleneſſe, ſlouth, couetouſnes, enuie, backbiting, and all iniuſtice, were it not that I hope the ſequele of our diſcourſes will offer vs matter and occaſion to handle theſe vices particularly, our houre not affording vs time and leaſure to enter vpon ſo many things togither. There remaineth yet a word to be ſpoken of that feare which I ſaid did accompany the froward and wicked many times, being called by the Poet a ſeruile feare, which through the onely horror of puniſhment holdeth them backe from practiſing their wicked purpoſes. Of them ſpake *Pythagoras* when he ſayd that he which careth not for doing of euill in any other reſpect, but onely bicauſe he would not be puniſhed is very wicked. Now although ſuch feare is accurſed, and to be condemned in all, yet is it neceſſarie for the preſeruation of humane ſocietie. For otherwiſe, all things would run to confuſion through the ſhameles malice of the wicked, of whom the earth is full. And it is a great deale better, that through ſuch feare they ſhould be reſtrained from their wicked deſires and wils, than that they ſhould without all feare abandon themſelues to put them in execution: albeit they are no way excuſable before God, who requireth to be ſerued with hart and ſpirit. Neuertheleſſe, ſuch feare doth not alwayes ſtay them from putting their malice in effect, but the more they are retained, ſo much the more are they inflamed and kindled with a deſire to ſatiſfie their corrupt will, which in the end is conſtrained to burſt foorth, and euidently to ſhew that miſchiefe which they kept ſecret a long time. But if the commō ſort (ſaith *Seneca*) be ſtaied by lawes from committing euil, the Philoſopher contrarywiſe hath reaſon for all lawes, doing good not bicauſe the law commandeth it, and abſtaining frō euil not bicauſe it forbiddeth it, but bicauſe he knoweth the one to be honeſt, and the other vile and wicked. Hauing now ſeene that vice which is cleane contrary to *Fortitude*, and knowing that euery vertue hath a counterfeit follower thereof, no doubt but raſhneſſe is that vice which falſly ſhrowdeth it ſelfe vnder the title of *Fortitude* and

What vices proceed of cowardlines.

Of ſeruile feare

Of raſhneſſe & of the effects thereof.

and valure. For this vertue easily ouerthroweth it selfe if it be not vnderpropped with good counsaile, and the greater abilitie it supposeth to haue in it selfe, the sooner it turneth aside to wickednesse, if prudence gouerne it not. This is that which *Isocrates* saith, that *Fortitude* ioined with Prudence is auaileable, but otherwise it procureth more euill than good to the possessors thereof. If *Fortitude* (saith *Lactantius*) without necessarie constraint, or for a dishonest matter hazardeth hir selfe into daungers, she chaungeth into rashnesse. He that doth anie thing at all aduentures (saith *Aristotle*) not considering how well he doth it, ought not to be called vertuous: but onely if he put it in execution, after knowledge, consultation and election. Therefore as it is a noble acte to make such account of vertue, as for the loue thereof, not to feare the losse of life, otherwise very deare; so is it a point of rashnesse and follie to contemne life vpon a small and light occasion. Rashnesse than is that which causeth a man with ioy of hart, and for a vaine and friuolous matter, to cast himselfe into certaine & vndoubted daungers, and to desire earnestly to fall into them, to vndertake all things vnaduisedly, and vnconstrained to expect those perils which he knoweth will fall vpon him. The Elder *Cato* hearing certaine men to commend one openly who desperately hazarded himselfe, and was bold without discretion in perils of warre, said vnto them, *That there was great difference betweene much esteeming of vertue, and little waighing of life:* as if he would haue said, that it is a commendable thing to desire life to be vertuous. And truely to liue and die are not of themselues good, but to do both of them rightly and in a good matter. So that to shunne death, if it proceed not from a faint hart, is not to be reprehended. But rashnesse is especiallie to be condemned in Captaines and Heads of Armies, as that which procureth great dammage to kingdomes and monarchies, and to so manie as march vnder their conduct. This is that which *Iphicrates* an Athenian captaine would haue vs learne, who compared in an armie the

Who is a vertuous man.

Cato.

Iphicrates comparison of an armie to a mans bodie.

the Scoutes lightly armed to the handes: the Horsemen to the Feete: the battaile of Footemen to the Stomacke and breast: and the Captaine to the Head of a Mans bodie. For (sayde he) the Captaine that hazardeth himselfe too much, and throweth himselfe into daunger without cause, is not retchlesse of his own life onely, but also of all those whose safetie dependeth vpon him: and contrarywise, in taking care for the safegard of his owne person, he careth therewithall for all those that are vnder him. *Isadas* the Lacedemonian seeyng *Epaminondas* with the Thebane armie at hand agaynst the Spartanes, readie to force and take their Citie, vnclothed himselfe starke naked, puttyng off his Shirte and all, and taking a Partisane in one hand, and a sworde in the other, he went with might and mayne agaynst his enemies, where he shewed great prowesse and valure. For which behauiour although he had a Crowne giuen him by the Seignorie according to the custome that was amongst them, yet he was fined, bicause he hazarded his lyfe so rashly. We see daylie among vs but too manie examples of great mischiefes which befall men through their rashnesse, led with ambition and desire of vayne-glorie. Therefore to conclude, and to drawe some profite out of our present discourse, we say that we ought to feare the incurring of blame and dishonour for filthie and vnhoneste matters, and for euill deeds, and are to shun all feare proceeding of want of courage, of pusillanimitie, and of a depraued and corrupted nature: this last, as proper and peculiar to the wicked, and the other, as that which maketh a man vnapt to all good and commendable thinges. And as it is an acte of Prudence and Fortitude to prouide for a tempest and for stormes to come, (when the shippe is still in the Hauen) and yet not to be afrayd in the middest of stormes: so is it a point of rashnesse for a man to throw himselfe wittingly into an euident danger, which might be auoyded without any breach of Vertue and Iustice.

The rashnesse of Isadas.

Therfore

Therefore *Plato* ſaith, that timorous and raſh men feare & enterpriſe vnaduiſedly, whatſoeuer they take in hand, but that noble minds do all things with prudence. This also is that which *Seneca* ſaith: *thou maiſt be valiant if thou caſt not thy ſelfe into perils, nor deſireſt to fall into them as timorous men do: neither abhorreſt or ſtandeſt in feare of them, as being timorous.* But following the ſage aduice of *Cicero*, before we enterpriſe any thing, we muſt not onely conſider whether it be honeſt and commendable, but alſo whether there be any like meane to execute it, that neither throgh cowardlines we giue it ouer, nor through greedie deſire and preſumption, we purchaſe to our ſelues the reputation of raſh men: obſeruing moreouer in euery matter of importance this Maxime of eſtate, that before we begin any thing, we muſt diligently prepare and foreſee whatſoeuer is neceſſarie thereunto.

How a man may be valiant.

Of Magnanimitie and Generoſitie. Chap. 27.

ARAM. WHen that ſaying of *Ariſtotle* cōmeth to my remembrance, *that Fortitude is a mediocritie in fearing & enterpriſing, but that Magnanimitie conſiſteth in great things*, I am ſomewhat troubled in the vnderſtāding of this ſentēce: bicauſe it ſemeth he would put a difference betweene *Fortitude* and *Magnanimitie*, as if this latter had more excellencie and perfection in it than the other. For this cauſe my Companions, hauing intreated this morning of the vertue of *Fortitude*, I propound now vnto you to diſcourſe vnto vs what *Magnanimitie* is.

ACHITOB. Among mortall and periſhing things, there is nothing (as the Philoſophers ſay) that ought to trouble the Magnanimitie of a noble hart. But I find that they propound vnto vs in this word ſuch a wiſedome, as cannot be in him that remaineth all his life time ſubiect to affections and perturbations. For this they would not haue in true Magnanimitie, which notwithſtanding is wel able

able to bring foorth infinite wonderfull effects out of a noble mind, causing it to be neuer vnprouided of a good resolution to be put in execution according to the ouerthwarts that happen vnto him.

ASER. The propertie of a noble spirit (saith *Cicero*) is not to be turned aside through ingratitude from the desire of doing good to all men, euen to his enemies, as also to leaue carking for that which is mortall, that he may imbrace celestiall things. But we shall vnderstand more at large of thee AMANA, how these marueilous effects are works of true magnanimitie.

AMANA. Although the vertue of *Fortitude* be neuer perfected without Magnanimitie, (which is as much to say, as generositie or noblenes of hart) as that which vndoubtedly is comprehended vnder the first part of *Fortitude*, which *Cicero* calleth Magnificence, or a doing of great & excellent things, yet notwithstanding it seemeth that this word *Magnanimitie* carieth with it some greater and more particular Empasis, & that a man may say, that the wonderful effects thereof appeare principally in three points, whereof I purpose here to discourse. The first concerning extreme and desperate matters, as when a man is past all hope of sauing his life, wherein perfect magnanimitie always knoweth how to find out a conuenient remedie and wise consolation, not suffering himselfe to be vexed therewith. The second respecteth dutie towards enimies, against whom generositie will in no wise suffer a man to practise or to consent to any wickednesse, vnder what pretence so euer it be, nor for any aduantage which may be reaped thereby. The third causeth a noble minded man to contemne and to account that thing vnworthy the care of his soule which others wonder at, & labor by all means to obtaine, namelie, strength, health, beauty, which the Philosophers call the goods of the bodie: and riches, honor, and glory, which they say are the goods of fortune: and likewise not to stand in feare of their contraries. Amongst the woorthy and famous men of olde time, whose names and glorious factes crowned with an

What Magnanimitie is.

Magnanimitie consisteth in three things.

The goods of the body and of Fortune.

immortall Lawrell, are ingrauen in the temple of Memorie, we find no praiſe woorthie of greater admiration, or that ought to awaken and ſtirre vs vp better in Chriſtian dutie, than the effects of this vertue of Magnanimitie, vpon theſe three occaſions preſently touched. Whereof one effect is, that we yeeld not againſt reaſon, nor paſſe the limits of duty by fainting vnder that heauy burthen of extreme diſtreſſes, which the horror of death bringeth with it: but that euen in the midſt of greateſt agonie which ſeemeth intollerable in mans iudgement, we ſhew ſuch grauitie and woorthines, that we depart not in any ſort from the peace and quietnes of our ſoules, but with conſtancie and cheerefulnes of ſpirit, meditate vpon the ioy of that hauen of ſaluation, which we behold with the eyes of our ſoule, whereinto through a happy death at hand, we ſhall ſhortly be receiued. Another effect is, that we accompliſh (ſo farre as our frailtie can approch to perfection) the commandement of the diuine will by louing our neighbors as our ſelues, and by abſtaining, euen in regard of our greateſt enimies, from doing, procuring or conſenting, yea by hindring that no treacherie or treaſon ſhould be wrought them, nor any other thing vnbeſeeming that naturall loue, which ought to be in euery one towards his like, and further by procuring them all the good and profit that may be. The third effect of this great vertue, no les wonderful thā the reſt, is in that a noble minded man ſolong as he liueth, wholy withdraweth his affection from worldly and corruptible things through a ſtedfaſt & conſtant reaſon, and lifteth it vp to the meditation and holy deſire of heauenly and eternal things. The remedy which theſe great perſonages deſtitute of the right knowledge of the truth moſt commonly vſed when their affaires were paſt all hope of mans helpe, was death, which they choſe rather to bring vpon themſelues by their owne handes, than to fall into the mercy of their enimies, whereby they ſuppoſed that they committed a noble act, woorthie the greatnes of their inuincible courage. And if peraduenture they were ſurpriſed, and forced in ſuch ſort by their enimies,

The firſt effect of Magnanimitie.

The ſecond effect.

The third effect.

The common remedie of the Ancients in deſperate caſes.

enemies, that they were compelled to become their priſoners, they neuer deſired them to ſaue their liues, ſaying, that it beſeemed not a noble hart, and that in ſo doing they ſhould ſubmit both hart and bodie to him, who before had but the bodie in his power. *Cato* the yoonger being brought to ſuch extremity in the towne of Vtica, that by the aduice of all thoſe that were with him, he was to ſend Embaſſadors to *Cæſar* the Conqueror, to practiſe an agreement after ſubmiſſion to his mercie, yeelded therevnto in the behalfe of others, but forbad that any mention ſhould be made of himſelfe. *It belongeth* (quoth he) *to thoſe that are ouercome, to make requeſt, and to ſuch as haue done amiſſe, to craue pardon. As for me I will account my ſelfe inuincible ſo long as in right and iuſtice I ſhall be mightier than Cæſar. He is is that is now taken and ouercome, bicauſe that which hitherto he denied to take in hand againſt the Common-wealth, is at this preſent ſufficiently teſtified againſt him, and diſcouered. Neither will I be beholding or bound to a Tyrant for an vniuſt matter. For it is a point of iniuſtice in him to vſurpe the power of ſauing their liues (like a Lord) ouer whome he hath no right to command.* After many other ſpeeches of Philoſophie vſed by him, & ſtanding much vpon that Stoicall opinion, *that onely a wiſe and good man is free, and that all wicked men are bond men and ſlaues,* he went alone into his chamber, and ſlew himſelfe with his ſword. *Sylla* the Dictator hauing condemned to death all the inhabitants of Perouza, and pardoning none but his Hoſt, he alſo would needes die, ſaying: that he would not hold his life of the murtherer of his countrey. *Brutus,* after the battel loſt againſt *Auguſtus Cæſar,* was counſelled by certaine of his friends to flie: *I muſt flie in deed* (ſaid he) *but with hands, not with feete.* And taking them all by the hand, he vttered theſe words with a very good and cheerfull countenance: *I feele my hart greatly contented, bicauſe none of my friends haue forſaken me in this buſines: neither complaine I of fortune at all, but onely ſo farre foorth as toucheth my countrey. For I eſteeme my ſelfe happier than they that haue vanquiſhed, as long as I leaue behind me a glorie of vertue for hazarding all liberally, to free from bondage my brethren and countrey-*

Cato of Vtica.

The opinion of the Stoicks.

Brutus.

men. Which praise our conquering enemies neither by might nor money can obtaine, and leaue to posteritie: but men will alwaies say of them, that being vniust and wicked, they haue ouerthrowne good men to vsurpe a tyrannous rule and dominion, that belongeth not vnto them. After he had thus spoke, he tooke his sword, and falling vpon the point thereof, gaue vp the ghost. *Cassius* also his companion, caused his owne head to be cut off by one of his slaues, whom he had made free, and kept with him long time before for such a necessitie. The historie which we read of the Numantines, commeth in fitly for this matter which we handle heere. For after they had sustained the siege of the Romanes fourteene yeeres togither, and were in the ende inclosed by *Scipio* with a very great ditch of two and fortie foote in depth, and thirtie in breadth, which compassed the citie round about, the Consul summoned them to commit themselues to the clemencie of the Romanes, and to trust to their promise, seeing all meanes of sallying foorth to fight, and of recouering any victuals were taken from them. To whome they made this onely answer, that forasmuch as they had liued for the space of 338. yeeres in freedom, they would not die slaues in any sort. Whereupon, such as were most valiant, assembled togither and slew those that were most growne in yeeres, with women and children. Then they tooke all the riches of the citie, and of the temples, and brought it into the midst of a great hall, and setting fire to all quarters of the citie, each of them tooke the speediest poison they could find: so that the temples, houses, riches, and people of Numantia ended all in one day, leauing to *Scipio*, neither riches to spoile, neither man or woman to triumph withal. For during the whole time wherin their citie was besieged, not one Numantine yeelded himselfe prisoner to any Romane, but slew himselfe rather than he would yeeld. Which Magnanimitie caused *Scipio* to bewaile the desolation of such a people, in these words: *O happie Numantia, which the Gods had decreed should once end, but neuer be vanquished.* Now albeit these examples and infinite other like to these, are set foorth vnto vs by

A notable historie of the Numantines.

Historio-

Historiographers, as testimonies of an excellent Magnanimitie, whereby they would teach vs both to be neuer discouraged for the most tedious trauels and irkesome miseries of mans life, and also to stand so little in awe of death, that for feare thereof, much lesse for any other torment or griefe, we neuer commit any thing vnbeseeming a noble hart: yet notwithstanding, no man that feareth God, and is willing to obey him, ought to forget himselfe so much, as to hasten forward the end of his daies for any occasion whatsoeuer. This did *Socrates* knowe very well, when he said, that we must not suffer our soule to depart from the Sentinell wherein she is placed in this bodie, without the leaue of hir Captaine: and that so waightie a matter as death ought not (as *Plato* saith) to be in mans power. But if it be offred vnto vs by the will of God, then with a magnanimious hart, void of al starting aside in any thing against dutie, we must set free this passage, being staied and assuredly grounded vpon that consolation, which neuer forsaketh a good conscience, not onely through the expectation of a naked and simple humane glorie, which most of the Heathen propounded to themselues, but of that life which abideth for euer: following therein the constancie of *Alcibiades*, a great Captaine of Grecia, who hearing the sentence of his condemnation to death pronounced, said: *It is I that leaue the Athenians condemned to die, and not they me. For I go to seeke the Gods where I shall be immortall, but they shall remaine still amongst men, who are all subiect to death.* *Socrates* also hauing a capitall accusation laid against him wrongfully, directed his speech to the Iudges, and said vnto them, that his accusers by their false depositions might wel cause him to die, but hurt him they could not: adding further, that he woulde neuer leaue his profession of Philosophie for feare of death. *I vnperswaded* (quoth he in *Plato*) *that this my opinion is very good, namely: that euery one ought to abide constantly in that place and trade of life, which either he hath chosen himselfe, or is appointed him by his superior: that he must account that for the best, and hazard himselfe therein to all dangers, without feare either of*

No man ought to hasten forward the end of his daies.

Alcibiades constancie and courage in death.

Socrates speech at his arraignment.

death or of any other thing whatsoeuer. And therfore I should erre greatly, if, obeying the Generall of warre which ye appointed vnto me in Potidæa, Amphipolis and Delos, and abiding in that place wherein he set me without feare of death, I should now for feare of death, or of any other thing, forsake that ranke wherein God hath placed me, and would haue me remaine in, as I alwaies beleeued & thought: namely, that I should liue a student in Philosophie, correcting mine owne and other mens vices. Now, if I should do otherwise, I might iustly be accused for calling my selfe a wise man, not being so indeed: seeing to feare death, is to thinke that to be, which is not. But neither I, nor any other man, ought to do all that we may either in iudgement or in warre, to the end to auoid death. For it is very certaine, that he who would in time of battell cast downe his armour and flie away, might by that meane auoid death (and the like is to be vnderstood in al dangers & perils) if he were not afraid of infamie. But consider (O countreymen) that it is no very hard matter to auoid death, but farre more difficult to eschew wickednes and the shame therof, which are a great deale swifter of foote than that is. O speech woorthie of eternal praise, and such a one as instructeth a Christian notably in a great and noble resolution: namely, to run the race of his short daies in that vocation, wherunto God hath called him, and that in the midst of tortures, torments, & all agonies of death. From which, whilest we expect a happie passage, we ought to be no more destitute of an apt remedie in all those things, which according to the world are most irkesome and desperate, but sustaine them with like constancie and woorthines, not departing from the tranquillitie and rest of our soules, which is a more noble act, than to hasten forward the end of our daies, that we may be deliuered of them. But howsoeuer it be, let vs alwaies preferre a vertuous and honest death, before any kind of life, be it neuer so pleasant. And seeing that one and the same passage is prepared aswell for the coward as the couragious, (it being decreed, that all men must once die) the louers of vertue shall do well to reape to themselues some honor of common necessity, and to depart out of this life with such a comfort. Now to come to the second commendable effect

What it is to feare death.

fect of this vertue of Magnanimity, wherof Heroical men were so prodigall heeretofore for the benefit and safetie of their enemies, we can bring no better testimonie than the courteous fact of *Fabritius* the Romane Consul towards *Pyrrhus*, who warred against him, and whose Physition wrote vnto him, that he offered himselfe to murder his maister by poison, and so to end their strife without danger. But *Fabritius* sent the letter vnto him, and signified withall, that he had made a bad choice of friends, aswell as of enemies, bicause he made warre with vpright & good men, and trusted such as were disloiall and wicked: whereof he thought good to let him vnderstand, not so much to gratifie him, as least the accident of his death should procure blame to the Romanes, as if they had sought or consented to end the warre by meanes of treason, not being able to obtaine their purpose by their vertue. *Camillus* a Romane Dictator, is no lesse to be commended for that which he did during the siege of the citie of the Fallerians. For he that was Schoolemaister to the chiefest mens children amongst them, being gone out of the citie, vnder colour to [illegible]e his youth to walke, and to exercise themselues along the wals, deliuered them into the hands of this Romane Captaine, saying vnto him, that he might be well assured the Citizens would yeeld themselues to his deuotion, for the safetie and libertie of that which was deerest vnto them. But *Camillus* knowing this to be too vile and wicked a practise, said to those that were with him, that although men vsed great outrage and violence in warre, yet among good men certaine lawes & points of equitie were to be obserued. For victorie was not so much to be desired, as that it should be gotten and kept by such cursed and damnable meanes: but a Generall ought to warre, trusting to his owne vertue, and not to the wickednes of others. Then stripping the said schole maister, and binding his hands behind him, he deliuered him naked into the hands of his schollers, and gaue to ech of them a bundle of rods, that so they might carye him backe againe into the citie. For which noble act the Citi-

Examples of the second effect of Magnanimitie.

Fabritius.

Camillus.

A good lesson for a Generall to learne.

zens yeelded themselues to the Romanes: saying, that in preferring iustice before victorie, they had taught them to choose rather to submit themselues vnto them, than to retaine still their libertie: confessing withall, that they were ouercome more by their vertue, than vanquished by their force and power. So great power hath Magnanimitie, that it doth not onely aduance Princes to the highest degree of honor, but also abateth the hart of the puissant and warlike enemie, and oftentimes procureth victorie without battell. Truly we may draw an excellent doctrine out of these examples, which make all those without excuse, that spare nothing to attaine to the end of their intents and deuices, making no difficultie at the destruction of innocents, but exercising all kind of crueltie, so they may ouerthrow their enemies by what meanes soeuer: vsing commonly that saying of *Lysander*, Admirall of the Lacedemonians, *that if the Lions skin will not suffice, the Foxe his skin also is to be sewed on*. But let vs resolutely hold this, that treason neuer findeth place in a noble hart, no more than the bodie of a Foxe is not found in a Lions bodie. Further, it is notoriously known, that the Ancients striued to procure all good and profit to their enemies, vsing clemencie and humanitie towards them, when they had greater occasion and meanes to be reuenged of them. Heereof we may alleadge good examples, when we discourse heereafter particularly of those vertues that are proper to a noble minded man, who ought to hate crueltie no lesse than treason. We are therefore to looke vnto the last effect, and sound proofe of Magnanimitie & Generositie heere propounded by vs, which we said, consisted in the contempt of earthlie and humane goods. Wherein truly resteth the very perfection of a Christian, who lifteth vp his desires to his last and soueraigne Good in heauen. Now, because there are but few that loue not themselues too much in those things that concerne the commodities of this life, and fewer that seeke not after glorie & honor, as a recompence of their excellent deeds, and that desire not riches earnestly to satisfie their pleasure,

Treason and crueltie neuer find place in a noble hart.

Of the third effect of Magnanimitie.

sure, in these three points also a noble minded man causeth his vertue to appeere more wonderfull, bicause he doth not iudge thē to be a worthie reward for the same; but rather altogether vnwoorthy the care of his soule, for which principally he desireth to liue. This is that which *Cicero* saith, that it is not seemely that he should yeeld to couetousnes and concupiscence, who could not be subdued by feare, or that he should be ouercome by pleasure, who hath resisted griefe: but rather that these things ought to be shunned by all possible means, togither with the desire of money, seeing there is nothing more vile & abiect, than to loue riches, nor more noble than to despise them. This also is that which *Plato* saith, that it belongeth to the duetie of a noble hart not onely to surmount feare, but also to moderate his desires & concupiscences, especially when he hath libertie to vse them, whither it be in the pleasure of the bodie, or in the ambitious desire of vain-glory, honour and power. In this sort then, he that hath a right noble and worthie mind, will no more waigh greatnes among men and estimation of the common sort, than he doth griefe and pouertie, but depending wholie vpon the wil of God, & contēting himself with his works wrought in him, he will not that any good thing vpon earth can be taken from him. And bicause he aspireth to those things that are best, highest, and most difficult, he abideth free from all earthly care and griefe, as being long before prepared for all dolors, through the contempt of death, which bringing an end to the greatest and most excessiue pangs, serueth him for an entrance into eternall rest. We haue already alleaged many examples of ancient men fit for this matter which now we speake of, and the sequele of our treatises will furnish vs with mo when we shall come to intreat of riches and worldly wealth, whereof we are to speake more at large. But here we will propound *Aristides* onely to be imitated, who was a woorthy man among the Athenians, whose opinion was that a good citizen ought to be alwayes prepared alike to offer his body & mind vnto the seruice of the common wealth, without

Aristides.

without hope or expectation of any hired and mercenary reward either of money, honor, or glory. And so with an vnspeakeable grauitie and constancie, he kept himselfe always vpright in the seruice of his countrey, in such sort, that no honor done vnto him could cause him either to be puffed vp in hart, or to be more earnest in imploying himselfe: (as it is the maner of some to do seruice according as they are recompenced) neither could any repulse or deniall which he suffred, abate his courage or trouble him, or yet diminish and lessen his affection and desire to profit his common wealth. Whereas now adayes we see that the most part of men with vs vpon a smal discontentment, labor to make publike profite to serue their desires and passions, in stead of giuing themselues to the good & benefit of their countrey. Now concluding our present discourse, we learne that true and perfect Magnanimitie and Generositie is inuincible and inexpugnable, bicause vpon this consideration, that death is the common end of mans life, and that happy passage to life euerlasting, she despiseth it altogither, and maketh lesse account thereof than of bondage and vice: sustaining also with a great & vnappalled hart, most cruel torments, not being mooued thereby to do any thing that may seem to proceed of the common weaknes and frailtie of mans nature. Further we learne that this vertue maketh him that possesseth hir, good, gentle, and curteous, euen towards his greatest enimies, against whom it suffereth him not to vse any couin or malice, but keepeth him alwayes within the limites of equitie and iustice: causing him further to make choice of and to finish all honest matters of his owne will, and for their loue, not caring at all for mortall and corruptible things, that he may wholy apprehend and take hold of those things that are diuine and eternall.

Magnanimitie is inuincible.

Of Hope. Chap. 28.

AMA-NA. Considering that the perfection of a wise mans life consisteth in the practise of great and

Wherin the perfectiō of a wise mans life consisteth.

and excellent things, he that is borne to vertue feeleth himselfe touched to the quicke with desire to bring them to passe. But the instabilitie and small assurance which he knoweth to be in that which dependeth vpon the doubtfull euent of euery high enterprise, oftentimes cooleth his vertuous intents, if a certaine confidence and good hope did not make easie vnto him the means of attaining thereunto. Likewise, when he feeleth the sharpe pricking that proceedeth from the ouerthwarts and miseries of man, which sequester themselues very little from his life, he is soone daunted with sorow and care, if he haue not this hope that comforteth him with expectation of speedie redresse. Of you therfore (my companions) we shall vnderstand the excellencie of this *Good* that belongeth to the soule and is so necessarie for a happy life, I mean *Hope*, which dependeth of the vertue of Fortitude, whereof we haue discoursed all this day.

ARAM. Learned men (saith *Bias*) differ from the ignorant sort in the goodnes of hope, which truly is verie profitable, sweete and acceptable to a prudent man. But euil hope leadeth carnall men, as a naughtie guide, vnto sinne.

ACHITOB. As good hope serueth to increase strength in a man, so rash hope oftentimes beguileth men. But it belongeth to thee ASER to handle this matter.

ASER. *Alexander* the great being by the states of all Grecia chosen generall captaine to passe into Asia, and to make warre with the Persians, before he tooke ship he enquired after the estate of all his friends to know what means they had to follow him. Then he distributed and gaue to one lands, to another a village, to this man the custome of some hauen, to another the profit of some Borough towne, bestowing in this maner the most part of his demeans and reuenues. And when *Perdicas* one of his Lieutenants demanded of him what he reserued for himselfe: he answered, *Hope*. So great confidence had this noble monarch, not in the strength of his weapons, or multitude of good warriors desirous of glory and honor, but

Alexander reserued hope only for himselfe.

in

Properties requisite in a Generall.

in his owne vertue, being content and satisfied with a little, in his continencie, beneficence, contempt of death, magnanimitie, curtesie, gratious intertainment, being easie to be spoken with, hauing a free disposition by nature, without dissimulation, constant in his counsels, ready and quicke in his executions, willing to be the first in glorie, and alwaies resolute to do that which dutie commanded. From this *Hope* thus surely grounded, he neuer shrunke, vntill the last gaspe of his life: which caused him to make this answer to *Parmenio*, who counselled him to accept of the offers which *Darius* made vnto him for peace: namely, fixe thousand Talents, beeing in value fixe Millions of gold, and the halfe of his kingdome, with a daughter of his in mariage; *If I were Parmenio, I would accept of his profers.* Besides, he sent word to *Darius*, that the earth could not beare two Sunnes, nor Asia two Kings. Neither was he deceiued of his good hope, which led him to such a perfection of worldlie glorie and felicitie, that he was the first and last that euer approched neere vnto it. This *Hope* was that foundation whereupon so many great and excellent Heathen men and Pagans built their high and noble enterprises. For proofe heerof may be alleadged that definition, which *Cicero* giueth of *Confidence*, being the second part of *Hope*, affirming it to be that vertue, whereby the spirite of man putteth great trust in waightie and honest matters, hauing a certaine and sure hope in himselfe. And elsewhere he saith, that he shall neither reioice, nor be troubled out of measure, that trusteth in himselfe. But we know that this *Hope* is weake and vncertaine, if it be not setled and grounded vpon a sure expectation of the helpe and grace of God, without which we can neuer prosper. Now this is out of doubt, that we can not hope and waite for that grace, vnles our counsels and enterprises haue reason for their guide, and right and equitie for their bounds. For (as an ancient man saith) that man hopeth in vaine that feareth not God, and they onely are filled with good hope, whose consciences are cleane and pure. So that all they that are led with sundry euill passions, either

The definition of confidence.

Our hope must be grounded vpon the grace of God.

Of vaine hope.

ther of ambition, of vainglory, or of any other vnbrideled desire, can neuer haue that happy and good hope, which neuer deceiueth men. And in deed they misse oftentimes of their intent, yea, are depriued of that which was their owne and certaine, bicause they are desirous to get vniustly another mans right, being also vncertaine. The selfe same thing falleth out to those that trust and stay in such sort vpon their owne strength, vertue and constancie, that fearing in no respect (as they say) the greatest calamities that can come to man, assure themselues in their prosperitie to be inuincible in their resolutions, and presume that nothing is able to pull them downe, or to cause them to change their opinion: and yet, so soone as the wind of aduersitie bloweth, they are the first that are throwen to the ground, and soonest shew foorth the inconstancie & imbecillitie of mans nature left to it self. As contrarywise, they to whom God giueth eyes to acknowledge themselues, are then humbled, so that they reuerence the ordinance of God, who derideth all the enterprises of men. The practise hereof was well knowen to *Wencelaüs* king of Hungaria, being driuen out of his kingdom, and forsaken of his owne, who oftentimes vsed to say, *The hope I had in men hindred me from putting my trust in God: but now that all my confidence is in him, I assure my selfe that he will helpe me by his diuine goodnesse.* As in deed it fell out so vnto him, being reestablished agayne in all his estates and dignities. But *to the end we confound not togither that* which is simplie diuine, with that which is humaine, I thinke we ought to make a double hope: the first, true, certaine, and vnfallible, which concerneth holy and sacred mysteries: the other doubtful, respecting earthly things only. As touching the first, we know things to come by the assurance thereof, as well as if they were already done. We are taught in the holy scripture what is the vndoubted certaintie of this hope, which through faith ought to be so imprinted in our harts, that by the strength, power, & vertue therof, we should run the race of our short daies in all ioy, happinesse and peaceable tranquillitie of our minds, expecting without

Who are soonest throwen downe with aduersitie.

Wencelaüs.

The diuision of hope.

Of the true and infallible hope.

without doubting the perfect and absolute enioying of those goods that are immortall, vnutterable and endlesse in the second and eternall life. Without this hope grounded vpon the free goodnesse of the almightie, let vs assuredly perswade our selues, that mans estate is more miserable than that of brute beasts, seeing this is the only way of his saluation. The other hope which concerneth this present life only in all such things as we propound to our selues for the benefit and contentation thereof, hath such neede to be ruled, guided, and referred to the happie end of the first excellent and heauenly hope, that otherwise it cannot but be doubtfull, inconstant, & rash, what humane reason soeuer we can alleage to perswade the possibilitie of attaining to the end of our pretended deuises, which in one moment may be quite ouerthrown, the occasions whereof being for the most part secret and hid from vs. Moreouer the imperfection of whatsoeuer men commonly most esteeme vpon earth is so great that togither with their continuall vncertaintie, the perturbations which hinder the tranquillitie of the soule redouble and abound so much the more, as the enioying of these earthly commodities increase and augment, leauing in man a continuall desire to multiply them, and a feare to loose them. As touching this hope therefore of humane things which we wish might alwayes prosper with vs, we may wel hope what we will, but withall we must prepare and settle our selues to support constantly whatsoeuer falleth out, that that which commeth vnto vs against our will, may not be altogither against our expectation: and that we neuer vse such repinings as these, vnbeseeming a wise ma, *I would neuer haue thought it: I looked for another matter: I would neuer haue supposed that such a thing could haue happened.* In the meane while we must not omit to *Hope* the best alwayes in our crosses and calamities, bicause nothing leniefieth so much the sharpnesse of present aduersities as the hope of future benefit, the certaine expectation whereof as it were stealeth away our labours, and causeth all feare of perill to vanish away. This is that which *Apol-*

Of earthly hope.

Speeches vnbeseeming a wise man.

The fruit of hope.

lodorus

Isodorus saith, that we must neuer be discouraged for aduersities, but always hope for better things. The calamities of mortall men (saith *Euripides*) in the end leaue of themselues: and as the winds do not alwayes blow vehemently, so happy men are not euer fortunate. The one flieth from the other: but he is a good man, who is alwayes full of good hope. *Pindarus* calleth it the nurse of old age. *Thales* said, that nothing in all the world was more common than Hope, bicause it abideth with them also that haue no other goods. The Elpistick Philosophers affirmed, that nothing better maintained and preserued the life of man, than Hope. And truely without hope, which easeth the burthen of mans miseries, the world were not able to sustaine life. For it greatly helpeth man to liue contentedly and happily, if, as we said, it haue respect to the best ende, vnto which all our desires and inclinations ought to be referred, and ought to be gouerned thereby according to reason and iustice. Otherwise it is certaine that a man can neuer peaceably and to his contentation, enioy his present estate and condition, but alwayes some new hope of better things to come, wil cause him to neglect that wherof he is assured, and to run after an vncertaintie, vntill in the end being often deceiued and missing of his purposes & enterprises, he be ouerthrown quite through his great hopes. Therfore *Plato* writeth, that fortune is more contrary to that mā whō she suffreth not to enioy that which he hath, than to him whom she denieth to graunt that which he demandeth of hir. This gaue occasion to *Cineas* (a very wise man, and so excellent an Orator, that one writeth of him, that he brought more townes in subiection to his maister *Pyrrhus* by his toong, than himselfe did by his valure) when he saw that although this king might enioy a happy peace and quietnes, if he would be contented to raigne peaceably ouer his subiects, yet he burned with desire to vndertake warre against Italy; to enter into talke with him, and to aske of him this question. If Sir, the gods shew vs this fauor, that we should remaine Conquerors in this warre, what good would the victory do vs? We might afterward

Our life would be insupportable without hope.

Cineas talke with Pyrrhus concerning his great hope.

afterward (anſwered *Pyrrhus*) eaſily ſubdue the Græcian and Barbarian cities bordering vpon that Country. Wel, when this is done, replied *Cineas*, what ſhall we doe afterward? *Cicilia* (anſwered *Pyrrhus*) will of it ſelfe yeeld vnto vs. Shall *Cicilia* then (quoth *Cineas*) ende our warre? What will ſtay vs after (quoth this monarch) from paſſing into Afrike and to Carthage, and from the recouerie of the kingdom of Macedonia with eaſe, that ſo we may commaund all Græcia without contradiction? Whereunto *Cineas* replied, when all is in our power, what ſhall we do in the end? *Pyrrhus* beginning to ſmile, ſaid, we will reſt vs at our eaſe, my friend, liuing in all pleaſure, and as merily as may be. Then *Cineas* hauing brought him to that point which he deſired, ſaid vnto him: And what ſir, letteth vs from reſt at this preſent, and from liuing in ioy and pleaſure, ſeeing we haue all things requiſite and neceſſarie, without ſeeking it with ſo much effuſion of mans bloud, beſides infinite hazards and dangers, and that in ſuch places where it is vncertaine whether we ſhal find it? Theſe wiſe ſpeeches ſooner offended *Pyrrhus* than cauſed him to change his mind. And although this Prince could not doubt at all what happineſſe and great felicitie he forſooke, yet was it vnpoſſible to take the hope of that which he deſired out of his mind. Wherefore *Antigonus* king of Macedonia compared him very fitly to a Dice-player, to whom the Dice ſpeake faire by giuing vnto him good chances, but yet ſo that he cannot caſt the ſame againe to ſerue his turne. For he loſt that by hope, which he had gotten in deede, deſiring ſo earneſtly that which he had not, that he forgate to make that ſure which was already in his poſſeſſiō. And in deed it fell out very vnhappily with him in the ende. For after he had fought proſperouſly a certaine time, he was diſcomfited by the Romanes, & being after beſieged, was ſlaine with a tile which a woman let fall vpon his head. Was there euer monarch who ought rather to haue contented and delighted himſelfe peaceably in the enioying of his vnſpeakable proſperities than *Iulius Ceſar*? And yet not being ſatiſfied with the Romane empire,

Pyrrhus compared to a Dice-plaier.

Cæſar was led continually with new hope.

Empire, which he had obtained by ſo many trauels and innumerable dangers, he made preparation (whileſt the conſpirators ſought his death) to go himſelfe in perſon to warre againſt the Parthians. So that as long as he liued, the hope of that which was to come, cauſed him to contemne the glorie gotten by his former deeds, and to depriue himſelfe of that commendation, which he ſhould haue no leſſe deſerued in preſeruing himſelfe, and in the good gouernment of his great eſtate, than he did in conquering the ſame: whereof he reaped no other benefit, but onely a vaine name and glorie of ſmall continuance in his life time, which procured him the enuie and hatred of his countreymen, ſo that he was murdred with 23. blowes of the ſword on his bodie, after he had ouerliued *Pompey* (who was vanquiſhed by him) foure yeeres onely, or little more. Hiſtories are full of ſundrie ſuch alterations, which commonly follow them that are not content with their eſtate: from whence wiſe men and of good iudgement may drawe this inſtruction, to limit their thoughts and deſires. For as *Diodorus* the Athenian ſaid, theſe two things are very hurtfull to men, *Hope* and *Loue*, of which the one leadeth, and the other accompanieth them, the one ſeeketh out the meanes to execute their thoughts, and the other perſuadeth them with good ſucceſſe. And although theſe two things are not ſeene with the eie, yet are they mightier than viſible puniſhments. Heerof came that old prouerb, *that proud men fat themſelues with vaine hope, which by little and little choaketh them, as naughtie fat doth mans bodie*. And if we be willing to keepe our ſelues from ſo dangerous a downefall, let vs cure our ſoules of all hurtfull hope, and let reaſon and dutie (as we haue alreadie ſaid) lead and limit all our affections and enterpriſes, conſidering wiſely their beginning, namely, that we ground them vpon right and equitie only, knowing that they ought not to be iudged of by the euent and end of them, which oftentimes ſeeme to fauor vniuſt coũſels and doings. And this offreth ſome colour & occaſion to the wicked to proſecute their dealings, hauing no care

Two things hurtfull to men.

We muſt not iudge of enterpriſes by the euent.

of violating right and iuſtice. But howſoeuer it be, a miſerable end bringeth them an ouer late repentance. Neither let vs perſwade our ſelues, that the iſſue of our imaginations and enterpriſes, although they be well grounded, ſhall certainly fall out according to our meaning, (for this is that hope, which greatly hurteth, and moſt of all troubleth men) but let vs know, that as in al things which grow, there is alwaies ſome corruption mingled in them (it being neceſſarie that all mortall ſeedes ſhould preſently be partakers of the cauſe of death) ſo from the ſame fountaine ill hap floweth vnto vs in great meaſure, yea ſooner and more abundantly than good ſucceſſe. Which thing *Homer* willing to giue vs to vnderſtand, fained that there were two veſſels at the entrie of the great Olympus, the one being full of honie, the other of gall, of which two mingled togither, *Iupiter* cauſeth all men to drinke. And *Plutark* ſaith, that men can neuer purely and ſimply enioy the eaſe of any great proſperitie, but whether it be fortune, or the enuie of deſtinie, or elſe the naturall neceſſitie of earthlie things, there eaſe is alwaies intermingled in their life time with euill among the good, yea in the like miſhap that which is woorſe, ſurmounteth the better. All theſe things being conſidered of vs, they will make vs more aduiſed and ſtaied in all our counſels and deuiſes, & in ſuch ſort affected and prepared with true prudence, fortitude, and magnanimitie, that whatſoeuer hapneth vnto vs, we ſhall not be troubled or further mooued, but receiue it, as hauing long before expected and looked for it. This doth *Seneca* very learnedly teach vs, ſaying: that we ought not to be aſtoniſhed or maruell at vnlooked for chances that light vpon vs, but prepare and conforme our harts to all euents that may come vnto vs, premeditating and thinking aforehand, that we are borne to ſuffer, and that nothing commeth to paſſe, which ought not to be. *Deſtinie* (ſaith he) *leadeth thoſe that are conſenting, & draweth gain-ſayers by force.* Neither ought we, through doubt of that which is to come, to neglect good, heroicall, and farre remooued hopes of excellent things, hauing thus grounded

Illhap is more common than good.

Seneca aduiſeth vs to prepare our ſelues to all euents.

grounded them as we haue ſaid. For wiſe and famous perſonages, deſirous of honor and glorie, were alwaies of opinion, that they ought to be intertained and kept in a ſound and ſetled reſolution of the mind, bicauſe of the varietie of accidents, which daily happen contrary to the common opinions of men: wherein experience teacheth vs, that according to the direction of a good ſpirite, and the good ſucceſſe that followeth and accompanieth it, whatſoeuer concerneth the managing of worldlie affairs, is changed; and turneth about with the moouing of fortune, if it be lawfull for vs vnder this Heathen word to vnderſtand the ordinance of God. Therefore to ende our preſent diſcourſe, we will note this, that firſt we are to defend our ſelues by the grace of God, with that happie and certaine hope which can neuer deceiue or confound any, being a certaine guide to keepe vs in this long and tedious pilgrimage from going aſtray out of the way of ſaluation. Secondly from this, the prop, ſtaie, and comfort of mans life againſt all miſeries and calamities will flow and iſſue. Thirdly and laſtly, we ſhall be ſtirred vp to all great and noble works, for the good and common profit of euery one, referring the euents of them to the woonderfull counſell of the prouidence of God, and receiuing them as iuſt, good, and profitable.

What the author vnderſtandeth by the word Fortune.

The ende of the ſeuenth daies worke.

THE EIGHT DAIES WORKE.

Of Patience, and of Impatiencie: of Choler and Wrath. Chap. 29.

ASER. IF vertue consisteth in hard matters, if that which commeth neerest to the diuine nature, and is most vneasie and least of all vsed of all men, better beseemeth a valiant and noble minded man, than any other thing whatsoeuer; no doubt but patience is the very same thing: whereof the Scripture teacheth vs, that God is the author, and that he putteth it in dailie practise among his creatures, deferring the full punishment of their faults by expecting their repentance. Further, this vertue so much resembleth Fortitude, whereof we discoursed yesterday, that we may say with *Cicero*, that Fortitude is borne of hir, or els with hir, seeing there is nothing so great and burthensome, which she can not easilie sustaine and ouercome, euen the violentest & most common passions of mans nature, as impatiencie, choler, and anger, which commonly procure the vtter ruine of the soule. Therefore let vs (my Companions) begin our daies worke with the handling of the effects of this great vertue of Patience, and of the vices that are cleane contrarie vnto it.

Rom. 15. 5. Exod. 34. 6.

Patience a salue for all sores.

AMANA. Patience (saith *Plautus*) is a remedie for all griefes. Endure patiently, and blame not that which thou canst not auoid. For he that is able to suffer well, ouercommeth. But this vertue is so rarely found among men, that moe will offer themselues to death, than abide griefe patiently. Neuertheles, it is the point of a wise man (saith *Horace*) to set a good face vpon that which must needes be done.

ARAM.

ARAM. By patience (ſaith *Cicero*) we muſt ſeeke after that, which we cannot obtaine by fauour: and if we endure, all the inconuenience will turne to our profite. But learned men, whileſt they reſiſt not their perturbations, trouble and ouerturne with a ſuddain vehemencie thoſe things which they had begun with a quiet ſpirit & mind, throwing down at one blow whatſoeuer they had builded with long labour. But of thee ACHITOB we ſhall vnderſtand the prayſe and propertie of this vertue of Patience, with the contrary effects thereof, namelie, Impatiencie, Choler and Anger, and the meanes to ſhunne and auoid them.

ACHITOB. Among all the ancients, the Stoike Philoſophers were moſt zealous and preciſe obſeruers of all points concerning this vertue of patience, which they grounded vpon the fatall cauſe of neceſſitie, requiring ſuch exactnes and perfection thereof in men, that they would haue a noble hart to be no otherwiſe touched with aduerſitie than with proſperitie, nor with ſorowful things than with ioyfull. For this cauſe *Ariſto* ſaid, that vertue onely was to be wiſhed, and therefore that it was all one to be ſicke or ſound, poore or rich: briefly, that in all other humane and neceſſary vſes of nature, there was no more euil in one kind, than in another. Whereby it ſeemeth that theſe Philoſophers delighted in painting out a picture of ſuch patience, as neuer was, nor ſhal be among men, except firſt they ſhould be vnclothed of all humaine nature, or become as blockiſh and ſenceleſſe as a ſtone. For ſo long as man remaineth in this life, he cannot be void of affections and perturbations that draw the ſoule to care and to prouide for the body, which continually crieth out againſt her for feare of griefe and of wanting that which belongeth vnto it. But it is the dutie of a wiſe man to moderate all paſſions in ſuch ſort, that in the end reaſon remaine miſtreſſe. Moreouer we ſay that vertue which is a habite of comelines and mediocritie in affections, ought neither to be without hir motions, nor yet too much ſubiect to paſſions. For the aboliſhing of deſire maketh

Of the Stoicall patience.

Vertue is neither without affection nor ſubiect to affections.

keth the ſoule without motion, & without ioy euen in honeſt things: as on the other ſide ouer vehement motions thereof altogether trouble hir, and cauſe hir to be as it were beſide hir ſelfe. Further, we ſeeke after the common practiſe of men, not for that perfection which they wiſh for, and whereunto they ought to aſpire: and we deſire that affection ſhould ſhew it ſelfe no otherwiſe in vertue, than a little ſhadow of a hidden cloud, or a line in a picture. Therfore true patience which we ought to imbrace in all things, not as compelled and of neceſſity, but cheerfully and as reſting in our welfare, is a moderation & tolerance of our euils, which, albeit we ſigh vnder the heauie burthen of them, clothe vs in the meane while with a ſpirituall ioy, that ſtriueth ſo well and maſtreth in ſuch ſort the ſence of nature which ſhunneth griefe, that in the end it worketh in vs an affection of pietie & godlineſſe, ioyned with a free & cheerful mind, vnder the yoke & obedience of the iuſt & rightfull will of God, through a certain expectation of things promiſed, and cauſeth vs to iudge impatiencie to be contumacie and rebellion to this diuine wil, and ſufficient of it ſelfe to make a man to be called wretched. Patience (ſaith *Plato*) is a habite that conſiſteth in ſuſtaining ſtoutly all labours and griefes for the loue of honeſtie. The law ſaith, that it is a very good thing to keep the tranquillitie of our ſpirit as much as may be in aduerſities, and not to complaine of that which is vncertaine: bicauſe men know not whither that which is light vpon them be good or euil for them, as alſo bicauſe ſorow can not helpe that which is to come, but rather hindreth the curing of the euill: and laſtly, bicauſe there is nothing in humane matters, wherof any great account is to be made. But if I muſt needs ſupport them, my deſire and labour is to do it nobly, honeſtly, and courageouſly. It skilleth not what we endure, but how we endure it. And then doth patience preuail moſt, when we know that whatſoeuer we haue done, was executed of vs for godlines ſake. The conflict of Patience (ſaith *Euripides*) is ſuch, that the vanquiſhed is better than the vanquiſher. And let vs not thinke that

Of true patience.

The definition of patience.

The fruits of patience.

that there is any calamitie which cannot be ſuſtained by the nature of man armed with patience, which is an inuincible tower. Patience (ſaith *Cicero*) is a voluntarie and long ſuffring of labours, calamities, trauels, and difficult matters, for the loue of honeſtie and of vertue. And when all things are ouerthrowen, and counſaile wil do no more good, there is but this one only remedy, to beare patiently whatſoeuer ſhall come vpon vs. Patience ſerueth vs for a meane to attaine to great matters, ſtaying men from fainting in dangers and trauels. By patience whatſoeuer is diſordred, may be brought againe to good order, as that wiſe emperor *Marcus Aurelius* would giue vs to vnderſtand, when he ſayd that patience had no leſſe holpen him in the gouernmẽt of his eſtate than knowledge. Likewiſe it is for the moſt part followed of curteſie and gentlenes, which make him well liked of that is adorned therewith, and ſooner draw good wil, the cauſe of mens obedience, then force or violence doth. He that is ſlowe to anger (ſaith the wiſe man) is better than the mightie man, Prou. 16. 32. and he that ruleth his owne mind, is better than he that winneth a citie. True patience loueth the afflictions which ſhe ſuffreth, cauſing him that poſſeſſeth hir to giue prayſe to God in the midſt of aduerſities, and to ſubmit himſelf to his iudgement when he is preſſed with diſeaſes: neither can pouertie keep him backe from cõmending highly his bountie and goodnes. To be ſhort, as a pearle ſheweth hir beautie euen in the midſt of a puddle: ſo a patient man cauſeth his vertue to appeere in al aduerſities. Moreouer this patience which we ſhew in aduerſities, mooueth thoſe to compaſſion and pitie that ſee vs ſuffer. Which thing as it greatly comforteth in affliction, ſo oftentimes it cauſeth others to reape ineſtimable benefite when they behold vs to ſuffer vniuſtly. For it ſerueth to awaken and to ſtrengthen the weake in the knowledge of their duetie, that they ſuffer not themſelues to be deceiued with the poiſonfull ſweetnes of worldly goods and commodities. In a word the vertue of patience is ſo neceſſarie for a good and happy life, that no part or action of mans life can be

guided to their proper end without hir. And as ſhe is a branch of Magnanimitie, Fortitude, and greatnes of courage; ſo Impatiencie is a weakenes and imbecillitie of a baſe, vile, and contemptible nature, wherin choler, and in the end wrath, are eaſily ingendred, which are two very pernitious paſſions in the ſoule, and differ nothing from furie (as the elder *Cato* ſaid) but onely in this, that they continue a leſſe time, and this a longer. This is that which *Poſſidonius* teacheth vs, ſaying: that Anger is nothing elſe but a ſhort furie. *Ariſtides* called it the inflammation of blood, and an alteration of the hart. *Cicero* ſaith, that that which the Latines call Anger, is named of the Grecians deſire of reuenge. And *Solon* being demanded to whome a man fraught with Anger, might be compared, anſwered: to him that maketh no account of loſing his friends, and careth not although he procure enemies to himſelfe. But beſides the ſayings of all theſe Sages, experience ſufficiently ſheweth vs, that Choler and Anger are enemies to all reaſon: and (as *Plutark* ſaith) are no leſſe proud, preſumptuous, and vneaſie to be guided by another, than a great and mightie tyrannie: Inſomuch that a ſhip giuen ouer to the mercie of the windes and ſtormes, would ſooner of it ſelfe receiue a Pilot from without, than a man caried headlong with wrath and choler, would yeeld to the reaſon and admonition of another. For an angry man (like to thoſe that burne themſelues within their owne houſes) filleth his ſoule in ſuch ſort with trouble, chafing, & noiſe, that he neither ſeeth nor heareth any thing that would profit him, vnles he make prouiſion long time before to ſuccour himſelfe with reaſon through the ſtudie of wiſedome, whereby he may be able to ouerthrow his impatiency and choler, which argue and accompanie for the moſt part a weake and effeminate hart. And that this is true, we ſee that women are commonly ſooner driuen into choler than men: the ſicke than the ſound: the olde than the yoong: all vitious, gluttonous, iealous, vaineglorious, and ambitious men, than thoſe that vnfainedly hate vice. Whereby it is euident enough, that choler proceedeth

Of impatiencie, choler, and wrath.

The definition of anger.

Who are moſt giuen to impatiencie and choler.

ceedeth from the infirme and weake part of the ſoule, and not from the Generoſitie thereof. Neither doth it make againſt our ſaying, to alleadge the opinion of *Ariſtotle*, & of al the Peripateticks, who maintained that we ought to moderate the affections and paſſions of the ſoule: but otherwiſe that they were neceſſarie to pricke men forward to vertue. Yea *Ariſtotle* ſaid, that choler was as a whetſtone to ſharpen and ſet an edge vpon Fortitude and Generoſitie. The Academicks and Stoicks contend greatly againſt this opinion, and namely *Cicero* and *Seneca*, who ſay, that foraſmuch as choler is a vice, it cannot be the cauſe of vertue, ſeeing they are two contrary thinges that haue nothing common together. And conſidering that Fortitude proceedeth from an aduiſed conſultation and election of reaſon, which perfecteth the worke, whereas choler hindreth and troubleth it in ſuch ſort, that an angrie man cannot deliberate, it is not poſſible that it ſhould ſtand him in any ſteed in the performance of excellent actions. And this is an inuincible reaſon, becauſe vertue commeth not of vice. Now, this being the end of all Philoſophie for a man to know his vices, and the meanes how to deliuer himſelfe from them, and ſeeing that the infamie and diſcommoditie which accompanie impatiencie and choler, cannot but be knowne vnto vs, yea are notwithſtanding ſo common amongſt vs, that the perfecteſt are infected therewith, let vs looke for ſome helpe and meane to cure our ſelues thereof. Firſt let vs know, that although men may be mooued to wrath and choler for diuers cauſes, yet vnto all of them, the opinion of being contemned and deſpiſed is commonly ioined. And therefore the true and ſoueraigne remedie for this, (that ſo we may auoid ſuch a cold and ſlender occaſion of entring into choler againſt our neighbours, altogither vnbeſeeming the loue we owe them) will be to put from vs as much as may be, all ſuſpition of being deſpiſed and contemned, or of brauerie and boldnes, and to lay all the fault either vpon neceſſitie or negligence, vpon chance, vntowardnes, lacke of diſcretion, ignorance, or want of experience, which are oftentimes

Ariſtotle contrary in opinion to the Stoicks.

How impatiencie and choler may be cured.

times in them that offend vs. This will seeme very strict counsell, and hard to practise, yea hatefull to many of our Frenchmen, chiefly to those of the Nobilitie, who are so curious in the preseruation of their honour, with which title they would disguise the desire of worldly glory, whervnto they shew themselues so much affectionated. But they testifie sufficiently, that they neuer knewe wherein true honor consisteth, which is no more separated from vertue, than the shadowe from the bodie: also that they know not what patience is, accounting it rather to be fainthartednes, and cowardlines, than a part and daughter of the vertue of Fortitude and Generositie, yea iudging it a dishonor to a man that is contumeliously handled, not to render the like againe. But contrariwise we are to know, that to support and indure wrong & iniurie patiently, and euen then when we haue most meanes to reuenge our selues, is a note of a most absolute, noble, and excellent vertue. Yea, it beseemeth a Christian most of all, and such a one as hath those words of the Scripture well engrauen in his hart, *Thou shalt not auenge, nor be mindfull of wrong against the children of thy people, but shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe: I am the Lord, vengeance and recompence are mine*. But I hope that heerafter we shall discourse of this subiect by it selfe, which deserueth to be handled more largely. Following therefore our matter, we must vnderstand, that choler is bred of a custome to be angrie for small things, and afterward becommeth easilie a fire of sudden wrath, a reuenging bitternes, and an vntractable sharpenes, making a man froward and furious, disliking euery thing. Wherefore a wise man ought presently to oppose the iudgement of reason to euery little anger, and to suppresse it. This will helpe to make the soule firme and of power to resist and beate backe all fiercenes of choler in matters of greater weight and consequence. For he that nourisheth not his anger in the beginning, nor inflameth it himselfe, may easily auoid, or at least scatter it. Moreouer, this will be a great meane to ouercome our choler if we obeye it not, nor giue credite vnto it

What the wicked iudge of patience.

Leuit. 19. 18. Deut. 32. 35.

Whereof choler is bred.

A good way to remedie choler.

from

from the very firſt inſtant wherin it beginneth to appeere, imitating *Socrates* therein, who, whenſoeuer he felt himſelfe ſomwhat more egerly mooued againſt any man than he ought (like to a wiſe Pilote that getteth himſelfe vnder the Lee of ſome rocke) let fall his voyce gently, ſhewyng a ſmiling countenance and more curteous looke, thereby ſetting himſelfe directly againſt his paſſion. Beſides, it wil greatly helpe vs, if when we are mooued with anger, we ſtay our toong a certaine ſpace, and delay a litle while our owne reuenge. For it is very certaine that a man promiſeth, ſpeaketh and doth many things in his anger, which afterward he wiſheth had neuer been in his thought. Vnto this fitly agreeth that counſaile which *Athenodorus* taking his leaue, gaue to *Auguſtus* the emperor to ſtay the pernitious effects of quicke and ready choler. This Philoſopher minding to teach ſome remedy to be oppoſed at the very inſtant when this monarch ſhould feele himſelfe ouertaken with anger, whereunto he eaſily ſuffred himſelfe to be caried; willed him to rehearſe the foure and twentie letters of the Greeke Alphabet before he did any thing in his anger. But knowing this that it is a ſpeciall propertie of mans imbecillitie to be ſtirred vp to anger and to be troubled, let vs follow that commandement of the Scripture, *Not to ſinne in our anger, neither to let the ſunne go downe vpon our wrath*, leaſt we ſhew our ſelues to haue leſſe vertue and curteſie, than the Ethnike Pythagorian Philoſophers, who albeit they were neither of kinne, nor allied, yet kept this cuſtome inuiolable, *that if peraduenture they were entred into ſome contention and choler one againſt another, before the ſunne went downe they appointed a meeting where they imbraced and ſhooke hands one with another.* Further we haue carefully to auoyd all occaſions which we know might induce and prouoke vs to choler. As *Cotis* king of Thracia wiſely behaued himſelfe, when one brought him a preſent of many goodly veſſels curiouſly made and wrought, but very brittle, and eaſie to breake, bicauſe they were of glaſſe. After he had well recompenced the gift, he brake them all for feare leaſt through choler, whereunto he knew himſelfe ſubiect,

The counſaile that Athenodorus gaue to Auguſtus.

Eph. 4. 26.

A notable cuſtome of the Pythagorians.

Cotis brake his glaſſes to auoyd occaſion of wrath.

ſubiect, he ſhould be mooued with wrath againſt any of his ſeruants that ſhould breake them, and ſo puniſh him too ſeuerely. And of this matter we may alſo draw a good inſtructiō for all thoſe that are placed in authoritie aboue others, namely, that they beware leaſt they correct or puniſh any body in their choler, but only when they are void of all vehement paſſions, conſidering the fact in it ſelfe aduiſedly, and with quiet and ſetled ſences: knowing that as bodies ſeeme greater through a miſte, ſo doe faults through choler, which for the moſt part carieth Princes headlong to commit execrable and curſed cruelties. Among many examples we may note that of the emperor *Theodoſius*, who being mooued with anger againſt thoſe of Theſſalonica for a commotion which they made, & for ſtaying his lieutenant, ſent his army thither, with commādement that they ſhould be vtterly rooted out: whereupon fifteene thouſand were ſlaine, neither women nor children being ſpared. Of which fault repenting him, but too late, he made a law afterward whereby he willed that the execution of his letters Patents and Commaundements ſhould be held in ſuſpence and deferred, thirtie days after ſignification and knowledge of them, namely, when any were to be puniſhed more rigorouſly than of cuſtome he vſed. Neither is it leſſe dangerous in an eſtate that the adminiſtration of publike charges ſhould be committed to ſuch as ſuffer themſelues to be ouer-ruled with wrath, ſeeing there are not in a maner fewer matters which are to be winked at and diſſembled, than to be puniſhed & corrected. And although Magiſtrates haue authoritie & iuſt cauſe to puniſh vices, yet haue they no licence to ſhew thēſelues to be paſſionated. But this being a matter of Policie, let vs continue our morall inſtructions, and note that which we read of *Plato*, deſeruing to be conſidered of here, who being very angry with a ſeruaunt of his for a great fault committed by him, and ſeeing *Xenocrates* to come towards him, requeſted him if he were his friend to correct that ſeruant of his, bicauſe at this preſent (quoth he) anger ſurmounteth my reaſon. Whereby this wiſe Philoſopher

Magiſtrates ought not to puniſh any in their choler.

An Theodoſius did.

Plato refuſed to correct his ſeruant in his anger.

sopher declared sufficiently, that if the first motions are not at all in our power through the imperfection of our nature, yet at the lest reason may serue for a bridle to hinder euery naughtie execution: teaching vs likewise, that we ought to vse and exercise our power and authoritie ouer others without any extreme passion. Further, that we may haue such imperfections in greater hatred, we are to note that choler hath been the ouerthrow of many great men, as it was of the emperor *Aurelianus*, who was endued with notable vertues, but otherwise easilie mooued to anger, whose wrath was such, that their death with whom he was displeased, was the onely remedie to appease it. For being one day incensed against *Mnestheus* his Secretarie, he knowing his masters disposition, for the safegard of his life deuised to write (counterfaiting the emperors hand) in a litle scroule the names of the principall captaines of his army, putting himselfe in the number of those whom he had fully purposed to put to death, and bearing it vnto them, sayd, that he saw this bill fall out of the emperours sleeue. Whereat they being astonished, and giuing credit thereunto, resolued with themselues to preuent it, and so falling vpon him, slew him. Moreouer it is well known to euery one, that choler may greatly hurt health, whereof men are for the most part desirous enough. It was cause of the emperour *Valentinians* death, who through crying out in his choler, brake a veine in his neck. From this vice proceedeth another detestable imperfection, which is swearing, a thing directly contrary to a wise mans life, and condemned by the lawe both of God and man: whereof we might easilie be cured by custome, if first we destroied Impatiencie and Choler, which prouoke blasphemie. The Romanes obserued an auncient decree, which expresly commaunded, that when yong men would sweare by the name of some God, they should first go out of the house wherin they were. Which was a commēdable mean both to retain & keep them frō swearing lightly & vpō the suddain, & also that they might haue good laisure & space to bethink thēselues. This would be very profitable for vs towards

Aurelianus anger was the cause of his death.

Valentinian in his anger brake a veine, and died thereof.

Against the infamous vice of swearing.

A notable decree of the Romanes.

towards the correction of this vice, the vnmeasurable licence whereof ought to be kept backe and chastised by some better meanes. Yea, it were very expedient and necessarie to renew and put in practise that law of good king *S. Lewes, that all blasphemers should be marked in the forehead with an hot iron*, yea, punished with death, if they would not be corrected otherwise. Such contemners of the name of God ought to learne their lesson of *Carilaüs* the Ethnicke and Pagan, who being demanded why the images of the Gods in Lacedemonia were armed, *to the end* (quoth he) *that men might feare to blaspheme the Gods, knowing that they are armed to take reuengement*. Concluding therefore our present discourse, let vs learne to decke our liues so well with patience, (which is so profitable and necessary to saluation, and to a good and happie life) that we be patient towards all men in all things, to the end we may obey the will of God, and reape the fruite of his promises, as the end of patience is the expectation of things promised. And let vs know, that the learning and vertue of a man is knowne by patience, and that he is to be accounted to haue lesse learning and vertue, that hath lesse patience. Further, let vs learne that the office & dutie of a prudent and noble minded man is to winke at many things that befall him, to redresse other things, to hold his peace at some things, and to suffer much, so that he follow reason alwaies, and flie opinion. Lastly, we are to know, that he which endureth euill patiently, shall know also how afterward he may easily beare prosperitie: and that euery christian offereth an acceptable sacrifice to God, when he yeeldeth vnto him dailie thanks in the midst of infinite troubles and vexations: which benefit will worke in vs the vtter ouerthrow of all impatience, choler, and wrath, sworne enemies to all reason and vertue.

S. Lewes his law against swearing

Carilaüs.

1. Thes. 5. 14.

Heb. 10. 36.

Of

Of Meekenes, Clemencie, Mildnes, Gentlenes, and Humanitie. Chap. 30.

ACHITOB. A Philosopher in a great assemblie of people taking a lanterne and a candle lighted at midday, and going into an high place in all their sight, was demanded what he ment to do with all: *I seeke* (said he) *for a man, but can see none, no not one.* And truly it is a very rare and excellent thing to find one that in deed is a Man, which is as much to say, as courteous, or made of meekenes and gentlenes: for which cause *Plato* calleth him a ciuill creature, and sociable by nature. Now therefore let vs vnderstand of you my companions, what woorthy effects this vertue of meekenes bringeth foorth in man.

This word *Man* is in Latin *Homo*, frō whence is derived *humanitas*, which signifieth curtesie or gentlenes.

ASER. *Mercie* (said *Plato*,) *ought no more to be taken away from the nature of man, than the altar out of the Temple.* And euery noble hart ought to be so courteous and gratious, that he be reuerenced more than feared of his neighbors.

AMANA. There is no nation so barbarous, which loueth not meekenes, curtesie, beneuolence, and a thankfull soule: and contrariwise, which hateth and contemneth not proud, wicked, cruell, and vngratefull persons. But it belongeth to thee ARAM to discourse of this matter vnto vs.

No nation voyd of curtesie.

ARAM. Sinne hauing depriued man of the perfection of graces, wherewith the image of God in him had inriched and beautified him: namely, with perfect goodnes and holye righteousnes, there remained nothing in his soule but a weake desire to aspire to that soueraigne Good, of which she felt hir selfe spoiled. For further confirmation whereof, this incomparable beautie of the visible shape of the bodie was left vnto him, to the end that in this principall worke, as in a rich picture, he might find large matter to mooue him to contemplate and to admire the excellencie and greatnes of his Creator, who is able to set him againe in his former glorie and brightnes.

By

By means of this knowledge a man feeleth himselfe effectually mooued and touched with the loue of his like, imprinted in euery nature, which desireth vsually to shew foorth the effects thereof to the profite of many, if it be not wholy depraued and accursed. This loue ought to be so much the greater & more perfect in man, by how much the neerer he approcheth to the vnderstanding of the incomprehensible secrets of the diuinitie. For what thing ought more to stirre vs vp, and to mooue vs with zeale to do good to our neighbours, than the consideration both of their creation after the image of God, whereunto we owe all honor, loue, & obedience, and also of their reestablishment into the same image by his pure grace & mercie: besides the contemplation of the excellent composition and building of this frame of man? These things being well considered in our minds, whom shall we take for our enemie, for a stranger, as contemptible, vnworthy, and of no account, seeing this brightnes and grace of God shineth in euery one, and especially in those whom the world despiseth? Moreouer, when we know by his word that Man is substituted of God in his place, that we should acknowledge towards him the inestimable benefits which we haue and daily receiue from the helpe and goodnesse of our common Father, who promiseth to accept as done to himselfe, what good thing soeuer we procure to his creatures, so that it be done with a gladsome and cheerfull countenance, and with a sweete and curteous kind of beneficence, void of arrogancie, contumelie, or reproch, shal any thing stay vs from exercising towards euery one all duties of humanitie? We read in *Macrobius* that long sithence there was a Temple in Athens dedicated to Mercie, into which none was suffered to enter except he were beneficiall and helpfull, and then also with licence from the Senate. In so much that through a desire which the people had to haue accesse into it, they studied earnestly to exercise workes of pitie and pietie. Yea, the greatest reproch which an Athenian could vtter to his neighbor, was to hit him in the teeth, that he was neuer in the

Reasons to mooue vs to loue our neighbours.

A Temple dedicated to Mercie.

the Academie of the Philoſophers, nor in the Temple of Mercie, girding him by this only reproch with two ſhamefull things, the one of ignorance and want of prudence, the other of crueltie & inhumanitie. Now if among thoſe of olde time the onely naturall ſeede of the loue of their like, which alſo is ſeen in beaſts, was ſo ſtrong and powerfull, that it brought forth in them (notwithſtanding they were deſtitute of the heauenly light) fruites woorthy of perpetuall memorie, as they that had nothing in greater eſtimation than to ſhew themſelues meeke, gentle, curteous, helpfull and gratious towards others, euen towards their enemies. What ought they to do, that ſay they are all members of that one head, who recommendeth ſo expreſly vnto them, meeknes, mildnes, gentlenes, grace, clemencie, mercy, good-will, compaſſion, and euery good affection towards their neighbor? All which things are cõprehended vnder this only ſacred word of Charitie, which is the indiſſoluble band of God with vs, whereby we are inflamed with the loue of him for that which we owe vnto him, and thereby alſo are induced to loue our neighbours for the loue of God. But let vs conſider how the ancients hauing but the ſhadow of this perfect Charitie, prayſed & eſteemed this vertue of Meeknes, from which they knew how to draw ſo many good commodities for the profite and ſuccour of euery one, that after we may note here certain woorthy examples to ſtirre vs vp ſo much the more vnto our dutie. Meeknes (ſaith *Plato*) is a vertue that belongeth to the courageous part of the ſoule, whereby we are hardly mooued to anger. Hir office and dutie is to be able to ſupport and endure patiently thoſe crimes that are layd vpon hir, not to ſuffer hir ſelfe to be haſtily caried to reuenge, nor to be too eaſily ſtirred to wrath, but to make him that poſſeſſeth hir, mild, gratious, and of a ſtayed and ſetled mind. Meeknes and gentlenes (as he ſayth elſe-where) is that vertue whereby a man eaſily appeaſeth the motions and inſtigations of the ſoule cauſed by choler, and it ſtandeth him in ſtead of a moderate temperãce of the ſpirit, decking him with mildnes & curteſie, which

What Charitie is.

The definition and effects of Meekenes.

draweth vnto him the loue of ſtrangers, and good ſeruice of his owne. Whereby it appeereth, that whoſoeuer is mild and courteous to others, receiueth much more profit and honor than thoſe whome he honoreth. They are not to be credited (ſaith *Cicero*) who ſay that a man muſt vſe crueltie towards his enemies, eſteeming that to be an act proper to a noble and courageous man. For nothing is more commendable or woorthie a great and excellent man, than meekenes and clemencie. It ſeemeth alſo that liberalitie, beneficence, iuſtice, fidelitie, and many other good deedes, wherof many men taſte, and which procure to a man greater good will of euery one, are proper to mildnes and meekenes, called by an ancient man the characters of an holie ſoule, which neuer ſuffer innocencie to be oppreſſed, & as *Chilo* ſaid, which lead noble harts ſlowly to the feaſts of their friends, but ſpeedily to the ſuccouring of them in their calamities. This vertue of meekenes is truly moſt neceſſarie for a valiant man. For without it he ſhould be in danger to commit ſome actions which might be iudged cruell. And ſeeing that a noble minded man commeth neere to the diuine nature, he muſt alſo reſemble it as much as may be in gentlenes and clemencie, which adorneth and honoreth thoſe eſpecially that are lift vp in dignitie, and haue power to correct others. True it is alſo, that they are deceiued that commend, and as it were adore the bounty of great men and Magiſtrats, who of a certain ſimplicity without prudence, ſhew themſelues gratious, gentle, and courteous towards all men. Which is no leſſe pernitious to an Eſtate, than is the ſeueritie and crueltie of others. For of this ouer-great lenitie, among many other inconueniences, an impunitie of the wicked is bred, and the ſufferance of one fault quickly draweth on another. Therefore the mildnes of thoſe that haue power and authoritie, ought to be accompanied with ſeueritie, their clemencie mingled with rigour, and their facilitie with auſteritie. This is that which *Plato* learnedly teacheth vs, ſaying: *that the noble and ſtrong man muſt be courageous and gratious, that he may both chaſtice the wicked, and al-*

A mediocritie muſt be kept betweene mildnes and crueltie.

ſo

so pardon when time requireth. And as for those offences which may be healed, he must thinke that no man is willingly vniust. Therefore *Cicero* saith, that it is the property of a noble minded man simply to punish those that are most in fault, & the authors of euill, but to saue the multitude. And thus the rigour of discipline directing meekenes, and meekenes decking rigour, the one will set foorth and commend the other: so that neither rigour shall be rigorous, nor gentlenes dissolute. By the learned sentences of these Philosophers, it is very euident, that the vertue of meekenes is not onely a part of Fortitude, which can not be perfect without it, but hath also some particular coniunction with all the other vertues, yea is as it were the seede of them, and induceth men to practise all dutie towards their neighbours. But bicause the order of our discourses wil offer vs matter and occasion to intreat particularly heereafter aswell of iustice, and of reuenge of wrongs and ininries which a man receiueth of his enemy, as also of other vertues heere briefly mentioned, we will now come to certaine notable examples of meekenes, gentlenes, mildnes, and goodnes of nature. The first that commeth to my remembrance is *Philip* king of Macedonia, who giueth place to none in the perfection of these gifts and graces. When it was told this good Prince, that one *Nicanor* did openly speake ill of his maiestie, his counsellors being of opinion that he was to be punished with death: *I suppose* (quoth he to them) *that he is a good man. It were better to search whether the fault commeth not from vs*. And after he vnderstood that the said *Nicanor* was a needy fellow, and complained that the king neuer succoured him in his necessity, he sent him a rich present. Whereupon afterward it was told *Philip*, that this *Nicanor* went vp and downe speaking much good of him. *I see well* (said he then to his Councellors) *that I am a better Phisition for backbiting than you are, and that it is in my power to cause either good or euill to be spoken of me*. The good disposition of *Antigonus* king of Macedonia, commeth in here not vnfitly vpon the like occasion. For hearing certaine souldiers speake ill of him

Philip a Prince of a good and mild nature.

Antigonus.

hard by his tent, who thought not that the king could ouerheare them, he ſhewed himſelfe, vttering theſe onelie words without farther hurting of them: *Good Lord, could you not go further off to ſpeake ill of me?* And to ſay truth, ſuch gifts and graces become a noble Prince very well: yea, he cannot more woorthily and more beſeeming himſelfe giue place to any wrongs, than to thoſe that are done to his owne perſon. As contrariwiſe thoſe men are vnwoorthie their ſcepters, who cruelly reuenge their owne iniuries, & pardon ſuch as are done to others, yea ſuch faults as are directly againſt the honor of God. A Prince wel inſtructed in vertue (ſaith *Xenophon* in his Cyropædia) ought ſo to behaue himſelfe towards his enemie, as to thinke & conſider that at ſome time or other he may be his friend. Was there euer Monarch more feared of his enemies than *Alexander* the Great, inuincible in all things he tooke in hand, inſomuch that he would not onely force al humane powers, but alſo times & places themſelues, and yet who hath left greater proofes of meekenes and curteſie than he? As he was on his voyage vndertaken for the conqueſt of the Indians, *Taxiles* a king of thoſe countries came & deſired him that they might not warre one againſt another. *If thou* (ſaid this king vnto him) *art leſſe than I, receiue benefits, if greater, I will take them of thee.* *Alexander* greatly admiring and commending the grauitie and courteous ſpeech of this Indian, anſwered thus: *At the leaſt we muſt fight and contend for this: namely, whether of vs twaine ſhall be moſt beneficiall to his Companion:* ſo loath was this noble Monarch to giue place to another in goodnes, mildnes, and courteſie. Heereof he gaue a great argument, after he had vanquiſhed *Porus* a very valiant Prince, of whome demanding how he would be intertained of him, this king anſwered, Royally. Neither would he giue him any other anſwer, albeit *Alexander* vrged him thereunto. For he ſaid that all was contained vnder that word. As in deede the Monarch ſhewed that he was nothing ignorant thereof. For he did not onely reſtore his kingdome vnto him, but inlarged it alſo, wherein he ſurmounted his victorie, and procu-

Oh that Princes would conſider this.

Alexander.

A commendable combat.

procured to himſelfe as much renowne by his clemency, as by his valure. Had he euer any greater enemie than *Darius* vanquiſhed and ſubdued by him? And yet when he ſaw himſelfe letted from vſing towards him any bountie worthy his greatnes, bicauſe *Beſſus* one of his captains had ſlaine him, he was ſo diſpleaſed therwith, that he cauſed the murderer to be puniſhed (albeit he was one of his familiar friēds) with a moſt cruel death, cauſing him to be torne aſunder with two great trees bowed down by main ſtrength one againſt another, vnto each of which a part of *Beſſus* his body was faſtened. Then the trees beyng ſuffered to returne backe again to their firſt nature, with their vehement force rent aſunder the body of this poore and miſerable wretch. *Iulius Ceſar* was of ſuch a curteous diſpoſition, that hauing conquered *Pompey* and all his enemies, he wrote to his friends in Rome, that the greateſt and moſt pleaſant fruit which he gathered of his victory, conſiſted in ſauing daily the liues of ſome of his countrymen who had borne armes againſt him: as in truth he did ſo. And for a great proofe of his meekenes and gentlenes, that ſpeech may ſerue, which he vttred when he vnderſtood that *Cato* retiring into the towne of Vtica after the loſſe of the battell had killed himſelfe. O *Cato* (ſayd this monarch beyng then very penſiue) I enuy thee this thy death, ſeeing thou haſt enuied me the glory of ſauing thy life. I neuer yet denied clemencie (ſayd that good emperor *Marcus Aurelius*) to him that demaunded it of me, much leſſe haue I euil intreated or offred diſhonor to any that truſted in me. Neither can any victory be called a true and perfect victorie, but that which carieth with it ſome clemencie. To ouercome is a humane thing, but to pardon, is diuine. Hereof it is (ſaid the ſame vertuous prince) that we eſteeme the greatneſſe of the immortall gods not ſo much for the puniſhment, as for the mercie which they vſe. The clemencie and bountie of *Dion* the Syracuſian is woorthy of perpetuall memory. For hauing brought to ruine the tyrannie of *Dionyſius* the yonger, & recouered the libertie of his countrey, one of his greateſt

Beſſus cruelly put to death for killing Darius.

Iulius Ceſar.

M. Aurelius.

Dion.

enemies named *Heraclides*, being a very pernitious felow, fell into his hands: whereupon all his friends gaue him counsail to put him to death. Vnto which *Dion* wisely answered, that other captains and heads of armies vsed commonly to imploy most of their studie in the exercise of armes and of warre, but as for himselfe he had long since studied and learned in the schooles of the Vniuersitie to ouercome anger, enuy and euery euill affection and will: the proofe whereof consisted not onely in behauing himselfe well towards his friends, and towards good men, but also in pardoning, and in the exercise of gentlenes and humanitie towards his enemies, so that he had rather excell *Heraclides* in bountie and curtesie, than in power & worldly glory. And although (quoth he) mens lawes auouch it to be more iust to reuenge an iniurie receiued, than to offer it to another, yet nature teacheth vs, that both the one and the other proceed of the same imbecillitie: and how soeuer that man is hardly altered, who hath gotten an habite of wickednesse, yet are there few men of so brutish & vntamed a nature, or so sauage in reclaiming, that their peruersnes cannot in the end be wel ouercome by beneficence, when they see that men returne good turnes againe and againe into their bosome. By these learned discourses it appeareth that *Dion* forgaue *Heraclides*, and bestowed vpon him great benefits. *Lycurgus* the reformer of the Lacedemonian estate, by whose meanes that commonwealth so long tyme florished, doth yet passe all those before alleadged through the goodnes and mildnes of his gentle nature. This graue and gratious personage hauing receiued such a blow with a staffe, that one of his eies was put out in a sedition stirred vp against him in the citie, bicause of the rigor of those lawes which he had established there, after the sedition was appeased, had the offender deliuered into his handes to punish him as he thought good. But he not hurting or displeasing him at all, kept him in his house, and instructed him in all vertue & good discipline, and within the yeeres ende, he brought him foorth into the publike assembly, being no lesse vertuous and

All priuate reuenge commeth of frailtie.

Lycurgus.

and well nurtured than before he was vicious: vsing these words vnto the people: *Behold I restore him vnto you, beyng mild, gratious and fit to do you seruice, whom ye gaue to me proud, outragious and dissolute.* O acte beseeming the soule of a christian rather than of an Ethnike! which ought to make thē greatly ashamed, who for the least wrong receiued of another, would not stick to slay not one mā only, but a thousand, yea ten thousand rather than their worldly honour should be hurt or touched: which pretence of honour they vse verie often to colour their brutishnesse withall. Now leauing here the ancients, of whom we haue a millions of testimonies in the reading of histories, I thinke we shall do well to propound here vnto our princes beyng too much inclined to reuenge iniuries, the clemencie of king *Lewes* the 12. who succeeding *Charles* the 8. in the kingdom, would neuer reuenge himselfe of any outrage or iniurie done vnto him, euen than whē he was but duke of Orleance. In so much that beyng incited by some to punish one that was his great enemie during the life of his predecessor, he answered: *That it would not beseeme a king of France to go about to reuenge iniuries offered to a duke of Orleance.* Neither ought we to let passe in silence the goodnes and clemencie of that great king *Frances*, who goyng in person to chastice the rebellion of the Rochelers, forgaue them, and put not one to death, saying: *That albeit he had no lesse occasion to reuenge this iniurie than the Emperor Charles, who punished very cruelly those of Gaunt, yet he had rather encrease his prayses by preseruing than by destroying his subiects.* After his example king Henry the 2. hauing giuen in commission to the duke of Montmorencie Constable, to chastice the rebellion of the countrey of Guyen, and especially the inhabitants of Burdeaux, afterward gaue out a generall absolution, and forgaue the racing of the Townhouse, the paiment of two hundred thousand pounds, & the defraying of the charges of the armie wherein they were condemned. And truly as it belongeth to the sun to lighten the earth with his beames: so it appertaineth to the vertue of a prince to haue compassion vpon the miserable.

Lewes the 12.

Henry the 2.

rable. Yea ſo many as ſtand in need of mercy, and beyng woorthy therof craue for it, ought to find harbour in the hauen of his excellencie. Now to come to the end of our preſent diſcourſe, if by ſo many examples which we haue touched, and innumerable others, of which hiſtories are plentifull, we may note amongſt the famous, noble and courageous men of old tyme, ſuch effects of meekeneſſe, gentlenes, bountie, mildnes, clemencie and humanitie towards their enemies, no doubt but they endeuored to do much more for their friends, brethren and countreymen, for whoſe ſafetie they feared not many times to die, as heretofore we haue ſeene examples thereof, and may ſee more hereafter. And how much leſſe would they haue failed to ſuccor them in all other duties and charitable offices? So that if we be men and not monſters in nature, let vs learne what are the fruits not onely of true Chriſtians, but alſo of true humanitie, and of nature not being wholy depraued and corrupted: to the end that framing our maners, mild, gentle, and gratious, to the ſuccor, benefite, and profite of euery one, and following the ſteps and traces of the vertue of Fortitude and Magnanimitie, which is neuer churliſh, idle or proud, we may liue a happy life directed to hir proper end, expecting our renewing in that life which is immortall and euerlaſting.

Of Good and Ill hap. Chap. 31.

ARAM. THere hath beene alwayes men of great humaine learning, but voyd of the ſincere knowledge of the truth, that haue maintained one of theſe two opinions: ſome, *That all things were gouerned by nature: others, that they were ruled by fortune.* They that acknowledge nature for the firſt cauſe of all things did attribute vnto hir a conſtellation, which through the ſtrength and efficacie of the ſtarres gouerned the counſaile and reaſon of men. The other ſort acknowledging fortune, maintained that all things were done at aduenture

The Stoicks.

The Epicures.

ture and by chance. Now albeit there are too many at this day that follow this error, yet is it so absurd a thing, that in the writings of Ethnicks and Pagans, a thousand inuincible reasons are found of sufficient force to conuince such opinions of meere lying and ouer-great sottishnes, and to constraine those that are most impudent and shameles to acknowledge an infinite almightie power to be the creator of nature, and of all things moouing therein, and to dispose and order them with an eternall and euerlasting prouidence. True it is that I would not absolutely deny the maruellous effects which many haue noted in heauenlie bodies throughout nature: neuertheles I hold this for certaine, that as all their vertue dependeth of one onely God, so he withdraweth from them his power when and as soone as it pleaseth him. Of this I inferre, that they greatly deceiue themselues, who thinke that the seeking out of the starres, and of their secret vertues diminisheth any thing from the greatnes and power of God: seeing that contrariwise his maiestie is much more famous and woonderful in doing such great things by his creatures, as if he did them himselfe without any meane. Nowe that which I haue touched heere my companions, is not to offer any occasion to discourse of the Mathematicks, or of any part thereof, which would be to depart out of those bounds which we appointed to our Academy. But seeing nothing is so common amongst vs as to vse, or rather to abuse these wordes of *Good and Ill hap*, by attributing vnto them some power and vertue ouer our doings: insomuch that we commonly say there is nothing but good or ill lucke in this world, I thinke it wil not be without fruite to consider narowly what we ought to thinke of these words, and wherein we are to seeke and desire good hap, and wherein to feare and flie ill lucke. Now therefore let vs be instructed of you touching this matter.

ACHITOB. Good hap consisteth in that contentation which proceedeth from the perfection of the subiect therof, being adorned with a perfect habit and intire possession

Wherein good and ill hap consist.

session of all kind of Goods, in the prination whereof all ill hap consisteth. This cannot be verified of the passions and affections of men, nor of their worldly affaires, which are alwaies intermingled with diuers & sundry accidents, turning one while on this manner, by and by after an other, and carying the soule continually vp and downe with these two perturbations, *Desire* and *Griefe*. *Therefore if there be a happie man in this world* (said *Socrates*) *it is he that hath a pure and cleane soule, and a conscience defiled with nothing. For the mysteries of God may be seene and beheld of him onely.*

Who is happie in Socrates iudgement.

ASER. A temperate and constant man that knoweth how to moderate feare, anger, excessiue ioy, and vnbrideled desire, is very happie, but he that placeth other vading Goods in his felicitie, shall neuer haue a quiet mind. Let vs then heare of AMANA, wherein we ought to iudge that happines or vnhappines consisteth.

Who is happie.

AMANA. The continuall alteration & sudden chang of one estate into another cleane contrary, which might alwaies be noted in the nature, disposition, and euents of mens actions, counsels & desires, gaue occasion to some of the ancient Philosophers to thinke the sicke more happie than the sound: bicause (said they) sicke folks looke for health, whereas the healthie expect sicknes. For this very consideration it seemeth that *Amasis*, almost the last of those kings that raigned peaceably in Egypt, shoke off the alliance and league with *Policrates* king of Samos, who was so happie in worldlie respects, that do what he could, yet could he not know what sorow meant, but all things fel out vnto him better than he desired. For proofe wherof may serue that which happened vnto him, after he had cast into the sea a ring of great value, which he loued exceedingly. Now, although he did so of purpose, to the end he might taste of some sorow and griefe, yet he found it quickly againe in the bellie of a fish taken by Fishermen, and bought for his kitchen. Whereupon this wise Egyptian iudged it a thing altogether impossible, but that some great miserie was to follow hard at the heeles of so great happines: and therefore he would not be partaker ther-

The cause why Amasis forsooke his alliance with Policrates.

of,

of, as of neceſſitie he ſhould haue beene, if he had continued ſtill that league which before was betwixt them. Neither was *Amaſis* any thing deceiued in his opinion. For within a while after *Policrates* was depriued of his kingdome, and ſhamefully hanged, ſeruing for a common and notable example of the inſtabilitie and variablenes of mans eſtate, as alſo to ſhew that it is a very abſurd thing to place happines in ſo vncertain felicity. And yet among infinit imperfections borne with man, this is common in him to looſe quickly the remembrance of a benefit receiued, but to retaine a long time the memorie of a calamitie fallen vpon him. Which is the cauſe that he alwaies ſuppoſeth his miſhaps to be without compariſon greater than all the good hap that he can haue: ſo that he complaineth continually of his miſeries and calamities, not remembring the innumerable benefits which are daily offred & preſented vnto him from the grace and bountifulnes of God. Notwithſtanding, if all men (as *Socrates* ſaid) aſwell rich as poore, brought their miſhaps, and laid them in common together, and if they were in ſuch ſort diuided, that euery one might haue an equall portion, then ſhould it be ſeene, that many, who thinke themſelues ouercharged & oppreſſed, would with all their hartes take againe vnto them their fortune, and be contented withall. *Wouldeſt thou* (ſaid *Democritus*) *auoid the griefe of thy miſerie?* Behold the life of the afflicted, and by the compariſon thereof with thine thou ſhalt ſee that thou haſt cauſe to thinke thy ſelfe very happie. *He that will meaſure his burthen* (ſaith *Martial*) *may well beare it.* Now, with this common complaint in men of their eſtate and condition, this cuſtome alſo is ioined, to lay the cauſe of that which they ſuffer vpon cruell and intollerable deſtinie, accuſing that, to excuſe their owne fault. Wherefore we cannot more aptly compare them than to blind folks, who are angrie, and oftentimes call them blind that vnawares do meete and inſtle them. But if we deſire to cure our ſoules of ſo many miſerable paſſions, which depriue vs of true reſt & tranquillitie neceſſarie for a happie life, let vs be carefull

An ordinarie imperfection in man.

A meane to auoid the griefe of our miſerie.

An other imperfection.

to

to learne how to discerne true happines from mishap, that we may reioyce in that which is good, and as readily giue thanks to the author thereof, as naturally, through a false opinion which we haue of euill, we sustaine humaine miseries and crosses vnpatiently. First then let vs heare the sundry and notable opinions of many ancient men touching good and ill hap. *If thou knowest all that ought to be knowen in all things* (said *Pythagoras*) *thou art happy. Let them be accounted very happy* (said *Homer*) *to whom fortune hath equally wayed the good with the euill. The greatest miserie of all* (said *Bias*) *is not to be able to beare miserie. That man is happie* (said *Dionysius* the elder) *that hath learned from his youth to be vnhappy. For he will beare the yoke better wherewnto he hath been subiect and accustomed of long tyme. Demetrius*, surnamed the Besieger, said, *That he iudged none more vnhappy than he that neuer tasted of aduersitie: as if he would haue sayd, that it was a sure argument, that fortune iudged him to be so base & abiect, that he deserued not that she should busie her selfe about him. That man* (saith *Cicero*) *is very happy, who thinketh that no humane matters, how grieuous soeuer they may be, are intollerable, or ought to discourage him: iudging also nothing so excellent, wherby he should be mooued to reioyce in such sort, that his hart be puffed and lift vp thereby. Yea, he is very happy, who fitly and conueniently behaueth himself in all things necessary for him. Nothing is euil* (saith *Plutarke*) *that is necessarie. By which word Necessarie, both he and Cicero vnderstand whatsoeuer commeth to a wise man by fatall destinie: bicause he beareth it patiently, as that which cannot be auoyded, thereby increasing his vertue so much the more: and so no euill can come to a good man. Solon drawing neerer to the truth of sincere happinesse, sayd, that it consisted in a good life and death: and that to iudge them happy that are aliue, considering the danger of so many alterations wherein they are, were all one, as if a man should before hand appoint the reward of the victorie for one that is yet fighting, not beyng sure that he should ouercome. Socrates* speaking rather with a diuine than a humane spirite, sayd, *that when we shall be deliuered from this body wherein our soule is inclosed as an Oyster in his shell, we may than be happy, but not sooner: and that felicitie cannot be obtained in this life, but that we*

Notable opinions of good and ill hap.

Solon sayd that happines consisted in a good life and death.

The doctrine of Socrates and of the papists is all one touching the hope of eternall life.

must

must hope to enioy it perfectly in the other life, as well for our vertues, as by the grace and mercy of God. Not the rich (said *Plato*) *but the wise and prudent auoyd miserie. They that thinke* (sayth *Aristotle*) *that externall goods are the cause of happines, deceiue themselues no lesse than if they supposed, that cunning playing on the harpe came from the instrument, and not from Arte: but we must seeke for it in the good and quiet estate of the soule. For as we say not that a body is perfect bicause it is richly arayed, but rather bicause it is well framed and healthfull: so a soule well instructed, is the cause that both hir selfe and the bodie wherein she is inclosed are happy: which cannot be verified of a man bicause he is rich in gold and siluer.* When I consider all the aboue named wise opinions of these Ethnikes and Pagans, I cannot sufficiently maruell at the ignorance and blockishnes of many in our age touching Good and Ill hap, bicause they labor to make these words priuate, and to tie them to the successe of their affections in worldly matters: which if they fall out according to their desire and liking, behold presently they are rauished with extreme ioy, boasting of themselues, that they are most happy. But contrarywise, if they misse of their intents, by and by they dispaire, and thinke themselues the vnhappiest men in the world. Do we not also see that most men iudge them happy that possesse riches, pleasure, delight, glory and honour, and those men miserable that want, especially if after they had abounddance, they loose it by some mishap, the cause wherof they commonly attribute either to good or ill lucke, which they say ruleth all humaine affaires? We read that *Apollonius Thianeus* hauing trauelled ouer al Asia, Afrike and Europe, sayd that of two things whereat he maruelled most in all the world: the first was, that he alwayes sawe the proud man commaund the humble, the quarellous the quiet, the tyrant the iust, the cruel the pitifull, the coward the hardie, the ignorant the skilfull, and the greatest thieues hang the innocent. But in the meane while who may doubt whether of these were the happiest? that the good were not rather than the wicked? if happines according to the ancients, & to the truth, be perfected in good things,

The common opinion of men concerning happines and vnhappines.

Whereat Apollonius maruelled most.

Notable reasons to shew that no worldly thing can be called good, and that happines cannot be perfected by any such thing.

things, then it is certain, that whosoeuer enioieth al good things shall be perfectly happy. Now nothing can be called good but that which is profitable, and contrary to euill: so that whatsoeuer may as soone be euill as good, ought not to be called good. Moreouer it must be the possession of some firme, stedfast and permanent Good that maketh a man happy. For nothing ought to wax old, to perish or decay of those things wherin a happy life consisteth, seeing he that feareth to loose them cannot be sayd to liue quietly. Therefore neither beautie, nor strength, and disposition of body, neither riches, glory, honour or pleasure can be truely called Goods, seeing oftentymes they are the cause of so many euils, waxe old, and vanish away many times as soone as a man hath receiued them, and lastly, worke in vs an vnsatiable desire of them. How many men are there to whom all these things haue been the occasion of euill? And how can we call that good, which being possessed, and that in abundance, cannot yet keep the owner thereof from being vnhappy and miserable? Wherfore we may say, that happines cannot be perfected by the possession of humane and mortall things, neither vnhappines through the want of them: but that the true felicitie which we ought to desire in this world, consisteth in the goods of the soule, nourished in the hope of that vnspeakable & euerlasting happines, which is promised and assured vnto it in the second life. And so we say, that none are vnhappy but they, who by reason of their peruersnesse, feele in their conscience a doubting of the expectation of eternall promises: as also they that giue ouer themselues to vice, whose nature is to corrupt, destroy, and infect with the venom that is alwayes about it, all things whereof it taketh hold. As for the common miseries of mans life they cannot in any sort make him vnhappy, whose naturall disposition & maners beyng framed and decked with vertue, are able to giue & to impart to euery condition of his life, whether it be poore or rich, prosperous or aduerse, honourable or contemptible, happinesse, ioy, pleasure and contentation, which

Wherein true happines consisteth.

Who are vnhappy.

flowe

flowe in his ſoule aboundantly from that fountaine and liuelie ſpring which Philoſophie hath diſcouered vnto him in the fertile field of Graces and Sciences, whereby he enioyeth true tranquillitie and reſt of ſpirit, as much as a man may haue in this mortall life, moderating the perturbations of his ſoule, and commaunding ouer the vnpure affections of the fleſh. And than as the ſhoe turneth with the faſhion of the foote, and not contrarywiſe, ſo the inward diſpoſition of a wiſe and moderate man cauſeth him to lead a life like vnto the ſame, that is, mild, peaceable and quiet, being neuer caried away with vnreaſonable paſſions, bicauſe ſhe neuer enioyeth or reioyceth immoderately in that which ſhe hath, but vſeth well that which is put into her hand, without feare or repining if it be taken away: following therein the ſaying of *Democritus, that whoſoeuer mindeth to liue alwayes happilie, muſt propound to himſelfe and deſire things poſſible, and be content with things preſent*. Therefore ſeeing the fountaine of all felicitie and contentation in this life is within vs, let vs cure and cleanſe diligently all perturbations which ſeeke to hinder the tranquillitie of our ſpirites, to the ende that externall things which come from without vs againſt our will and expectation, may ſeeme vnto vs friendly and familiar after we know how to vſe them wel. *Plato* compared our life to table-play, wherein both the dice muſt chance wel, & the plaier muſt vſe that wel which the dice ſhal caſt. Now of theſe two points the euent & lot of the Dice is not in our power: but to receiue mildly and moderatly that which falleth vnto vs, & to diſpoſe euerie thing in that place where it may either profite moſt if it be good, or do leaſt hurt if it be bad, that is in our power, & belongeth to our dutie if we be wiſe men. Fortune (ſaith *Plutarke*) may well caſt me into ſickeneſſe, take away my goods, bring me in diſgrace with the people, but ſhe can not make him wicked, a coward, ſlouthfull, baſe-minded or enuious, that is honeſt, valiaunt, and noble-minded, nor take from him his ſetled and temperate diſpoſition of Prudence, which maketh him to iudge, that

The happineſſe of man commeth from within him.

Our life compared to table-play.

that no tedious, grieuous or troublesome thing can befall him. For being grounded, not vpon vanishing goods, but vpon Philosophicall sentences, & firme discourses of reason, he may say, I haue preuented thee fortune, I haue closed vp all thy chances, and stopped the wayes of entrance in vpon me: and so led a ioyfull life as long as vertue, and that part which is proper to man are strongest. And if peraduenture some great inconuenience happen vnto him against all hope, which humaine power is not able to ouercome, than with ioy of spirite he considereth that the hauen of safetie is at hand, wherein he may saue himselfe by swimming out of the body as out of a Skiffe that leaketh, departing boldly and without feare from the miseries of the world, that he may enioy absolute and perfect happines. *Alexander* the great hauing vnder his dominion more than halfe the world, when he heard the Philosopher *Anaxarchus* dispute and maintaine that there were innumerable worlds; he began to weepe, saying, *Haue I not good cause to be sorowful and to mourne, if there be an infinite number of worlds, seeing as yet I haue not been able to make my selfe Lord of one?* But *Crates* the Philosopher being brought vp in the schoole of wisdome, and hauing in stead of all wealth but an old cloke and a scrip, neuer wept in all his life, but was always seen mery, and passing ouer his dayes cheerfully. By which two kinds of life contrary one to an other, it appeereth sufficiently that it is within our selues, and not in outward things, wherein we must seeke for the foundation of a certaine ioy which is watered and flourisheth in strength by the remembrance of good and vertuous actions proceeding from the soule guided by right knowledge and reason. *Homer* bringeth in *Agamemnon* complaining greatly bicause he was to command so great a part of the world, as if he had an intollerable burthen vpon his shoulders. Whereas *Diogenes* when he was to be sold for a slaue, lying all along, mocked the Sergeant that cried him to sale, and would not rise vp when he commanded him, but scoffingly said vnto him, If thou wart to sell a fish, wouldest thou make it arise? Cry this rather, *that*

Alexander and Crates opposed one against an other.

Agamemnon.

if

if any man want a maister, he should buy me: for I can serue his turne well. Wherby we may fitly note this, that all the happines, rest, and contentation of man dependeth of vertue onely, and not of worldlie greatnes and glorie. For this reason the selfe same *Diogenes* beholding a stranger come from Lacedemonia, more curiously decked on a festiuall day than he was woont, said vnto him: *What? Doth not an honest man thinke that euery day is festiuall vnto him?* And truly there is nothing that ought to mooue vs so much to shew all outward signes of ioy, or that breedeth such serenitie and calmenes against the tempestuous waues of humane miseries and calamities, than to haue the soule pure and cleane from all wicked deedes, wils, and counsels, & the manners vndefiled, not troubled or infected with any vice. For then acknowledging the estate of mortall and corruptible things, we iudge them vnworthie the care of our soules, that we may wholy lift them vp to the contemplation of heauenlie and eternall things, wherein our happines and perfect felicitie consisteth. Heereby we learne, that in the second life onely we are to seeke for and to expect the fruition of true happines, which can neuer increase or be diminished. For as no man can make a line straighter than that which is straight, and as nothing is more iust than that which is iust: so he that is happie can not be more happie. Otherwise vntill a man had gotten all that might be had, his desires would neuer be setled, & so no man should be called happie. But felicitie is perfect of it selfe. *Cicero* knew it well enough, when he said: *that no man standing in feare of great things, could be happie:* and in that respect no man liuing can be so, but to speake in deed of a happie life, that is it which is perfect and absolute. To the end therefore that we may reape some profit by our present discourse, let vs neuer thinke that any man may be called happie or vnhappie, bicause he is aduanced or disgraced, with honors, goods, and worldlie commodities, or bicause he is partaker either of prosperitie or aduersitie throughout his whole life. But he onely ought to be esteemed happie in this world, that knoweth in rest & quiet-

Where we must seeke for true happines.

Who is happie in this world.

quietnes of soule how to vse both estates, and neuer suffereth himselfe to be caried away or troubled with vncleane desires, but with all his hart seeketh for the possession of a firme, stedfast, and abiding Good, being assured, as we said, that not one of those things wherein a happie life consisteth shall waxe old, perish, or fall to decay. To conclude, he is happie that sheweth in all the workes and actions of his life a patterne of honestie and vertue, being moderate in prosperitie, & constant in aduersitie. A man thus affected and disposed, will behaue himselfe without reproofe in the time present, will call to mind with ioy & pleasure the time past, and wil boldly and without distrust draw neere to the time to come, euen with a cheerefull & ioifull hope of better things, and with a stedfast expectation of that vnspeakeable and endles happines, which is prepared for the elect.

Of Prosperitie and Aduersitie. Chap. 32.

AMANA. BEing in our former discourse entred into the diuers and contrarie effects which the nature and condition of worldlie affaires draw with them, whereof euery one in his particular place may dailie haue good & sufficient testimonies: & seeing through the malice and corruption of our age, all things are at that point, as if they ment to lay more hard and difficult crosses vpon vs to sustaine, I thinke we shall not depart from our matter, if we seeke for some instruction whereby to gouerne our selues prudently in prosperitie and in aduersitie, considering the effects both of the one and the other, to the end we may auoid those that are most pernitious, and retaine still with vs that constancie and woorthines that is required in the vertue of Fortitude, which teacheth a man how he ought to behaue himselfe nobly in euery estate and condition of life. For as gold transfigured by the workeman, now into one fashion, and then into another, is transformed into sundrie kinds of ornaments,

A pretie comparison.

ments, and yet remaineth alwaies that which it is, without any alteration of ſubſtance: ſo it behoueth a wiſe & noble minded man to cõtinue alwaies the ſame in things that are contrarie and diuers, without any alteration and change of his conſtancie and vertue. But I leaue the diſcourſe of this matter to you my Companions.

ARAM. *As a man (ſaith Scipio) deliuereth ouer his horſes (which becauſe they haue beene in many skirmiſhes, are become reſtie furious, and vntractable) to the yeomen of his horſes, to bring them into good order againe: ſo men that are growne to be vnruly through proſperity, muſt be brought as it were to a round circle, that they may conſider of the inconſtancie of worldlie things, and of the variablenes of wretched fortune.* A ſimilitude.

ACHITOB. *In proſperitie (ſaith Euripides) be not lift vp too much, and in aduerſitie hope the beſt alwaies. And as in a fire (ſaid Socrates) it is good to behold a cleare brightnes: ſo is a moderate ſoule in felicitie.* But let vs heare ASER, who wil handle that which is heere propounded more at large. A ſimilitude.

ASER. As men prouide bulwarks and banks againſt a riuer that vſeth to ouerflow: ſo he that deſireth to liue happily, muſt fortifie himſelfe with powerfull and conuenient vertues, to reſiſt the hurtfull aſſaults which the vnlooked for ſucceſſe of humane affaires make vpon him continually, both in proſperitie and in aduerſitie. For queſtionles nothing is hardlier kept within compas, than he that hath all things according to his harts deſire: neither is any thing ſo much caſt downe, or ſooner diſcouraged than the ſame man, when he is afflicted and miſſeth of his purpoſe. All mindes are not reſolute and conſtant enough from ſlipping beſide themſelues, and beyond the limits of reaſon, neither in great proſperity, which puffeth and lifteth vp mens harts, eſpecially theirs that are baſe by nature, nor yet in vnloked for aduerſity, which through the heauie burthen thereof oftentimes aſtoniſheth and amazeth them that are thought to be beſt ſetled and aſſured. But if we conſider apart the pernitious effects which iſſue from theſe two contraries, when reaſon doth not guide and gouerne them, we ſhall find nothing but pride Common effects of the fraile nature of man.

in the one, and faintnes of hart, basenes of mind, and oftentimes despaire in the other. Notwithstanding we may well note this, that prosperitie hath alwaies beene the cause of farre greater euils to men than aduersitie, & that it is easier for a man to beare this patiently, than not to forget himselfe in the other. Whereof I thinke we may not vnfitly alledge for a reason that which *Menander* saith: *that man of all other liuing creatures is apteſt to fall ſuddenly downe from high to low, bicauſe he dareth vndertake the greateſt matters, although he be weakeſt.* Whereupon being as it were naturally subiect to falling, it is not so strange vnto him being better furnished for that, (seeing he is or ought to be prepared thereto long before) then when against his naturall disposition he ascendeth to some greatnes not hoped for. Now, whether it be for this reason, or bicause vice is his proper inheritance, the memorie of the time past aswell as of the present time, furnisheth vs with sufficient testimonies, seeing fewe are found that forgat not themselues in their prosperitie, whereas many haue behaued themselues wisely, and taken occasion to be better in their aduersitie. Which being vnderstood of *Plato*, when he was requested by the Cyrenians a people of Grecia, to write downe lawes for them, and to appoint them some good forme of gouernment for their Common-wealth: he answered, that it was a very hard matter to prescribe lawes to so rich, happie, and wealthie a people as they were. For commonly those cities which in short time come suddenly to great felicitie, grow to be insolent, arrogant, and vneasie to raunge in order: neither is there any thing for the most part prouder, than a poore man made rich: as contrariwise none are so readie to receiue counsell and direction, as he whom fortune hath ouerrun. He that is pressed greatly with aduersitie, is seldome puffed vp with pride, or vanquished of lust, or drowned in couetousnes, or ouertaken with gluttonie, or lift vp with desire and worldlie glorie: all which imperfections happen commonly to those vpon whome fortune too much fawneth. That felicitie (saith *Seneca*) which hath not beene hurt,

Prosperity more hurtfull than aduersitie.

Plato was requested by the Cyrenians to giue them lawes

hurt, cannot indure one blow: but when it hath had a long and continuall combat with diſcommodities, and hath hardned it ſelfe by ſuffering and bearing iniuries, then doth it not ſuffer it ſelfe to be ouercome with any euill. Now one of the greateſt benefits that a man may haue in this life, is, neither to be changed by aduerſitie, nor lift vp with proſperity, but to be as a well rooted tree, which, although it be ſhaken with ſundrie winds, yet can not be ouerthrowne by any of them. And truly it is very ridiculous that that which commeth to all worldly things by an ordinarie and naturall courſe, euen by the ſequele of cauſes linked togither and depending one of another, changing the eſtate of mortall things, ſhould haue power to alter or to make any mutation in reaſon and wiſedom, which ought to abide ſtedfaſt in the mind of man. For this cauſe *Plato* ſaid, that there was nothing but vertue could tame it, and that men furniſhed therewith behaued themſelues conſtantly and courageouſly in both kinds of fortune. Vertue (ſaith *Cicero*) abideth calme and quiet in the greateſt tempeſt, and although ſhe be driuen into exile, yet ſhe ſtirreth not out of hir place and countrey, but ſhineth ſo alwaies of hir ſelfe, that ſhe cannot be ſoiled with the ſpots of an other. This excellent Orator and Philoſopher giueth vs alſo wholeſome counſell to oppoſe againſt the dangerous effects that are to be feared in proſperitie. When we are (ſaith he) in beſt eſtate, we muſt vſe the counſell of our friends more than we do commonly, and as long as it continueth we are greatly to beware that we open not our eares to flatterers, who are the plague & deſtruction of the greater ſort, bicauſe all their labor is to propound vnto vs occaſions & meanes to enioy delights and pleaſures, and to ſhew our ſelues to be proud and arrogant, during the time of our proſperitie: to the end we ſhould put good men farre from vs, and reſerue to them onely that authority wherein they are ſetled. Whereas on the contrarie ſide our true friends would lead vs backe to conſider the inconſtancie of humane things, to the ende that we abuſe not our felicitie, but behaue our ſelues as a

Good counſell for thoſe that are in proſperitie.

wise Pilote doth, who alwayes seareth a smiling calmnesse in the maine sea. Which consideration maketh a mā constant and resolute to beare and indure all siniſter chaunces, and not so ready and easie to be deceiued, bicause he always seareth and distrusteth fortune. Let vs now come to examples of that which we haue here alleaged. As touching the pernitious effects of ouer great prosperitie, they may well be noted in *Alexander* the great, who although he was indued with notable and rare vertues, yet could not vse moderately the great good speed and happy successe of all his enterprises, but being conquered of the Persian delights, gaue himselfe ouer to commit many insolencies, and then filled with presumption and pride, would haue been worshipped. *Iulius Cæsar* being ascended into the higheſt degree of fauourable fortune that he could desire, and lending his eare ouer freely to flatterers, would be called and declared a king, (which name was most odious to the Romanes since the time that *Tarquinius* was banished, as we mentioned before) and retained alwayes to himselfe the authoritie and power of a Dictator, which before continued but a certaine time. He bestowed the publike offices and places of honor vpon whō he thought good, whereof proceeded the ill will of his subiects, and in the end his destruction. The greatnesse of *Pompey* was that which afterward ouerthrew him. For imploying his credite to fauour others vniustly, it fell out to him as to cities that suffer their enemies to enter euen into their strongest places, diminishing so much of their own forces, as they adde to others that wish them no good. Which thing *Sylla* the Dictator did very notably giue him to vnderstand, when he sawe that *Pompey* by his countenance and fauour had brought *Lepidus* a wicked man to the dignitie of Consulship. I see well (quoth *Sylla* to him) thou art very glad bicause thou hast preuailed in this suit: and sure thou hast great cause so to be. For it is a goodly matter, and the point of a noble man to be so gratious with the people, that through thy fauour *Lepidus* the wickeddest man in the world hath caried away the Consul-

Alexander.

Iulius Cæsar.

Pompey.

ship

ſhip before *Catullus* the honeſteſt man in all the citie. But I aduiſe thee to beware of ſleeping now, and to haue a vigilant eie to thy buſines, bicauſe thou haſt armed & made ſtrong an aduerſarie againſt thy ſelfe. Wherof *Pompey* had experience afterward in thoſe warres which *Lepidus* raiſed, againſt whome he was ſent by the Senate, and in the end obtained the victorie. But the fauour he bare to *Cæſar*, entring vpon the gouernment of publike affairs, came not to that paſſe. For he was afterward ouerthrowne by the ſame meanes wherewith he had ſtrengthned *Cæſar* againſt others. Out of which we may draw an excellent doctrine for all that are placed in authoritie, or that haue the eares of great men at commandement, that they neuer cauſe the wicked to be aduanced. For as the worme that is bred at the foote of a tree, groweth with it, and in the end deſtroieth it: ſo a wicked man aduanced by the fauour of one greater than himſelfe, becommeth afterward vnthankfull and treacherous vnto him. This mooued *Archidamides* the Lacedemonian to anſwer in this ſort one that commended *Charilaüs* king of Sparta, bicauſe he ſhewed himſelfe alike courteous to all. But how deſerueth that man praiſe, who ſheweth himſelfe courteous towards the wicked? Now to returne to our ſpeech touching the effects of proſperitie, not ruled by the reaſon of true prudence, what is more hatefull, or hath at any time beene more hurtfull to men than pride? Which (as *Plato* ſaith) dwelleth with ſolitarines, that is to ſay, is ſo hated, that in the end it is forſaken of all the world? And whereof is it bred ſooner than of proſperitie? Which that wiſe man & excellent Romane captaine *Paulus Æmilius* knowing ful well, after the victorie gotten by him againſt *Perſes* king of Macedonia, being deſirous to admoniſh the men of warre that were in his armie, and to keepe them within the compaſſe of their dutie, he vſed theſe or the like ſpeeches vnto them. *Is there any man now my friends and companions, that ought to waxe proud, and to glorie in the proſperitie of his affaires, if he hath lucke to his liking, and not rather to feare the ſicklenes of fortune, who euen at this preſent ſetteth before our eies*

A wiſe foreſight of Sylla.

An excellent oration of P. Aemilius to his ſouldiers.

such a notable example of the common frailtie of man, subiect to the ordinarie course of fatall destinie, which turneth about continually? You see how in the moment of an houre we haue beaten downe and put vnder our feete the house of Alexander the Great, who was the mightiest and most redoubted Prince in the world. You see a King not long since followed and accompanied with so many thousands of fighting men brought to such miserie, that being prisoner he must receiue his meate and drinke at the hands of his enemies. Ought we to trust more to our good hap, and to thinke it more firme and assured? Truly no. And therefore let vs learne to humble our selues, and to restraine this foolish arrogancie & proud insolencie, wherewith our youth seemeth to be ouercome by reason of the victorie obtained by vs: and let vs expect to what end and issue fortune will guide the ennie of this present prosperitie. *M. Aurelius.* *Marcus Aurelius* after he had vanquished *Popilion*, Generall of the Parthians, spake thus vnto him: *I tell thee of a truth that I stand in greater feare of fortune at this present, than I did before the battell. For she careth not so much to ouertake the conquered, as to subdue and vanquish the Conquerors.* This selfe same consideration caused *Philip* king of Macedonia, after he receiued newes of three great and sundrie prosperities in one day, to vtter this speech: *O fortune* (said he) (*holding vp his hands towards heauen*) *I pray thee send me for a counterbuffe some meane aduersitie.* Likewise after he had ouercome in battell the Athenians at Cherronesus, and by this victorie obtained the Empire of Grecia, he commanded a little Page to cry vnto him thrice a daye, *Philip* remember that thou art a man: so greatly did he feare least through arrogancie arising of his prosperitie, he should commit anie thing that did not beseeme him. The same thing did *Archidamas* the sonne of *Agesilaus* very well and wisely teach him, to whome *Philip* after he was a Conqueror had written a very sharpe and rough letter: *If thou measurest thy shadow* (answered *Archidamas*) *thou shalt find that it is not waxen greater since thou didst ouercome.* The prosperitie which *Cyrus* Monarch of the Persians alwaies had in all his enterprises, was the cause that trusting too much thereunto, he would not giue eare to the counsell of *Crasus*, when he dis-

Philip king of Macedonia.

Archidamas.

Cyrus.

swaded

ſwaded him from that warre, which he purpoſed to vndertake againſt *Tomyris* Queene of the Scythians, (which fell out hardly for him) vſing theſe words: *Knowe that all worldly things haue a certaine courſe, which doth not ſuffer them to end happily that haue alwaies had fortune proſperous, which he might well ſpeake by experience in himſelfe.* But *Cyrus* hauing alreadie ſubdued all Aſia, part of Grecia, the kingdome of Babylon, with infinite other places, and beholding his armie to conſiſt of ſixe ſcore thouſand men, thought he could not be vanquiſhed. Whereupon giuing battell to *Tomyris*, he loſt his life, togither with the renowne of ſo many goodlie victories, (being now ouercome by a woman) his whole armie alſo being hewen in peeces. And truly as one puffe of wind cauſeth the goodlieſt fruites, which beautifie the whole Orchard, to fall from the tree: ſo a little diſgrace, a ſudden miſhap in one inſtant bringeth to nothing, and pulleth downe the greatnes, wealth, and proſperitie of men. And when we thinke to lay a ſure foundation of proſperitie, euen then is all changed, and the order of our conceits peruerted & turned into an vnlooked for diſorder and confuſion. Now let vs come to conſider particularly of the effects of aduerſitie. There are few folks (if they be not deſtitute of all good iudgement) that are ignorant and vnderſtand not what belongeth to their dutie, ſo long as proſperitie laſteth: but fewe there are, who in great ouerthwarts and ſhakings of fortune, haue harts ſufficiently ſtaied to practiſe and imitate that which they commend and make account of, or to flie from that which they miſlike and reprehend. Nay rather they are caried away, and through cuſtome of liuing at eaſe, togither with frailtie and faintnes of hart, they ſtart aſide, and alter their firſt diſcourſes. This is that which *Terence* meaneth, where he ſaith, that when we are in good health, we giue a great deale better counſaile to the diſeaſed, than we can take to our ſelues when we ſtande in neede thereof. Notwithſtanding he that is beaten downe and humbled by affliction, eaſilie ſuffereth himſelfe to bee directed, gladlie receiueth and harkeneth to the aduiſe

The inſtabilitie of humane things.

The common effects of aduerſitie.

aduice of good men, and if there be any little seed of vertue in him, it encreaseth daily, whereas prosperitie would soone choke it. And if he hath profited well in the studie of wisdome, he doth as Bees do, which draw the best and driest hony out of time, although it be a very bitter herb. So out of most troublesome Accidents he knoweth how to reape benefit and commoditie, resoluing with himselfe and taking counsell according to the mishaps that light vpon him. He doubteth not of this, that it is the duetie of wise and vertuous men not onely to desire prosperitie in all things, but also to indure aduersitie with constancie & modestie. He knoweth that as the fruition of prosperitie is for the most part full of sweetnesse, when it is not abused, so the constant suffring of aduersitie is always repleniſhed and accompanied with great honour. And such a one may truely be called noble and courageous, yea, he sheweth himselfe a great deale better to be so in deed whē he yeeldeth not, nor fainteth in afflictions, than if he were in prosperitie, which puffing vp the harts of cowards and base minds, causeth them somtimes to seem courageous, when as they are lift vp by fortune into a high degree of honour and felicitie, whereas in truth there is no such matter in them. *Crœsus* King of the Lydians beyng throwen from his estate & made prisoner to *Cyrus*, shewed greater vertue and generositie of hart at that time, than he did all the while he enioied his great wealth, through which being puffed vp with pride, he would haue had *Solon* iudged him most happy. For being vpon a block ready to be burned, and both remembring and fitly applying to himselfe those wise discourses which he heard *Solon* make vnto him concerning the small assurance that we haue in worldly felicitie, and how no man ought to be called happy before the houre of his death, he resolued with himselfe to die constantly and cheerfully. And calling to mind this benefit which he receiued by the means of that wise man, whereupon he felt his soule filled with ioy, he repeated aloud three times the name of *Solon*, vsing no other words. Whereof *Cyrus* asking the cause, he vttered

The fruits of the study of Philosophie.

Crœsus.

red vnto him the ſelfe ſame diſcourſes, which touched the hart of this monarch in ſuch ſort, that preſently changing the ill will he bare to *Creſus*, he fully reſtored him to the fruition of his kingdom, and kept him neere vnto himſelf for one of his chiefe and principall counſailors. The Romanes (as *Polibius* ſaith) neuer obſerued their lawes more ſtraightly, neuer cauſed the diſcipline of warre to be kept more ſeuerely, and were neuer ſo well aduiſed & conſtant, as after the Carthaginians had obtained of them the third victorie at the battell of Cannas. And contrarywiſe, there were nothing but part-takings and factions in Carthage, lawes were neuer leſſe eſteemed, magiſtrates neuer leſſe regarded, nor maners more corrupted than at that time. But within a little while after, they fell from the higheſt degree of their felicitie, into vtter ruine, and the Romanes reſtored their owne eſtate into greater glory than it was in before. Vertue is alwayes like to the Date tree. For the more ſhe is oppreſſed and burthened, the higher ſhe lifteth vp hir ſelfe, and ſheweth hir inuincible power and ſtrength, ouer which fortune can nothing preuaile. And although aduerſitie ſomewhat troubleth a vertuous man, yet is it not able to alter his noble courage, but remaining firme and conſtant, he knoweth how to take all things as exerciſes of his vertue, which, as an ancient man ſaid, withereth and looſeth hir vigor without aduerſitie. It is euident therfore that the effects of aduerſitie are not ſo pernitious to a mã, as thoſe which proſperitie commonly bringeth vnto him. For this latter is of a proud and preſumptuous nature, alwayes enuied, and as commonly it is not freely admoniſhed, ſo it giueth eare vnto and receiueth as litle: but the other is plaine and ſimple, folowed of compaſſion, and ready to receiue counſell. Beſides, it awaketh a Chriſtian and ſtirreth him vp to humble himſelf before the maieſtie of God, to cal vpon him, and to truſt wholy to his onely grace and vertue. Now if ſome (as I haue ſayd) are ſo faint harted, that they ſuffer themſelues to be ouerwhelmed vnder the burthen of turmoiles and calamities, let vs attribute the cauſe thereof to ignorance, and want

The Romanes were wiſe and conſtant in aduerſitie.

The propertie of Vertue oppreſſed.

of

of good iudgement, which depriueth them of learned & sound cogitations and discourses that tend to a constant disposition, wherein the happines of this life consisteth. As for vs if we desire to approch neere to that perfection, which is required by the Sages, let vs propound to our selues their examples to folow, that we may be temperate and constant in euery estate and condition of life. We read of *Socrates* that one and the same countenance was noted in him all his life time, that it was neither sadder nor pleasanter for any thing that happened vnto him. He changed it not when he heard the sentence of his death pronounced, no not when he dranke the poison, folowing therein the contents of his condemnation, albeit he was then aboue three-skore yeeres of age. *Publius Rutilus* a Romane, being vniustly banished, neuer changed his coũtenance or behauiour, neither would put on any other gowne than that he vsed to weare, although it was the custome of such as were banished, to alter the same. Neither would he leaue off the marks of a Senator, nor request the iudges to absolue him, but led the rest of his dayes with the same greatnes, grauitie and authoritie that he vsed before, not shewing himselfe any thing beaten down with sorow for the strange alteration of his first estate. *Quintus Metellus* surnamed *Numidicus*, bicause he had subdued that countrey of Numidia, being driuẽ into exile through a popular faction and sedition, went into Asia, where, as he beheld certaine players, he receiued letters from the Senate, whereby he was certified that the Senators & people with one common consent had called him backe againe. Which good newes he bare with the like modestie that he did his banishment, not departing from the Theater before the sportes were ended, nor shewing his letters to any of his friends that were round about him before he had assembled them togither in his lodging to deliberate of his returne to Rome. The same grauitie and constancie caused *Diogenes* when he heard one hit him in the teeth with his banishment from Pontus by the Synopians to make this answer: *And I haue bounded them within the*

The wonderful constancie of Socrates.

P. Rutilus.

Q. Metellus.

Diogenes.

countrey of Pontus. We muſt account the whole ſcope of the firmament for the bonds of our countrey as long as we liue here. Neither ought any man within thoſe limites to eſteeme himſelfe either baniſhed, or a ſtranger: ſeeing God gouerneth all things by the ſame elements. Therefore *Socrates* ſaid, that he tooke not himſelfe to be either an Athenian or a Græcian, but a worldling. And how ſhal we thinke that they who ſuſtained ſo courageouſly their baniſhment from their countrey (which was ſo deere vnto them that they preferred the benefite thereof before the ſafetie of their life) their depriuation & abſence from their families, friends and goods, would not much more vertuouſly haue ſuffred all leſſe aduerſitie? Therefore to end our preſent diſcourſe, let vs learn that nothing belonging to this preſent life hath neither more euill nor good in it, than according to the end which befalleth it, & that it is our dutie to keep our ſelues moderate, conſtant, and vpright, both in proſperitie and in aduerſitie, which is the propertie of true magnanimitie and greatnes of courage. Let vs not lift vp our ſelues aboue meaſure for any temporall felicitie, nor be too much diſcouraged bicauſe we are viſited with aduerſitie, but wiſely expect what will be the end of both, which a good and vertuous man ſhal always find to be happy when he changeth his mortall eſtate for a life that is certain and euerlaſting.

Socrates tooke the whole world for his countrey.

The ende of the eight daies worke.

THE

THE NINTH DAIES WORKE.

Of Riches. Chap. 33.

ASER. YEsterday we bestowed the better part of the day in discoursing of good and ill hap, of prosperitie and aduersitie, which with a swift pace following each other, seeme to change, to turne, and to ouer-turne incessantly the dealings and desires of men. Now forasmuch as we made mention of the ignorant multitude which placeth happines & felicitie in the vading goods of the world, & affirmed to the contrary, that this felicitie was very miserable, bicause it maketh a man more insolent and arrogant, & giueth him greater occasion to bewaile, than to reioice in his fortune, I think we ought to consider more neerely of the nature of such goods as are no goods, beginning with Riches whereunto men are slaues, more than to any other thing, albeit they procure them the greatest euils.

AMANA. Riches (saith *Epictetus*) are not in the number of goods. For they stirre vs vp to superfluitie, and pull vs backe from temperance. And therfore it is a very hard matter for a rich man to be temperate, or for a temperate man to be rich. As a man cannot vse a horse (saith *Socrates*) without a bridle, so he cannot vse Riches without reason.

ARAM. It is almost impossible (said *Diogenes*) that vertue should dwell in a rich citie or house. For riches bring with them pride to him that possesseth them, excessiue desire in gathering them, couetousnes in keeping them, all filthines & dissolutenes in the enioying of them. But let vs heare ACHITOB, who will handle this matter more at large.

The fruits of riches.

ACHITOB.

ACHITOB. As children of three or fower yeeres of age haue no other care or thought, but how they may play and passe their time with the hauing of dailie foode according to their appetite, not considering or taking any care for the meanes which they might haue, and which would be necessarie for the nouriſhing of their old age: ſo it ſeemeth to me that the men of our time behaue themſelues, when through a more than childiſh ignorance they labor without ceaſing, to gather & to increaſe wealth, which will do them ſeruice but a little while, not caring in the meane time for certaine and immortall goods which wil nouriſh them for euer. And yet the ſoule created according to the image of God, cannot better preſerue and ſhew foorth hir diuine nature in this mortal bodie, than by contemning all earthlie, humane, and vading things. But to the end we be not of the number of thoſe that fill themſelues with ſuch paſſions, to purchaſe their owne deſtruction, let vs conſider by the teſtimonies of the ancient Sages, of the nature and qualitie of riches, and of the viſible effects which they dailie bring foorth in thoſe that ſerue & poſſeſſe them: next, we will behold ſome examples of theſe famous perſonages, that we may be induced thereby to contemne ſuch pernitious goods.

Of the nature, qualitie, and effects of riches.

Men ought to make great account of riches (ſaid *Socrates*) *if they were ioined with true ioy, but they are wholy ſeparated from it. For if rich men fall to vſing of them, they ſpoile themſelues with ouergreat pleaſure, if they would keepe them, care gnaweth and conſumeth them within, and if they deſire to get them, they become wicked and vnhappie. It cannot be* (ſaith *Plato*) *that a man ſhould be truly good, and very rich both together, but he may well be happie and good at one time. And it is a verie miſerable ſaying to affirme that a rich man is happy: yea it belongeth to children and fooles to ſay ſo, making them vnhappy that beleeue and approoue it. Slouth and ſlug giſhnes grow of riches, and they that are addicted to heape them vp more and more, the greater account they make of them, the leſſe they eſteeme vertue. So that if riches and rich men are greatly ſet by in a Common-wealth, vertue and good men will be much leſſe regarded: and yet great matters are brought to paſſe,*

and

and Common-wealths preſerued by vertue, and not by riches. Riches (ſaith *Iſocrates*) *ſerue not ſo much for the practiſe of honeſtie as of wickednes, ſeeing they draw the libertie of men to looſeneſſe and idleneſſe, and ſtirre vp yong men to voluptuouſnes. Men* (ſaid *Thales*) *are by nature borne to vertue, but riches draw them backe vnto them, hauing a thouſand ſortes of ſorceries to allure them to vices, and through a falſe opinion of good to turne them from thoſe things that are truly good. They ſuffer not him that hath them to be able to know any thing, but draw him to external goods. They are paſſing arrogant & moſt feareful. If they vſe themſelues, they are riotous, if they abſtaine, miſerable. They neuer content their Owners, nor leaue them void of ſorow and care: but as they that are ſicke of the dropſie, the more they drinke, become the thirſtier, ſo the more that men abound in wealth, the more they deſire to haue. Riches of themſelues breed flatterers, who helpe to vndoe rich men. They are the cauſe of infinite murders and hired ſlaughters: they make couetous perſons to contemne the goods of the ſoule, thinking to become happy without them. They prouoke them alſo to delicacies and to gluttony, whereby their bodies are ſubiect to diſeaſes and infirmities. Briefly, riches greatly hurt both bodie and ſoule. They ſtirre vp domeſticall ſedition, and that among brethren. They make children worſe in behauiour towards their fathers, and cauſe fathers to deale more hardly with their children. Through them it commeth that friends ſuſpect each other: for a true friend is credited no more by reaſon of a flatterer. Beſides, rich mẽ are angry with good men, ſaying, that they are arrogant bicauſe they will not flatter them: and in like maner they hate ſuch as flatter them, thinking that they keepe about them onely to robbe them, and to diminiſh their wealth.* Theſe are the euils, which may be ſaid to be commonly in riches. But theſe alſo accompany them, being execrable diſeaſes, namely, preſumptiõ, pride, arrogancie, vile and abiect cares, which are altogether earthly, naughtie deſires, wicked pleaſures, and an inſatiable coueting. Beſides, if they were not pernitious of thẽſelues, ſo many miſchiefs would not take their beginning from them. For men commit a thouſand murders for gaine. They robbe churches, fidelitie is loſt and broken, friendſhip is violated, men betray their country, maidens

Riches of themſelues are the good gifts of God, but the euils wrought for, or by thẽ, come frõ the corrupt nature of man.

are

are loosely giuen: brieflie, no euils are left vnexecuted through the desire of riches. *They that giue them selues* (said *Bion*) *to gather riches, are verie ridiculous, seeing fortune giueth them, coueteusnes keepeth them, and liberalitie casteth them away. Men must haue rich soules* (saith *Alexides*) *as for siluer it is nothing but a shew and vaile of life. It is a naughtie thing* (saith *Euripides*) *but common to all rich men, to liue wickedly. The cause thereof as I take it, is this, bicause they haue nothing but riches in their mind, which being blind, seele vp likewise the eies of their vnderstanding. I pray God neuer to send me a wealthy life, which hath alwaies sorow and care for hir Companions: nor riches to gnaw my hart. Speake not to me of Pluto, that is to say, of riches: for I make no great reckoning of that God, who is alwaies possessed of the most wicked vpon the earth. O riches, you are easie to beare, but infinite cares, miseries, and griefs keepe you companie. He* (saith *Democritus*) *that woondereth at such as haue great riches, and are esteemed of the ignorant multitude to be happie, will surely through a desire of hauing, commit and vndertake wicked things, and those oftentimes against the lawes. As drunkennes* (saith *Aristotle*) *begetteth rage and madnes: so ignorance ioined with power, breedeth insolencie and furie. And to those whose minds are not well disposed, neither riches, nor strength, nor beautie, can be iudged good, but the greater increase ariseth of them, the more harme they procure to him that possesseth them.* Moreouer, do we not see that the most part of rich men, either vse not their riches, bicause they are couetous, or abuse them, bicause they are giuen ouer to their pleasures, and so they are all the seruants either of pleasures, or of trafficke and gaine, as long as they liue. *But he that would be* (as *Plato* saith) *truly rich, ought to labor not so much to augment his wealth, as to diminish his desire of hauing, bicause he that appointeth no bounds to his desires, is alwaies poore and needie. For this cause the libertie of a wise mans soule, who knoweth the nature of externall goods belonging to this life, is neuer troubled with the care of them, being assured* (as *Plutark* saith) *that as it is not apparell which giueth heate to a man, but only staieth and keepeth in naturall heate that proceedeth from the man himselfe, by hindring it from dispersing in the aire: so no man liueth more happily or contentedly, bicause he is compassed*

The Poets fained Pluto to be the God of riches, appointing Hell for his kingdome.

The euill disposition of the mind is the true cause of the hurt that commeth by riches.

From whence happines and contentation commeth.

about with much wealth, if tranquillitie, ioy, and reſt, proceed not from within his ſoule. Heape vp (ſaith the ſame Philoſopher) *ſtore of gold, gather ſiluer togither, build faire galleries, fill a whole houſe full of ſlaues, and a whole towne with thy debtors: yet if thou doeſt not maiſter the paſſions of thy ſoule, if thou quencheſt not thy vnſatiable deſire, nor deliuereſt thy ſoule of all feare and carking care, thou doeſt aſmuch to procure thy quietnes, as if thou gaueſt wine to one that had an ague. Life of it ſelfe* (ſaith *Plato*) *is not ioyfull, vnles care be chaſed away, which cauſeth vs to waxe gray-headed, whileſt we deſire but meane ſtore of riches. For the ſuperfluous deſire of hauing, alwaies gnaweth our hart.* Whereupon it commeth to paſſe, that oftentimes amongſt men we ſee pouertie to be better than riches, & death than life. And truly there is great madnes in the greedy coueting of monie. For they that are touched with this maladie, follow after riches with ſuch zeale, as if they ſuppoſed that when they had gotten them, no more euill ſhould come neere them. And then alſo they ſet ſo light by thoſe which they haue, that they burne with the deſire of hauing more. How then ſhall we call that good, which hath no end or meaſure? Or that which being gotten, is the beginning of a further deſire to haue more? *A horſe* (ſaith *Epictetus*) *is not ſaid to be better, bicauſe he hath eaten more than another, or bicauſe he hath a gilt harneſſe, but bicauſe he is ſtronger, ſwifter, and better made: for euery beaſt is accounted of according to his vertue. And ſhall a man be eſteemed according to his riches, anceſtors, and beautie? If any man thinke that his old age ſhall be borne more eaſilie by the meanes of riches, he deceiueth himſelfe. For they may well cauſe him to enioy the hurtfull pleaſures of the bodie, but cannot take from him ſadnes, horror, and feare of death: nay rather they double his griefe, when he thinketh that he muſt leaue and forſake them.* In this ſhort diſcourſe taken from ancient men, the vanitie of riches appeereth ſufficiently vnto vs, as alſo the hurtfull effects that flow from them, if they be not ruled by the reaſon of true prudence. Heereafter we are to ſee how we may vſe thoſe riches wel, which God putteth into our hands, being iuſtly gotten by vs: which is a part of iuſtice, whereof we are to intreat. In the meane

Great madnes in coueting monie.

meane time, that we faſten not our harts to ſo friuolous and vaine a thing, let vs call to mind ſome examples of wiſe and famous men, woorthie of immortall renowne, who haue altogither contemned, eſchewed, and deſpiſed the couetous deſire and hoording vp of riches, as the plague and vnauoidable ruine of the ſoule. We read of *Marcus Curius* a Romane Conſul (the firſt of his time that receiued thrice the dignitie of triumphing for the notable victories which he obtained in the honor of his countrey) that he made ſo ſmall account of worldlie riches, that all his poſſeſſion was but a little farme in the countrey ſoryly built, wherein he continued for the moſt part when publike affaires ſuffered him, labouring and tilling himſelfe that little ground which he had there. And when certaine Embaſſadors vpon a day came to viſite him, they found him in his chimney dreſſing of reddiſh for his ſupper. And when they preſented him with a great ſumme of monie from their Comminaltie, he refuſed it, ſaying: *that they which contented themſelues with ſuch an ordinarie as his was, had no need of it: and that he thought it farre more honorable to command them that had gold, than to haue it.* *Phocion* the Athenian being viſited with Embaſſadors from *Alexander*, they preſented him with a hundred Talents (being in value three ſcore thouſand crownes) which this Monarch ſent vnto him for a gift. *Phocion* demanding the cauſe why, ſeeing there were ſo many Athenians beſides him, they anſwered: bicauſe their maiſter iudged him onely among all the reſt to be a vertuous and good man. *Then* (quoth he) *let him ſuffer me both to ſeeme and to be ſo in deede, and carie his preſent backe againe to him.* Notwithſtanding, he was needie, as may be prooued by the anſwer which he made to the Athenian Councell, who demanded a voluntarie contribution of euery one towards a ſacrifice. And when there were no moe left to contribute but he, they were verie importunate with him to giue ſomewhat. *It were a ſhame for me* (ſaid he vnto them) *to giue you monie, before I haue paied this man:* and therewithall he ſhewed one vnto them that had lent him a certaine ſumme of monie. *Phi-*

Examples of the contempt of riches.

M. Curius.

Phocion.

Philopamen. *Iopemen* Generall of the Achaians, hauing procured a league of amitie betweene the citie of Sparta, & his owne, the Lacedemonians ſent him a preſent of ſixe ſcore Talents, which were woorth three ſcore and twelue thouſand crownes. But refuſing it, he went purpoſely to Sparta, where he declared to the Councell, that they ought not to corrupt and win honeſt men, or their friends with monie, ſeeing in their need they might be aſſured of thē, and vſe their vertue freely without coſt: but that they were to buy and gaine with hired rewards, the wicked, & ſuch as by their ſeditious orations in the Senate houſe vſed to raiſe mutinies, and to ſet the citie on fire, to the end that their mouthes being ſtopped by gifts, they might procure leſſe trouble to the gouernment of the Common-wealth. A great Lord of Perſia comming from his countrey to Athens, and perceiuing that he ſtood in great

Cimon. neede of the aid and fauour of *Cimon*, who was one of the chiefe in the citie, he preſented vnto him two cups that were both full, the one of Dariques of gold, the other of ſiluer Dariques. This wiſe Grecian beginning to ſmile, demanded of him whether of the twaine he had rather haue him to be, his friend, or his hireling? The Perſian anſwered, that he had a great deale rather haue him his friend. *Then* (ſaid *Cimon*) *carie backe againe thy gold and ſiluer. For if I be thy friend, it will be alwaies at my commandement*

Anacreon. *to vſe as often as I ſhall neede.* *Anacreon* hauing receiued of *Polycrates* fiue Talents for a gift, was ſo much troubled for the ſpace of two nights with care how he might keepe them, and about what to imploy them beſt, that he caried them backe againe, ſaying: *that they were not woorth the*

Xenocrates. *paines, which he had alreadie taken for them.* *Xenocrates* refuſed thirtie thouſand crownes of *Alexander*, ſent vnto him for a preſent, ſaying: *that he had no neede of them. What* (quoth *Alexander*) *hath he neuer a friend? For mine owne part, I am ſure that all king Darius treaſure will ſcarce ſuffice me to diſtri-*

Socrates *bute among my friends.* *Socrates* being ſent for by king *Archelaüs* to come vnto him, who promiſed him great riches, ſent him word, that a meaſure of floure was ſold in Athens

for

for a Double, and that water cost nothing. And although it seemeth (quoth this Philosopher) that I haue not goods enough, yet I haue enough, seeyng I am contented therewith. What is necessarie (sayd *Menander*) for the vse of our life besides these two things, Bread and Water? *Bias* flying out of his citie which he foresawe would be besieged without hope of rescue, would not lode himselfe with his wealth as others did. And being demaunded the cause why, *I carry* (quoth he) *all my goods with me:* meaning the inuisible gifts & graces of his mind. Truly gold and siluer are nothing but dust, and precious stones but the grauell of the sea. And (as *Pythagoras* said) we ought to perswade our selues, that those riches are not ours which are not inclosed in our soule. According to which saying, *Socrates* when he saw that *Alcibiades* waxed arrogant bicause of the great quantitie of ground which he possessed, shewed him an vniuersall Map of the world, and asked him whether he knew which were his lands in the territorie of Athens. Whereunto when *Alcibiades* answered, that they were not described nor set downe there. How is it then (quoth this wise man) that thou braggest of that thing which is no part of the world? One meane which *Lycurgus* vsed, and which helped him much in the reforming of the Lacedemonian estate, was the disanulling of all gold and siluer coine, & the appointing of iron money onely to be currant, a pound waight whereof was woorth but sixe pence. For by this meanes he banished from among them the desire of riches, which are no lesse cause of the ouerthrow of Common-wealths than of priuate men. This mooued *Plato* to say, that he would not haue the princes and gouernors of his Common-wealth, nor his menne of warre and souldiours, to deale at all with gold and siluer: but that they should haue allowed them out of the common treasurie whatsoeuer was necessary for them. For as long gownes hinder the body, so do much riches the soule. Therfore if we desire to liue happily in tranquillitie and rest of soule, and with ioy of spirit, let vs learne after the example of so many great men to

Fiue Doubles in France make a peny of our coine.

Lycurgus abrogated the vse of gold and siluer coine.

withdraw our affections wholy from the desire of worldly riches, not taking delight & pleasure (as *Diogenes* said) in that which shall perish, and is not able to make a man better, but oftentimes woorse. Let vs further know that (according to the Scripture) no man can serue God and riches togither, but that all they which desire them greedily, fall into temptations and snares, and into many foolish and noisome lustes which drowne men in perdition, whereof we haue eye-witnesses daily before vs. This appeereth in that example which the self same word noteth vnto vs of the rich man that abounded in all things, so that he willed his soule to take hir ease, and to make good cheere, bicause she had so much goods layd vp for many yeeres: and yet the same night he was to pay tribute vnto nature, to his ouerthrow and confusion. Being therefore instructed by the spirite of wisedome, let vs treasure vp in Iesus Christ the permanent Riches of wisedome, pietie, and iustice, which of themselues are sufficient through his grace to make vs liue with him for euer.

Luke 16.13.

1.Tim.6.9.

Luke 12.16.

What riches we ought to treasure vp.

Of Pouertie. Chap. 34.

ACHITOB. NOw that we haue seen the nature of riches with the most commō effects which flow from them, and seeing the chief & principall cause that leadeth men so earnestly to desire them, is the feare of falling into pouertie, which through error of iudgement they account a very great euill, I am of opinion, that we are to enter into a particular consideration thereof, to the end that such a false perswasion may neuer deceiue vs, nor cause vs to go astray out of the right pathe of Vertue.

The chief cause why riches are so earnestly desired.

ASER. Pouertie (said *Diogenes*) is a helpe to Philosophy, and is learned of it selfe. For that which Philosophie, seeketh to make vs know by words, pouertie perswadeth vs in the things themselues.

AMANA.

AMANA. Rich men ſtand in need of many precepts, as, *that they liue thriftily and ſoberly: that they exerciſe their bodies: that they delight not too much in the decking of them:* and infinite others, which pouertie of hir ſelfe teacheth vs. But let vs heare ARAM diſcourſe more at large of that which is here propounded vnto vs.

ARAM. If we conſider how our common mother the earth, being prodigall in giuing vnto vs all things neceſſarie for the life of man, hath notwithſtanding caſt all of vs naked out of hir bowels, and muſt receiue vs ſo agayne into hir wombe, I ſee no great reaſon we haue to cal ſome rich, and others poore, ſeeing the beginning, being, and end of the temporall life of all men are vnlike in nothing, but that ſome during this litle moment of life haue that in abundance and ſuperfluitie, which others haue onely according to their neceſſitie. But this is much more abſurd, and without all ſhew of reaſon, that they whom we call poore according to the opinion of men, ſhould be accounted, yea commonly take themſelues to be leſſe happy than rich men, and as I may ſo ſay, baſtard children & not legitimate, bicauſe they are not equally and alike partakers of their mothers goods, which are the wealth of the world, for the hauing whereof we heare ſo many complaints and murmurings. For firſt we ſee none, no not the needieſt and pooreſt that is (except it be by ſome great & ſtrange miſhap) to be ſo vnprouided for, that with any labour and pains taking (which is the reward of ſinne) he is able to get ſo much as is neceſſary for the maintenance of his life, namely, food and raiment, neither yet any that for want of theſe things, howſoeuer oftentimes he ſuffer and abide much, is conſtrained to giue vp the Ghoſt. But further, as touching the true, eternall, and incomparable goods of our common father, their part and portion is nothing leſſe thā that of the richeſt. Yea many times they are rewarded and enriched aboue others, in that beyng withdrawen from the care & gouernment of many earthly things, they feele themſelues ſo much the more rauiſhed with ſpeciall and heauenly grace (if they hinder it not)

Againſt thoſe that think poore men leſſe happy than the rich.

not) in the meditation and contemplation of celestiall things: from whence they may easily draw a great and an assured contentation in this life, through a certaine hope that they shall enioy them perfectly, bicause they are prepared for them in that blessed immortalitie of the second life. For nothing is more certaine than this, that as the Sunne is a great deale better seene in cleare and cleane water, than in that which is troubled, or in a miry and dirtie puddle: so the brightnes that commeth from God shineth more in minds not subiected to worldlie goods, than in them that are defiled and troubled with those earthlie affections which riches bring with them. This is that which Iesus Christ himselfe hath taught, speaking to him that demanded what he should do to haue eternall life: *If thou wilt be perfect* (saith he) *sell that which thou hast, and giue it to the poore, and thou shalt haue treasure in heauen:* adding besides, *that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdome of heauen.* If a father diuiding his substance among his children, should leaue to one as to his eldest or best beloued, the enioying of his principall mannor by inheritance, and to the rest their mothers goods, which are of much lesse value, and that only for terme of life, what folly were it to iudge that these last were more preferred, and had better portions than the other? And I pray you what comparison is there betweene the greatest worldlie and transitorie riches that can be, and the permanent treasures of heauen, seeing those cannot be compared but to a thing of nought, than which they are weaker, beeing moreouer accompanied with innumerable hurtfull euils, as we haue alreadie shewed? What happines and felicitie can wealth adde to rich men aboue the poorer sort, that these should be accounted miserable and wretched? *Take away* (saith *Lactantius*) *insolencie and boasting from rich men, and there will be no difference betweene a poore man and a rich.* And if he that made the condition both of the one & the other, and that prouideth nourishment for vnreasonable creatures, doth distribute vnto vs as much as he knoweth in his eternall prescience and foreknowledge to be needfull

A pretie comparison.

Matth. 19. 21. 23.

No comparison between worldlie and heauenlie treasures.

full for vs, whereof shall we complaine, except, as inheritors, of that damnable vice of ingratitud from the first man, we forget so many benefits receiued, as also those that are dailie profered and promised vnto vs of his heauenlie goodnes and grace? In a feast (said *Epictetus*) we content our selues with that which is set before vs, thinking it an impudent and vile part to aske any other thing of him that entertaineth vs. And how can we be so impudent and shameles in this world, as to aske those things of God, which he will not giue vs, and not content our selues with the vse of that which he hath liberally & freely bestowed vpon vs? But there is a further matter. For if we would consider the great, yea vnspeakable fruits which pouertie bringeth with hir, & whereof she is able to make vs partakers in this life, without doubt she will be found to be a thousand times more happie than riches. *Pouertie* (saith *Aristophanes*) *is the mistres of manners. Pouertie* (said *Archesilaus*) *seemeth to be sharpe, hard, & troublesome, but she is nurse to a good linage, as she that acquainteth hir selfe with frugalitie and abstinence. In a word she is a schoole of vertue. Wealth is full of wickednes* (saith *Euripides*) *but pouertie is accompanied with wisedome, and all honest men are contented with neeessarie things. And if they offer sacrifice to the Gods with a little incense in the paulme of their hand, they are for the most part sooner heard than they that kill many beastes for sacrifice. For* (as *Menander* saith) *the poore are vnder the protection of God, and it is better to possesse a little wealth with ioy, than a great deale with sadnes. To desire but a little* (said *Democritus*) *maketh pouertie equall with riches: and if thou desirest not many things, a little will seeme to thee to be very great. Pouertie* (said *Anaximenus*) *maketh the spirite more sharpe, and men more excellent in all things belonging to this life. For she is a very good mistres of knowledge and skill. The life of poore men* (said *Aristonymus*) *is like to a nauigation made alongst the shore of some sea: but the life of rich men to that which is in the maine sea. For the first sort may easily cast anchor, come a shore, and saue themselues, whereas the others cannot do so, bicause they are no more in their owne power, but in fortunes. Flie not from pouertie* (said *Hipsaus*) *but from iniustice and wrong.*

The fruits of pouertie.

For

For no man was euer punished bicause he was poore, but many bicause they were vniust. Neither is a mans life commended bicause he is rich, but bicause he is iust. Hunger (saith *Plutark*) *neuer engendreth adulterie, nor want of monie, lust: so that pouertie is a short kind of temperance. If thou wert borne among the Persians* (said *Epictetus*) *thou wouldest not wish to dwell in Grecia, but to liue there in a happie estate. Art thou not then a very foole, bicause thou seekest not rather to liue happily in pouertie, seeing thou art borne therein, than to striue with so great labor for riches that thou maist liue? As it is better to lie downe in a very little bed with health, than in a great and large bed, being sicke: so is it a great deale better to liue in rest with a little wealth, than in trauell and care with aboundance. For neither pouertie procureth trouble, nor riches driueth away feare: but reason is that which causeth men neither to desire riches, nor to feare pouertie. If other things* (saith *Bion* the wise) *could speake aswell as we, and were licenced to dispute with vs, might not pouertie iustly say vnto vs after this manner? O man wherefore fightest thou against me? Why art thou become my enemie? Haue I robbed thee of any thing? Haue I beene the cause that thou hast receiued any iniurie, or haue I depriued thee of any good thing? Haue I taken from thee either Prudence, Iustice, or Fortitude? But thou fearest least necessarie things should faile thee. What? Are not the waies full of herbs and fruits, and the fountaines of water? Hast thou not as many beds as the earth is great, and as many couerlets and mattresses as there are leaues? Hast thou not a good Cooke by my meanes, that maketh good sauce for thee in hunger? And he that is a thirst, doth he not take very great pleasure in drinking? Doest thou thinke that a man shall die for hunger, bicause he hath no tart, or for thirst, if he haue not very delicate wine cooled with snow? All such things are but for delicacie and nicenes. Doest thou want a house, when there is so many goodly Churches in cities? What answer could be made to pouertie, if she should speake thus? Truly he that hath vertue possesseth all goods, bicause that alone maketh men happie: which may be spoken aswell of a poore man as of a rich. For they* (sayd *Thales*) *that thinke pouertie hindreth Philosophie, and that riches are a helpe vnto it, greatly deceiue themselues.* For proofe that it is not so, how many moe haue withdrawne themselues from

An excellent defence for pouertie.

from ſtudie through riches, thā through pouertie? Do we not ſee that the pooreſt ſtudy Philoſophy beſt, which the welthy bicauſe of their mony & many matters cānot do? For this cauſe *Theognis* ſaid very well, that many mo haue periſhed through ſurfetting than through hunger. And to let you know that pouertie is more happy, & better eſteemed of than riches, conſider the example of *Ariſtides* ſurnamed the Iuſt, who being very poore, was choſen to leuie and to gather tribute before all the rich men in Athens. And *Callias* the richeſt man of all the Athenians, ſought by all means to haue his friendſhip, whereas the other made no great account of him. *Epaminondas* was not called half a God, nor *Lycurgus* a Sauiour bicauſe they abounded in wealth, and were ſlaues to their paſſions, but bicauſe they profited their countrey exceedingly, and were content with their pouertie. Therefore we may gather out of the ſayings of ſo many great and vertuous men, an aſſured teſtimonie of the benefit and profit that commonly foloweth the condition of poore men. And for inuincible proofes, haue we not the examples of the liues of infinite Sages and learned Philoſophers, who willingly forſaking, & wholy contemning riches, went to the Academy, commonly called the Schoole of Pouertie, there to enioy the treaſures of wiſdome and vertue? Yea, which is more, we find that pouertie hath been the only and principal cauſe of enriching many with this vnſpeakable treaſure, according to that ſaying of *Ariſtotle*, that calamitie is oftentimes the occaſion of vertue. *Zeno* founder of the Stoicall Academie, after he had poſſeſſed much wealth, and ſuffred many loſſes, had no more left but one ſhip of merchandiſe, which being caſt away, he vttred this ſpeech: *thou doeſt well Fortune to bring me to the ſtudie of Philoſophie*, wherein he continued euer after. The exile & baniſhment of *Diogenes* driuen from his countrey, was the cauſe and beginning of his ſtudie of Philoſophie. And if any man thinke it a difficult and ſtrange matter that a poore man ſhould be skilfull, ſeeing that whileſt he ſtudieth, he muſt haue wherewith to nouriſh his body, let vs ſee what *Cleanthes* anſwered

Examples to ſhew that pouertie was more eſteemed of than riches.

Zeno.

Diogenes.

Cleanthes.

anſwered to *Antigonus* king of Macedonia, who asked him if he turned the milſtone always: Yea ſir (ſayd he) I turne it yet about to get my liuing, but forſake not Philoſophie for all that. How great and noble was the mind of that man, who after his labour wrote of the nature of god and of the heauens, with the ſame hand wherwith he turned about the milſtone? Others ſay, that he got his liuing by drawing water for a gardiner: about which he beſtowed the night onely, that he might ſpend the day in hearing the Philoſophers diſpute. This man calleth to my remembrance two other Philoſophers, named *Menedemus* and *Aſclepiades*, who being accuſed before the Areopagites the chief iudges in Athens, as idle perſons hauing no goods in poſſeſſion, and being willed to declare how they liued, their anſwer was, that inquirie ſhould be made of their Hoſte who was a Baker. This man being called, ſaid, that they beſtowed the whole day in the ſtudy of letters, and the night in ſifting and boulting his meale, for which he gaue each of them a peece of money whereof they liued. But what? Theſe ancient Sages wanted but few things to liue withall, ſeeing the moſt of them contented themſelues with bread and water, and many times with herbes and fruites in ſtead of bread, and ſo *Pythagoras* always liued. And yet they found ſo great contentation and felicitie in ſuch a life, that one *Philoxenus* hauing as yet but taſted of the firſt fruits of this profeſſion of ſtudy, and being of that number which was ſent by the Athenians to inhabite a new citie in Sicilia, wherein a good houſe with great commodities to liue at eaſe, fell to him for his part, and ſeeing that delicacie, pleaſure and idlenes, without any exerciſe of letters raigned in thoſe quarters, he forſook all & returned to Athens, ſaying, by the gods theſe goods ſhall not deſtroy me, but I will rather deſtroy them. All theſe fruits which are noted to be in pouertie, gaue occaſion to an ancient man to ſay, that it was a vertue of Fortitude to ſuſtaine pouertie patiently, but to deſire it was the praiſe of wiſedom. Now foraſmuch as it will be very hard if not altogither impoſſible, notwithſtanding all reaſon

Menedemus & Aſclepiades.

Pythagoras kept a ſpare diet.

Philoxenus.

ſon that can be alleaged to men, to diſpoſſeſſe them of the hatred and feare of pouertie, which naturally they ſhun, let vs learne of the ancients who ought to account himſelfe poore, that we abuſe no more this word Pouertie. *Diogenes* was vpon a time viſited by *Alexander*, who ſayd vnto him, *I ſee well Diogenes that thou art poore, and haſt need of many things, therfore aske of me what thou wilt, and I will giue it thee.* Whereunto this excellent Philoſopher deſpiſing ſuch offers of goods whereof he ſtood not in need, anſwered: *Whether of vs twaine Alexander, ſeemeth to thee to haue moſt need, and therfore pooreſt, either I that deſire nothing but my pile of wood and a litle bread, or thou, who being king of Macedonia doeſt hazard thy ſelfe to ſo many dangers to inlarge thy kingdom, in ſo much, that the whole world will hardly ſuffice to bound thy ambition, and to content thy couetouſnes?* The Monarch ſo greatly admired the magnanimitie of this man, that he vttered theſe wordes with a loud voyce, *If I were not Alexander, I would be Diogenes.* *Marius* a Conſul of Rome diſtributing land among his countreymen, gaue to euery one fourteen Acres onely. And vnderſtanding that ſome were not contented therewith but demanded more, I would to God (quoth he then) that no Roman would care for any more land than would ſuffice to nouriſh him. So goodly and commendable a matter was it eſteemed of theſe wiſe men to be content with a litle, & with that which is ſufficient, rather than to thinke thoſe men onely rich that were furniſhed with ſtore of wealth. And to ſay truth, ſeeing God alone ſimply and abſolutely ſtandeth not in need of any thing whatſoeuer, it may eaſily be preſuppoſed, that the moſt excellent vertue of man, and that which commeth neereſt to the diuine nature, conſiſteth in cauſing a man to ſtand in need of feweſt things. This is that which *Socrates* ſayd, That to deſire nothing (meaning worldly things) is in ſome ſort to reſemble God. And how can we call him poore whoſe ſoule is inriched with ſo many great and rare perfections? *Cicero* writing to *Atticus*, ſayd, *That a friend was bound to wiſh but three things vnto his friend, namely, That he be healthie, that he be well accounted of, and that he be*

Who ought to be eſteemed poore.

Diogenes ſuppoſed Alexander to be poorer than himſelfe.

A friend is to wiſh 3. things to his friend.

not

not needie. Now that all theſe things are found in a temperate and noble minded man, we may learne by the effects of Sobrietie, whereof we haue heretofore diſcourſed, and by thoſe of honor, which is neuer ſeparated from vertue, no more than the ſhadow is from the body. And as for the neceſſarie vſe of foode and raiment, it is not wanting to them that ſtand moſt in need thereof, as we haue alreadie touched it in our preſent ſpeech: & ſo a vertuous mã cannot be called poore. But let vs yeeld a litle to the commõ opinion of worldlings, that pouertie and want of earthly riches is odious and contemptible, yet that pouertie onely, which proceedeth of ſlouth, idlenes, and ignorance, or otherwiſe of fooliſh expences, of riot and ſuperfluitie may be ſaid to be full of reproch and ſhame, and is to be ſhunned. For when pouertie is found in an honeſt, painfull, diligent, iuſt, valiant and wiſe man, it ſerueth for a great proofe of his magnanimitie and greatnes of courage, bicauſe he hath ſet his mind vpon great and high matters, and not vpon ſuch ſmall and vile things as the riches of the world are. Amongſt many others of this number we may ſay, that *Ariſtides* was, being captaine and gouernor of the Athenian eſtate, as we haue alredy mentioned, who after many excellent & great offices which he bare to the good of his countrey, was ſo ſmally enriched therby, that being dead, all his goods would not ſuffice to bury him. He vſed to ſay that none ought to be aſhamed of pouerty, but they that were poore againſt their wil: & that it was a rarer matter, & worthy of greater praiſe to ſuſtain pouerty vertuouſly and with a noble mind, than to know how to vſe riches well. And ſo pouertie is neuer accompanied with ſhame, except it be to them that fall into it through negligence, or miſgouernment of thoſe goods which God hath put into their hands, that they ſhould be faithfull keepers and diſpoſers thereof in charitable workes. This is that which *Thucidides* ſaith, that it is no ſhame for a man to confeſſe his pouertie, but very great to fal into it by his owne default. Therefore to reape profite by that which hath beene heere diſcourſed, let vs put off that old error

What pouertie is odious.

Ariſtides.

which

which hath continued so long in mens braines, that pouertie is such a great and troublesome euill, whereas it is rather the cause of infinite benefits: and let vs say with *Pythagoras*, that it is a great deale better to haue a quiet and setled minde, lying vpon the ground, than to haue much trouble in a golden bed. Moreouer, let vs knowe, that to possesse small store of earthlie goods, ought not to be called pouertie, bicause all fulnes of wealth aboundeth in the knowledge and assurance of the fatherlie grace and goodnes of the Author and Creator of all things, which he offereth liberally to all without accepting either of pompe or greatnes. And further, when as, continuing the care which it pleaseth him to take of vs, he giueth vs although in trauell and sweate, wherewith to feede and to cloth vs in all simplicitie and modestie, and that according to our necessitie, we should be vnthankfull and altogither vnwoorthie the assistance of his helpe and fauour, and of his eternall promises, if not contented, nor glorifieng him for our estate, we complained, or wondred at, & desired the calling of other men, offering thereby in will and affection our birthrights through a gluttonous desire, whereas we ought to preserue to our selues the possession of that heauenlie inheritance, wherein consisteth the perfection of all glorie, rest, and contentation.

Where the fulnesse of riches is to be sought.

Of Idlenes, Sloth, and Gaming. Chap. 35.

ARAM. TWo things being the cause of all passions in men, namely, *Griefe* and *Pleasure*, they alwayes desire the one, but flie from and feare the other. But the occasion of the greatest euil that befalleth them, is, bicause these desires and affections being borne with them from the beginning, do also grow & encrease a long time before they can haue any iudgement framed in them through the right vnderstandyng of things. Whereupon as well by nature, which of it selfe is more inclined to euill than to good, as through a long continuing

Griefe & pleasure the causes of all passions in men.

continuing in vice they are easily drawen to follow the appetite and lust of their sensualitie, wherein they falsly iudge that pleasure consisteth, and thinke it painfull not to please it. Being thus guided by ignorance, and walking like blindmen, they haue experience for the most part of such an end as is cleane contrary to their purposes. As we may see in those men, who purposing with themselues to liue at their ease in ioy, rest, and pleasure, giue ouer all intermedling in serious matters, and such as beseeme the excellencie of vertue, that they may liue in idlenes: wherwith being bewitched they are partakers of many false pleasures, which procure them a greater number of griefs and miseries, all which they thought to auoyd very well. And this we may the better vnderstand, if we discourse of Idlenes, the enemie of all vertue, and cleane contrary to Perseuerance, which is a branch of Fortitude. Therefore I propound the handling of this matter to you my Companions.

ACHITOB. Although we haue not a singular excellencie of spirite, yet we must not suffer it to be idle, but constantly follow after that which we haue wisely hoped to obtaine. *For* (as *Erasmus* saith) *that which is often done & reiterated, and continually in hand, is finished at last.*

ASER. They that do nothing (saith *Cicero*) learne to do ill, & through idlenesse the body & minds of men languish away: but by labour great things are obtained, yea trauail is a worke that continueth after death. Let vs then giue eare to AMANA, who will handle more at large for our instruction that which is here propounded vnto vs.

AMANA. As we admire and honour them with very great commendation, in whom we may note as we think, some excellent and singular vertues, so we contemn them whom we iudge to haue neither vertue, courage, nor fortitude in them, and whom we see to be profitable neither to themselues nor to others, bicause they are not laborious, industrious, nor carefull, but remain idle and slouthfull. And to say truth, the maners, conditions, and natural disposition of such men, are wholy corrupted, their conuersation

nerſation is odious, vnprofitable, and to be auoided, ſeeing that Idlenes is the mother and nurſe of vice, which deſtroieth and marreth all. Therefore it was very well ordained in the primitiue Church, that euery one ſhould liue of his owne labor, that the idle and ſlothfull might not conſume vnprofitably the goods of the earth. Which reaſon brought in that ancient Romane edict, mentioned by *Cicero* in his booke of Lawes, *that no Romane ſhould goe through the ſtreets of the city, vnles he caried about him the badge of that trade whereby he liued.* Inſomuch that *Marcus Aurelius* ſpeaking of the diligence of the ancient Romanes, writeth: that all of them followed their labor and trauell ſo earneſtly, that hauing neceſſarie occaſion one daye to ſend a letter two or three daies iournie from the towne, he could not find one idle bodie in all the citie to carie it. That great Orator and Philoſopher *Cicero*, minding to teach vs how we ought to hate Idlenes, as being againſt nature, ſheweth that men are in deede borne to good works, whereof our ſoule may ſerue for a ſufficient and inuincible proofe, ſeeing it is neuer ſtill, but in continuall motion & action. And for the ſame cauſe he greatly commendeth *Scipio*, who vſed to ſay, that he was neuer leſſe quiet than when he was quiet. Whereby he giueth vs to vnderſtand, that when he was not buſied with waightie affaires of the Common-wealth, yet, his owne priuate matters, and the ſearching after knowledge, were no leſſe troubleſome vnto him, ſo that euen then in his ſolitarines he tooke counſell with himſelfe. It ſeemeth (ſaith this father of eloquence) that nature doth more require of a man ſuch actions as tend to the profit of men, than ſhe doth the perfect knowledge of all things: ſeeing this knowledge and contemplation of the workes of nature ſhould ſeeme to be maimed & vnperfect, if no action followed it, whereas vertuous deedes are profitable to all men, for which end nature hath brought vs foorth, which ſheweth ſufficiently that they are better and more excellent. So that vnles the knowledge of things be ioined with that vertue, which preſerueth humane ſocietie, it will

Idlenes is the mother & nurſe of all vice.

Idlenes is againſt nature.

Scipio was neuer idle.

seeme to be dead and vnprofitable. Therefore *Chrysippus* the Philosopher said, that the life of those men that giue themselues to idle studies, differed nothing from that of voluptuous men. So that we must not studie Philosophie by way of sport, but to the end we may profit both our selues and others. Now, if action must of necessitie be ioined to studie and contemplation, to make a happie life, so that otherwise it is as it were dead and idle: what shall we say of that life that is void both of studie and action, but that it is more beast-like than humane? And how many millions of men are there in the world, who liue in this sort, and more in France than in any other nation? Yea, howe many are more idle and lesse carefull than brute beasts, neglecting the prouision euen of things necessarie for this present life? Amongst the obscure precepts which *Pythagoras* gaue to his Disciples, this was one: *Take good heede that thou sit not vpon a bushell:* meaning, that Idlenes and Sloth were especially to be eschewed. Likewise, when we shall enter into the consideration of those euils that issue from idlenes and sloth, no doubt but we will flie from them, as from the plague of our soules. They are greatly to be feared in a Common-wealth, bicause they open a gate to all iniustice, and kindle the fire of sedition, which setteth a floate all kind of impietie. Furthermore, they are the cause of the finding out of infinite false and pernitious inuentions, for the releauing of pouertie, which for the most part floweth from the same fountaine of idlenes. This mooued the wise and ancient kings of Egypt, to imploy their idle people in digging of the earth, and in the drawing foorth & building of those Pyramides, the chiefe of which is by the Historiographers placed among the seuen woonders of the world. It could not be perfectly finished before the space of twentie yeeres, albeit that three hundred and three score thousand men wrought about it continually. The Captaines and Heades of the Romane armies fearing the dangerous effects of idlenes, no lesse in their host, than in their townes, caused their souldiors to trauell in making of trenches, when they were not vrged

To what end we must studie Philosophie.

Pythagoras precept against Idlenes.

Notable examples of the redresse of Idlenes.

of

of their enemies, as *Marius* did alongeſt the riuer of Rhone. The Emperor *Claudius* enioying an aſſured peace, *Claudius.* cauſed the chanell Fucinus to be made, that Rome might haue the commoditie of good waters: about which work thirtie thouſand men were daily imploied for the ſpace of twelue yeeres. *Adrianus* ſeeing a generall peace within his *Adrianus.* Empire, continually vndertooke new and long iournies, one while into Fraunce, another while into Germanie, ſometime into Aſia, & into other ſtrange countries, cauſing his men of warre to march with him: ſaying, that he did for feare, leaſt they being idle ſhould be corrupted, & forget the diſcipline of warre, and ſo be the cauſe of nouelties. And it ſeemeth that this was the cauſe why a wiſe *Scipio Naſica.* Romane councelled the Senate not to deſtroy Carthage, leaſt the Romanes being in ſafetie by the vtter ſubuerſion thereof (which onely at that time made head againſt them) ſhould become idle. But now we may iuſtly ſay of them, that through a lazie and cowardlie idlenes, they haue loſt the dignitie and vertue of their forefathers. The Ephoryes, who were Gouernors of the Lacedemonian e- The Ephoryes ſtate, being mooued with the ſame reaſon with which the of Lacedemonia Romane *Scipio Naſica* was touched, after intelligence had of the taking & ſacking of a great towne into which their men were entred, ſaid: that the armie of their youth was loſt. Whereupon they ſent word to the Captaine of the armie, that he ſhould not after the ſame manner deſtroy another towne, which he had beſieged, writing theſe words vnto him: Take not away the pricke which ſtirreth forward the harts of our yoong men. *Gelon* king of Syra- *Gelon.* cuſa led his people oftentimes into the fields, aſwell to labor the ground, and to plant, as to fight, both that the earth might be better being well dreſſed, as alſo bicauſe he feared leaſt his people ſhould waxe woorſe for want of trauell. So greatly did theſe ancient wiſe men feare the pernitious effects of idlenes and ſloth, which bring to nothing and corrupt the goodnes of nature, whereas diligence & exerciſe in good educatiõ correcteth the naughtines thereof. For as cloſe waters (ſaith *Plutark*) putrifie *A ſimilitude.*

quickly, bicause they are couered, shadowed, & standing: so they that busie not themselues, but remaine idle, albeit they haue some good thing in them, yet if they bring it not foorth, neither exercise those naturall faculties that were borne with them, they corrupt and destroy them vtterly. And which is woorse, *as concupiscence* (saith *Plato*) *and luxuriousnes are quenched with great sharpe, and continuall labor, so are they kindled through idlenes. A retchles and slothfull man can find out nothing that is easie. But there is nothing* (saith *Seneca*) *whereunto continuall labor is not able to attaine, & through care and vigilancie men come to the end of most difficult matters. Fortune* (saith a Poet) *helpeth and fauoureth them that boldly set their hand to the worke, but giueth the repulse to fearefull and base-minded men. Let vs beleeue* (said *Pythagoras*) *that laborious and painefull things will sooner lead vs to vertue, than those that are nice and delicate. And* (as *Hesiodus* saith) *the Gods haue placed sweate before vertue: and the way that leadeth vnto hir is long, difficult, and craggie.* A good Pilot seeing a tempest at hand, calleth vpon the Gods, that they would graunt him grace to escape it: but in the meane while he taketh the helme into his hand, he vaileth the foresaile, and bringing about the maine saile, laboureth to come out of the darke sea. *Hesiodus* commaundeth the Husbandman to make his vowes to *Iupiter*, and to *Ceres*, before he either ploweth or soweth, but he must do it with his hand vpon the plow taile. *Plato* writing his lawes, forbiddeth a man to fetch water at his neighbours house, before he hath digged and delued in his owne ground euen to the clay, and that it be perceiued that no water springeth there. In like sort, lawes must prouide for necessitie, and not fauour sloth and idlenes. By sloth we loose that which we haue alreadie well gotten, but by diligence we attaine to that which we haue not, and which may be necessarie for vs. *I passed* (saith the wise man) *by the field of the slothfull, and by the vineyard of the man destitute of vnderstanding: and lo it was all growne ouer with thornes, and nettles had couered the face thereof, and the stone wall thereof was broken downe.* It is sloth and negligence that causeth a man through want of good vnderstan-

Sweat is placed before vertue.

Prouerb. 24. 30. 31.

derſtanding and iudgement not to care for the getting of that which is needfull for him, bicauſe he feareth leaſt he ſhould looſe it. Whereupon this would follow (which is a very abſurd thing) that nothing how deare and precious ſoeuer it be ought to be ſought for or deſired, ſeeing all things are ſubiect to chaunge, yea knowledge through great diſeaſes, and other inconueniences may be leſſened and loſt. Idleneſſe and ſlouth doe not hurt the ſoule onely, but impaire alſo the health of the bodie. Yea that reſt which a man taketh by negligence, is much more hurtfull vnto him, than painfull exerciſe. And they which thinke that health needeth neceſſarily a continuall reſt to preſerue it well, vſing that goodly pretence bicauſe they would not be troubled with mo matters thā needs they muſt, eſpecially with thoſe which concerne publike commoditie, as alſo bicauſe they would not take paines in the ſtudie of wiſedome, they cannot be better compared than to ſuch as will not vſe their eies in beholding any thing, that they might keepe them the better, neither will ſpeake at all to preſerue their voyce well. Euery kind of life hath both ſickneſſe and health, but a ſound man cannot take a better courſe to preſerue his health, than to imploy himſelfe in the practiſe of many good and honeſt duties of humanitie. Yea, we muſt yet go farther, and ſay with *Socrates*, that diſeaſed men ought not to be ſo carefull of their health, that they leaue the ſtudie and exerciſe of vertue, ſeeing we are to make but ſmall account of death it ſelfe. And therefore *Plutarke* is very earneſt againſt this Epicurian ſentence, *Hide thy life*: which was ſet downe by *Neocles* brother to *Epicurus*, meaning thereby to perſwade them that would liue happily, not to intermeddle with any publike matter. *But contrarywiſe* (ſaith this Philoſopher) *it is diſhoneſt to liue ſo that no man may know any thing. Art thou vicious? ſhew thy ſelfe to thoſe that are able to admoniſh, to correct & to cure thee, that ſo thou mayſt amend & repent. If in the knowledge of nature thou haſt learned by ſongs to prayſe God, his iuſtice, and heauenly prouidence: or in moral knowledge to commend the law, humane ſocietie, the gouernment of the*

Idlenes decaieth the health of the body.

No man ought to hide his life.

common-wealth, and therein to respect honour, not profite, hide not this talent, but teach it others, and giue thy selfe an example vnto them of well doing, and of profiting euery one. O diuine counsail, proceeding out of the mouth of an Ethnike, as necessarie to be practised at this day, as we see it contemned of so many wise worldlings, who say they haue the absolute and sound reformation of our estates of France in their head, but that as yet there is no time to speake of it. Thus some liue idlely and like to Recluses bicause they will take no paine, and others do worse in maintaining the corruptiõ of the estate, and in cleauing wittingly to the destruction thereof. But let vs proceed to looke vpon the fruits of idlenes. It is of that fountaine whereof cursed ignorance drinketh and maintaineth hir selfe, and from thence flow all pleasures folowed with bitternes & griefe, which withdraw vs from all vertuous occupations, to imploy our selues about all kinds of trifles, that are neither good, honest, nor profitable, but rather hurtfull and very pernitious. Of which number we may note gaming, which is as common amongst vs, and as blame-worthie, as any other imperfection, seeing hir foundation is laid vpon lucre and couetousnes, or els vpon the losse of time. Those cursed effects which it bringeth forth daily, as quarels, murders, blasphemies, cogging, ouerthrow of houses and families, do sufficiently testifie vnto vs the infamous nature thereof. Likewise it hath bin so abhorred of the ancient Sages, that *Chilon* being sent from Lacedemonia to Corinth, to intreat of a league between those two peoples, & finding the rulers playing at dice, returned back again, and would not speake of his commission, saying, that he would not staine the glory of the Spartanes with so great an ignominie as to ioine thẽ in society with dice-plaiers. How many happy ages haue our forefathers passed ouer, & yet neuer heard word of so vnhappy an exercise? And some say that the Lydiãs were the first inuẽters of games, but it was whẽ their countrey was brought into great necessitie of victuals: to the end that by playing, they might find some help and meane to sustaine and to resist hunger the better, by spen-

Of gaming, and of the effects thereof.

Chilon refused to make a league with dicers.

The occasion that mooued the Lydians to inuent games.

ſpending euery other day in gaming without any meate. Which they continued for the ſpace of twentie and eight yeeres, preſeruing their country by that means from a generall famine through the great ſparing of their prouiſion. But now a daies we ſee, that men are ſo farre from recompencing the fault of ſo vile an occupation by faſting, that contrarywiſe it is followed with all kind of diſſolutenes, gluttonie, riot and ſuperfluitie. And this is ſeene too much in theſe new faculties of careleſſe men, who haue taught vs this goodly prouerbe, *That a man were better looſe than be idle.* But if they knew their ineſtimable loſſe, not of mony which they abuſe, but of the richeſt and moſt precious thing that may be ſpent, and which can neuer be recouered, I meane of time, they would ſpeake cleane contrary, That to looſe is worſe than to be idle, bicauſe it is ioined with a naughtie action, which of neceſſitie turneth to the detriment of himſelfe or of his neighbor, & oftentimes of both. Among many goodly and holy ordinances, which *Alphonſus* ſonne of *Ferdinando* king of Spaine, cauſed thoſe knights to obſerue, which he made of the order of the band, (himſelf and all his children being of the ſame order) this was ſtraightly kept, that no knight ſhould preſume to play for any money at cardes or dice, or giue his conſent to any ſuch play in his houſe, vpon paine of forfeiting his wages for one moneth, and himſelfe to be forbidden another moneth and a halfe from entring into the kings palace. But bicauſe the nature of man is not able to abide continuall labor, and occaſion of buſineſſe is not alwaies offred, it ſhall be lawfull for vs, according to the precept of *Plato* his Academie, to beſtow our leaſure vpon ſome honeſt paſtime and game of moderate pleaſure, that is not far ſeparated from ſtudy or vertue, which will not be blame-worthie in vs, ſo we vſe it as we do reſt or ſleepe, after we haue diſpatched and ended graue & ſerious affaires according to the gift and facultie of our ſpirits. Moreouer let vs propound to our ſelues for example the liues of ſo many famous and graue men, who both in youth and age laboured to do good and to profit euery

Alphonſus decree againſt play.

How we may recreate our ſelues.

one, esteeming it great honor to end their daies in such a commendable exercise: according to that saying of *Erasmus*: *That in vaine men follow that which is good, and striue to do well, if they stand still before the end of their daies.* For that man looseth his time in running swiftly, who fainteth before he come to the end of his race. *Nothing will be vnpossible to thee* (saith the same author) *so that thy hart faint not.* Not to go forward in the way of the Lord, is all one with turning backeward: yea, it were better neuer to begin, than not to persеuer vnto the end. This also is that which *Cicero* teacheth vs, that it is not sufficient to know what ought to be done, but we must abide firme and stedfast in that wherin vpon aduised & good counsell we are once resolued. And though we are out of hope of attaining to perfection, yet we must striue to come vnto it. *Many* (saith he) *that are weakened with dispaire, will not vndertake that thing which they feare they shall neuer be able to finish: but they that would obtaine great things, and such as are most to be desired, must try euery way.* And if any man hath not this excellencie of spirite and greatnes of hart by nature, neither yet the knowledge of euery good discipline, let him take that course which he is able to attaine vnto. For it is great praise to him that followeth after the excellentest & best things, to staie in the second and third place, if he can doe no better. Those things are great, which are next to perfection. It is our dutie therefore to abide firme and constant in that good and commendable kind of life, which we haue chosen from the beginning, so that the end therof be to liue well. And let vs shun idlenes in such sort, as to say with *Cato*, that this is one thing whereof we ought to repent vs most, if we know that we haue spent a whole day, wherin we haue neither done nor learned some good thing. *Phocylides* minding to instruct vs in this matter, said that in the euening we ought not to sleep, before we haue thrice called to our remembrance whatsoeuer we haue done the same day, repenting vs of the euill, and reioicing in our well doing. *Apelles* the best painter that euer was, would not suffer one day to passe without drawing of some

Of perseuerance

An excellent precept of Phocylides.

some line, meaning thereby (as he said) to fight against idlenes, as with an arrow. *Æleas* king of Scythia said, that he seemed to himself to differ nothing from his horsekeeper, when he was idle. *Dionysius* the elder being demanded if he were neuer idle, answered: God keepe me from that: for as a bowe (according to the common prouerbe) is marred and breaketh by being too much bent: so is the soule through too much idlenes. This is that which *Masinissa* the Aphrican would learnedly teach vs, of whome *Polybius* writeth, that he died when he was foure score and ten yeeres of age, leauing behind him a sonne that was but foure yeeres old. A little before he died, after he had discomfited the Carthaginians in a maine battell, he was seene the next day eating of course browne bread, saying to some that maruelled thereat, *that as iron is bright and shineth so long as it is vsed by the hand of man, whereas a house falleth into decay when no man dwelleth therein,* (as *Sophocles* saith) *so fareth it with this brightnes and glistering light of the soule,* whereby we discourse, vnderstand, and remember. The same reason mooued *Xerxes* father to say to *Darius*, that in perillous times and dangerous affaires, he increased in wisedome. Likewise politicall knowledge, which is such a prudence, setled mind, iustice, and experience, as knoweth full well how to make choice of, and to take fit oportunitie in all things that happen, cannot be maintained but by the practise and managing of affaires, by discoursing & iudging. Now to conclude our present treatise, seeing we know that we are borne to all vertuous actions, let vs flie from idlenes and sloth, the welsprings of all iniustice & pouertie, the stirrers vp of infinite passions in the soule, and the procurers of sundrie diseases in the bodie, euen to the vtter destruction of them. And let vs imbrace diligence, care, trauell, & studie, which are sure guides to lead vs to that end for which we ought to liue, that is, in glorifieng God to profit our selues in honest things, and also all those with whome we liue, wherein consisteth all the happines and contentation of the life of good men. And let vs not doubt but that all time otherwise spent, is lost time:

Examples against idlenes.

An excellent comparison.

How politicall knowledge must be preserued.

The fruits of idlenes.

The end of our life.

time: knowing that all times in reſpect of themſeluns are alike, but that which is imploied in vertue is good in regard of vs, and that which is vnprofitably waſted, and in vices is naught. Further, let vs learne neuer to giue ouer the effecting and finiſhing of that which we once know to belong to our dutie, ſeeing that without perſeuerance neither he that fighteth can obtaine the victorie, neither the conqueror the garland, but he that continueth to the end ſhall be ſaued. Therefore let vs be carefull to make profit of that talent which is giuen vs to keepe, that we be not found euill and vnprofitable ſeruants before him, to whome we muſt yeeld an account euen of euery idle and vaine word.

Matth.10.22.

Matth.12.36.

Of an Enimie, of Iniurie, and of Reuenge. Chap.36.

AMANA. HAuing hitherto in three daies workes diſcourſed (according to our iudgement) of all the parts of the vertue of Fortitude, and of thoſe commendable effects that iſſue from it, to the correcting of many vices & imperfections, which abound in mans nature, I thinke that to end this afternoone, we are yet to reſume and to continue the ſpeech already begun by vs (as alſo we then promiſed) of one principall point concerning true magnanimitie, and greatnes of courage, which reſpecteth our enimies, thereby to know more particularly both our dutie towards them, and alſo what good may come to vs from them, if we ſuſtaine and beare courageouſly their iniuries, forſaking all deſire and luſt to reuenge.

A pretie compariſon.

ARAM. As induſtrious Bees gather the drieſt & moſt pearcing honie of bitter time: ſo a wiſe and vertuous man (ſaith *Xenophon*) knoweth how to drawe profite and commoditie from his enimies, vpon whome we muſt beware of reuenging our ſelues, leaſt (as *Theophraſtus* ſaith) we hurt our ſelues more than them.

ACHITOB. *It is the propertie* (ſaith *Cicero*) *of famous perſonages and noble harts to contemne iniuries offered vnto them*

by

by knowen wicked men, whose commendation of a man importeth some dishonestie in him. Now then ASER teach vs somwhat of this matter wherein we haue so great neede of instruction.

ASER. The Cynick Philosopher said, that if a man would be in safetie and partaker of happinesse, he must of necessitie haue good friends or sharpe enimies, that the first sort by good and wise admonitions, and these by notable iniuries, might withdraw him from doing of euill. And truely if we consider the profite and commoditie which may come vnto vs from him that voluntarily without occasion giuen him (as it is our dutie not to offend any) is become our enimie, by gouerning our selues therin with the reason of a true Academical prudence, besides that we shall shew foorth the effects of that title which we beare, and of the end of our being, we must be so farre off from hating an enimie, that we should rather thinke our selues beholding and bound vnto him for that great good which he procureth vnto vs. That this is so, is not this one propertie of vice to make vs more ashamed before our enimies when we haue committed a fault, than before our friends? Do we not take our enimie for a spie and enuier of our life? If any imperfection raigne in vs, who wil more freely giue vs to vnderstand thereof than he that hateth vs, who will not be slacke to publish it euery where? For this reason *Plutarke* calleth an enimie a Schoole-master that costeth vs nothing, of whom we learne that which may greatly profite vs, and which we know not. To this effect he maketh mention in his Apophthegmes of an Athenian captaine who complained to *Aristo* chief captain of the Lacedemonians, that his souldiers blazed abroad the maners of the Athenians. If the Athenians (said *Aristo* vnto him) did looke well to their doings; they should not neede to care what the Spartanes could say of them. These things being well considered by vs, if we haue enimies they will be a meane to make vs more fearefull and restrained from offending, and more earnest and diligent to order well our behauior, to direct our doings, and to correct

Good friends or sharp enimies are necessarily required to a happy life.

Why men are beholding to their enimies.

How men behaue thémselues now adays towards their enimies.

correct our imperfections. But let vs marke a litle how the noble and courageous youths of the world behaue themselues now adaies. The reproofes and iniuries of an enimie, may peraduenture be tolerated in some sort by the skilfuller sort of those that boast themselues to be so curious obseruers and ready defenders of their honor, so that they be not vttred in their presence: bicause they say that they cannot be offended at that which is spoken of them in their absence, and that they which speake so, will not auouch that slander before their faces, which they raysed behind their backes. According to these weake reasons they would haue other men iudge of reproch and iniurie, either to credite or to discredite them according to their power, and not as the truth of the fact it selfe requireth: whereupon also they passe that ouer without profite and amendment of their life, which they knew was misliked in them. There are others, who vpon a bare report made vnto them, thinke themselues greatly misused & harmed by those that spake ill of them, so that presently they purpose to be auenged of them. But herein they agree al, that if any man voluntarily offereth iniurie to another, they would haue the sword presently to decide the controuersie. What say I, for an iniurie? Nay, for a yea or a nay, they forthwith thinke that the lie is giuen them, and that they are out-faced: so that nothing but the death of the one, or of both together, and oftentimes of their deareſt and best friends is able (as they thinke) to repaire the preiudicate and supposed offence, and all for this vaine honour of the world. O detestable furie, not to be found in most cruel beasts, which spare the bloud of their sexe. It is not conuenient, that any time should be lost in reproouing the same, being of it self so odious, that it cannot so much as be once named but with shame, trembling and horror. For no man is so dull of vnderstanding, but he knoweth that effusion of bloud is forbidden by God, and that outrage being in no sort permitted, much lesse may a christian forget himselfe so farre as to kill another, except it be through necessitie in defe nding his owne body, or in the

Murder forbidden.

seruice

ſeruice of his prince and country in a iuſt warre. Amongſt all the ſententious ſayings of *Socrates* the wiſe, & the wonderfull workes of *Plato* his ſcholer, I find none more diuine, or woorthie of greater praiſe than that ſentence ſo often repeated by them, *That reuenge is not in any ſort to be vſed. It is not iuſt* (ſaid the ſame *Socrates*) *to offend any, although he had offred vs wrong. For a good man neuer ought to do euil: yea, it is a great deale better to ſuffer, than to offer contumelie, to be ſlaine than to ſlay, becauſe the one bringeth no detriment to man, who is the ſoule, but the other procureth the viter ruine and deſtruction therof.* This will ſound very ill in many mens eares. But if they will iudge without paſſion, and had eies to ſee, and eares to vnderſtand the end of their being & calling, as alſo the reaſon of true prudence & generoſitie taught vs in the ſtudie of Philoſophie, no doubt but they would ſubſcribe to the opinió of theſe wiſe Philoſophers, agreeing very well with that which is taught vs by the ſpirite of God, who condemneth the murderer, and him that offereth wrong and iniurie to another: but calleth himſelfe the defender of innocencie, and ſuch a one as returneth a double reward and recompence to thoſe that ſuffer for righteouſnes and equitie. Who may therfore doubt but that it is farre better to receiue than to do euil, to be killed than to kill, ſeeing by the one the good houre of our perpetuall reſt and felicitie is haſtened forward, & by the other we are vtterly fruſtrated thereof, and throwen into a hell of eternall fire? So that if we endeuor to ſhew forth the effects of true magnanimitie and greatneſſe of hart, there is no doubt but to beare and to endure with al modeſtie and patience the outrages and wrongs of our enimies, is the marke of that vertue which is moſt abſolute and perfect. That it is ſo, doth it not appeere in this, that vertue conſiſteth in difficult things? And that vertue that commeth neereſt to the diuine nature, which is hardeſt to be obtained, and leaſt familiar with men, is it not more woorthie and beſeeming a noble and valiant man, than all the reſt? Vnto which may we attribute better this marke than to the vertue of patience, whereof we haue alreadie

A notable ſentence.

Leuit. 24. 17.
Pſal. 9. 9. 16.
Matth. 5. 10.

To ſuffer iniurie patiently, is a badge of a moſt abſolute vertue.

readie intreated? We see no man vpon earth of so base estate, no woman so feeble and weake, no liuing creature so litle, but if they be striken, they will reuenge themselues very willingly as wel as they can. How greatly then ought this vertue to be accounted of, which forceth this natural lust of reuenge, bred in al liuing creatures, and how noble must the mind of that man needs be, which is able to master such a violent passion, so common to all men, thereby procuring to it selfe the name of a mild and gratious spirit, and readie to forgiue, which is proper and peculiar to the diuine nature? Therfore that great monarch *Alexander* said, *That a man wronged had need of a more noble hart to forgiue his enimie, thā to be reuēged of him & to kil him.* Behold the saying of as noble a prince as euer the earth bare: What can the Courtiers of these times say to the contrarie? *It is a great vertue* (saith *Epictetus*) *not to hurt him of whom thou art misused. It is a very commendable thing to pardon him whom thou mightest hurt, and it is a praise-woorthie kind of reuenge to let them go in peace that are ouercome.* Therefore *Pittacus* the Sage hauing one in his power that had dealt contumeliously with him, he suffered him to depart vnharmed, saying, *That pardon was better than reuenge, the one being proper to the spirit of a man, the other of a cruel beast.* But further, although it were onely in respect of our own benefit during our life, we ought to shunne all motions of iniurie, and all desire of reuenge: forasmuch as we cannot either determine or execute the same, but with a thousand perturbations, which cause vs to want the rest and tranquillitie of our soules, wherein all our happinesse and felicitie consisteth. And therfore *Seneca* saith, *If he that wronged thee be meaker than thou, forgiue him: if he be mightier, spare thy selfe.* For whosoeuer nourisheth his neighbors anger, whosoeuer prouoketh & incenseth him more, when he seeth him vehement and importunate against him, he committeth two faults. First he hateth himselfe by procuring his owne trouble and griefe: Secondly, his brother, bicause he maketh him sad, and vexeth him. Moreouer prudent men (as *Theophrastus* saith) ought to doe nothing in choler.

A commendable kind of reuenge.

Good counsaile of Seneca.

We must do nothing in choler.

For

For that vnreasonable part of the soule being mooued, foreseeth nothing wisely, but being driuen forward with a contentious desire, suffereth it selfe to be caried hither and thither, as if it were drunken. Also we must take great heed, that we do not alwaies put in execution whatsoeuer we haue a mind vnto, but onely that which moderate reason commandeth vs. Wherein we shal deserue the praise of true Magnanimity, if I say, we can command our selues and all vehemencie of choler, which drineth men forward to be auenged on their enimies, & is an act that sauoureth more of a vile and abiect hart, drawing neere to brutish fiercenes, than of a noble mind, which despiseth whatsoeuer is earthlie, mortall, and vading, that it may thinke of nothing but of heauen and immortalitie. This is that which the studie of our Philosophie teacheth vs: & euen as expert Phisitions knowe how to draw medicines apt for the preseruation of life out of serpents, poisons, & other deadly and venemous things: so we ought to draw from our enimies, not their life, which ought to be onely in the power of God and of his iustice, but profit & commoditie by their backbitings, reproches, and iniuries. Which will easily be done, if we make small account of their intent, and consider narrowly the fact which they speake ill of, to the end that if we be guiltie of that which they condemn in vs, we may purge and correct our selues. And if so be they harme vs wrongfully, their impudencie will cause their reproches and iniuries to be turned back, and sent against themselues, togither with that shame and dammage, which they thought to procure vnto vs, whereas we shall be no lesse honest and vertuous men than before. So that the best reuenge and most honorable victorie, which we can carie away from our enimies, will be to surpasse them in diligence, bountie, magnanimitie, good-turnes, and in all vertuous actions: whereby they wil sooner perceiue and confesse them selues vanquished & constrained to stop their mouth, and to represse their toong, than by any other force, which we can oppose against them. Then may we say, that as he who enterprised to kill

An apt similitude.

How a man may profit by the backbiting of his enimies.

The best kind of reueng.

Prometheus

Prometheus the Theſſalien gaue him ſo great a blowe with a ſword vpon an apoſtume which put him in danger of death, that by lancing it he ſaued his life contrary to his meaning: ſo the iniurious ſpeeches of our enimies vttred in wrath & of ill will to hurt vs, haue been the cauſe of curing many euils in vs whereof we made no account, and of making vs much better than we were before. But bicauſe iniurie ſeemeth ſo hard and vneaſie to be tolerated by the imbecillitie of mans nature, which is ſo ſoone offended, and by the hart of man being full of reuenge, let vs yet ſee whether we can find any remedie, if not to cure that which is incurable, at leaſt wiſe to purge and to cleanſe the Accidents of this euil. Iniurie is offered either to the goods, to the honour or to the perſon of a man. As touching the firſt and laſt, namely, the ſpoiling of our goods, and violence offred to our perſon, what other reuenge either by the lawe of God or of man can we haue, than to repulſe force with force, I meane, when we are conſtrained thereunto, or elſe by way of the prince his Iuſtice, which is open to euery one? If any haue robbed thee, muſt thou become a thiefe or ſatiſfie thy ſelfe by thine owne ſtrength? Much leſſe oughteſt thou to ſet thy ſelfe againſt him that is not faultie, as many do. If thou being the weaker art ouertaken, hurt and wronged, oughteſt thou to vſe new force, violence and murder to reuenge thy ſelfe, and to repaire thy iniurie receiued? The ſword is in the hands of the king and of the magiſtrate that repreſenteth his perſon: and it belongeth to him onely to vſe it againſt them that trouble publike tranquillitie and ciuil ſocietie: to the end there ſhould be no ſhew, that any other either would or durſt meddle with the ſoueraigntie, whoſe greatneſſe and preſeruation conſiſteth in the adminiſtration of iuſtice. Yea the lawes haue alwaies ſo abhorred violence and priuate force, that they haue reſtored thieues and robbers into thoſe places which they vniuſtly poſſeſſed, if they had been driuen from them by violence. But ſome man will ſay, that theſe things ought in deed to be dulie conſidered of if Iuſtice were executed, and

How many wayes a mã may receiue iniurie.

Men muſt not take the law into their owne hands, although it be not rightly executed.

and had not forſaken the earth to dwell in heauen. And how then canſt thou execute it, ſeeing thou art not called to do, but to demand iuſtice? Tarie, and the iuſt Iudge wil returne double that which hath been vniuſtly taken from thee, which thou haſt ſuffered, or which hath been denied thee, euen then when thou ſhalt haue greater neede than now that thy daies are ſo ſhort: and then thou ſhalt liue for euer of that which thou haſt reaped in this poore and miſerable life. Concerning honor, the iniurie whereof we feare more than of the other, let vs know, that it cannot be hurt in a good man, bicauſe vertue, which is inuincible, protecteth and defendeth it. But now a daies we fetch it not ſo farre off. For we will haue our honor tied to the vaine opinion of the world, which reiecteth and contemneth thoſe men as cowards and baſe-minded, that haue but once put vp the leaſt iniurie offered by another: but honoreth as noble and courageous thoſe that can luſtilie kill their enimies. This is the cauſe why many, who would willingly forget an iniurie receiued, dare not do it for loue of their friends: as alſo bicauſe they ſee, that it would rather be imputed vnto them as a tokē of a faint hart, than of a deſire to followe reaſon. But let all theſe blood-ſuckers, enclined to reuenge & to murder, couer their beaſtlie crueltie aſwell as they can, yet haue they no other reaſon to diſguiſe it but this, that it is a vſuall kind of behauiour now a daies amongeſt men, to the ende they may be welcomed, praiſed, and fauoured of Kinges, Princes, and great Lords, otherwiſe they muſt take a Coole, and ſhut vp themſelues in ſome cloiſter. But they muſt needes affirme this withall, that they had rather vndoe and condemne themſelues with the multitude, ſo they may haue worldlie honour, than be ſaued with the ſmall number of honeſt men: except peraduenture they will ſay, that they knowe no other life but this, & that they liue onely for the world, without beleefe or hope of a ſecond and eternall life. And albeit they confeſſe a ſecond life with their mouth, yet their deeds declare ſufficiently, that they are altogither ignorant of the nature and happines of the other life, and

Of the offence done to honor.

The excuſe of quarrellers.

that they care not greatly to come vnto it. But let vs that
Socrates void of reuenge. are better instructed imitate *Socrates*, who, being counselled to reueng a wrong receiued, made this answer: What? If a Mastie had bit me, or an Asse giuen me a blow, would you haue me serue writs vpon them? So let vs behaue our selues towards them that are froward & vitious, making a great deale lesse account of their iniuries, than of a blow that hurteth: which they cannot do at all to out honour. As for good men we shall neuer be hurt by them. Now, if we draw neere, although neuer so little, to the perfection
We must not be mooued with mocks. of such a nature, much lesse ought we to be pronoked & stirred vp through any laughter or gibing, which cannot touch or offend any, but those that are troubled and caried away with passions. Thus much did *Socrates* wisely giue one to vnderstand, who told him that certaine mocked him: *I do not* (quoth he) *thinke that I am mocked*. Heereupon I remember a notable answer made by one *Ptolemeus*
Ptolemeus. king of Egypt, who was counselled to punish a Grammarian. The king demanding of him by way of gibing, who was father to *Peleus*, he made this answer, that he desired first to knowe who was *Lagus* his father, noting thereby that the king was borne of base parentage. *If it be vnseemly* (quoth *Ptolemeus* to his friends) *for a king to be mocked, it is also as vndecent for him to mocke another*. Now although it be our dutie to tread vnder foote all desire of reuenge, & to make no account of iniuries and mocks, yet is it lawfull for vs sometime, if we be disposed, and no greater offence arise thereof, to stop the mouths of such as are iniu-
How a man may repulse a mocke rious & impudent, with a little short replie: not in wrath or choler, but with a certaine meekenes and graue smiling, and somewhat nippingly, so that it passe not the bounds of modestie. *Cato*
Cato. knew well how to behaue himself after this sort, who being iniuriously dealt with all by one that had alwaies liued wickedly, said thus vnto him: *I am not able to deale with thee in this manner by contending with iniuries. For thou hast throughly vsed thy selfe both to vtter reproches freely, and to suffer with ease when any man offereth thee wrong or iniurie. But as for me, I delight neither in hearing, nor in*

vttering

vttering them. Likewise *Demosthenes* answered another in this sort: *I will not enter into this combat with thee, wherein the vanquished is better than the vanquisher.* *Demosthenes.* *Plato* also being touched with iniurious speeches, said: *Go on to speake ill, seeing thou didst neuer learne to speake well.* *Plato.* *Lysander*, Admirall of the Lacedemonians, being reuiled with many bitter speeches, said to him that offered the iniurie: *Spue out boldly my friend, spue out boldly and often, and spare not, to see if thou canst emptie thy soule of that euill and wickednes wherewith it is replenished.* *Lysander.* Shall we thinke now, that these famous men, making so small account of iniuries & wrongs, had any other bound than right and iustice onely in the hatred of the vices of wicked men, or that they would haue sought by any other way for the satisfieng of those wrongs, which they receiued? Let vs consider how *Scaurus* behaued himselfe towards his enimie *Domitius*, against whome he was to put vp a complaint by way of iustice. There was one of *Domitius* his seruants, who before iudgment was giuen of their processe, came to *Scaurus*, and said, that he would disclose vnto him a matter of great importance against his maister, which vndoubtedly would cause him that was his aduerse partie to gaine his suit. But he not minding to heare him any further, tooke order that he should be straightly bound, and so sent him to his maister. The meanes which *Agesilaus* vsed to make his enimies his friends, in steede of reuenging himselfe vpon them, are woorthie of eternall praise, and ought to moone vs greatly to correct our naturall imperfections, so much inclined to reuenge. For when he could come to the knowledge of them without any further shew, he thrust them into publike offices and charges. And if it fell out so that they committed any offence wherby they were drawn into iudgement, he holpe them as much as he could, by that meanes winning the friendship of euery one. For although we commonly say, that as one and the same sunne softeneth the waxe, and hardeneth the clay: so good deeds win the harts of good men, but prouoke the wicked, yet there is no man of so peruerse a nature, whome a man cannot make his friend

The limits that are to be vsed in hating the wicked.

Scaurus.

How Agesilaus made his enimies his friends

by plying him often with benefits, and when occaſion is offered, by binding him with ſome notable good turne. *Auguſtus.* For this cauſe *Auguſtus*, after the conſpiracie of *Cinna* was diſcouered, notwithſtanding that he had him in his power, being conuicted by his owne letter, yet he did not onely forgiue him, but taking him alſo by the hand, ſware friendſhip with him, and beſtowed vpon him great eſtates and dignities, wherein *Cinna* afterward ſerued him faithfully. *The Venetians.* And it ſeemeth that for the ſame reaſon the Venetians hauing taken the Duke of Mantua their deadly enimie, in ſteed of taking his eſtate from him, they made him their Generall captaine: ſo that euer after he abode their faithfull friend. *Pontinus.* *Pontinus* alſo an ancient captaine of the Samnites, ſaid, *that they were either freely to ſet at libertie the Romane armie, which was ſurprized in the ſtraights of the mountaine Apenninus, and ſo make them loyall friends through the bond of ſo great a good turne, or elſe to put them all to death, thereby to take from the enimie a great part of his ſtrength.* Neither may we heere let go in ſilence the diſcretion of *Dionyſius* the elder, king of Syracuſa, in puniſhing an iniurie. Which example ought to cauſe all them to bluſh, who in furie and choler, after an iniurie receiued, or after ſome report therof, ſeeke preſently for ſome cruell reuenge. *The prudence of Dionyſius in puniſhing euill ſpeakers.* This king being told that two yoong men as they were drinking togither, had ſpoken many outragious words of him, he inuited them both to ſupper. And perceiuing that one of them, after he had taken a little wine into his head, vttered and committed much follie, and that contrariwiſe the other was very ſtaied, and drunke but a little, he puniſhed this fellow as one that was malitious, and had been his enimy of ſet purpoſe, but forgaue the other, as being drunken, and mooued by the wine to ſpeake ill of him. Concluding therefore our preſent diſcourſe, let vs learne that it is the propertie of a great and noble mind to be mild, gratious, and readie to forgiue, and that it is a greater point of Magnanimitie to ſurmount the common nature of men by a woonderfull diuinitie of the ſoule, than to follow after that which beaſts are able to do better than

we.

we. For many of them in this earthly generositie, whereof many men make so great account, excell & surpasse the best of them all. In all debates & controuersies with our enimies, let vs retaine (as *Cicero* counsaileth vs) grauitie & constancie, and chase awaye all choler: bicause nothing that is done through perturbation can be done constantly, or be approoued of any. *Let vs not be afraid* (said *Antisthenes*) *to wish all the good in the world to our enimies, except valure, which may make them rash to venture vpon our life: and let vs giue ouer all will to procure them any hurt or displeasure, or any maner of reuenge. Let vs rather desire not to be spared of them in those things which are blame-woorthie in vs, that so we may be more readie to amend and correct them. Let vs loue our enimies, blesse them that curse vs, do good to them that hate and persecute vs, ouercomming euill with good, and leauing all vengeance to him that hath reserued it to himselfe, who by his power directeth the nets, swords, hatchets, instruments and scourges of his wrath, all which are our enimies for the amendment of our life:* and then shall we shew foorth those true effects of the vertue of Fortitude & Magnanimitie, which our heauenly Father requireth of vs.

Antisthenes counsaile.

Math. 5. 44.

Rom. 12. 19.

The ende of the ninth daies worke.

THE TENTH DAIES WORKE.

Of Iuſtice. Chap. 37.

What true Philoſophie is.

ASER. *TRue Philoſophie* (ſaith *Socrates*) *is to know and to practiſe both priuately and publikely thoſe things that are honeſt & iuſt. This is that Prudence which teacheth vs well and nobly to gouerne both domeſtical and ciuill affaires, the name whereof is Temperance and Iuſtice.* By which ſpeech this wiſe Philoſopher taught vs the ſtraight and vnſeparable coniunction and knot of the foure Morall vertues, being neuertheleſſe diſtinguiſhed by their proper and particular effects. Which hauing hitherto offred vs matter wherein to reioice our ſpirites about the three firſt riuers flowing out of the fountaine of Honeſtie, there remaineth now for vs to conſider of the laſt of them, which although it be but one particular, yet in truth it is the very perfection of all dutie, and is called Iuſtice: the precepts whereof if we keepe diligently, we ſhall truly become images of God his eſſence, & be made according to his likeneſſe. Let vs then begin my companions, to intreat of this great and heauenly vertue.

The fruits and effects of Iuſtice

AMANA. *Iuſtice* (ſaith *Cicero*) *is the miſtreſſe of all the other vertues, and as it were their Queene. She is the groundworke of euerlaſting glory and renowme, and without hir nothing can be praiſe-woorthie. She putteth a difference betweene the good and the bad, which being taken away* (ſaith *Seneca*) *nothing foloweth but confuſion.* For to reward the wicked and not the good, to afflict the vertuous, and not to chaſtice the euill man, is to make a gallimaufrey of vice and vertue.

What Iuſtice is.

ARAM. *What is Iuſtice but godlineſſe* (ſaith *Lactantius*) *and what is godlineſſe but the knowledge of God our Father? Notwithſtanding in reſpect of vs, Iuſtice is commonly taken for an e-*

quall

quall diſtribution of right and of lawes. But of thee (ACHITOB) we ſhall preſently vnderſtand the greatneſſe and riches of this precious vertue, and the vnſpeakeable fruites which ſhe diſtributeth liberally for the profit of all men.

ACHITOB. *No kingdome, common-wealth, or citie* (ſaith *Plato*) *can be either well ruled or inſtituted in the beginning, or preſerued and kept in a happie eſtate without diuine or humane Iuſtice, without the counſaile of the aged, or without the fauor of the heauenly wiſdome.* Now that is diuine iuſtice (as *Lactantius* ſaith) whereby we are ioyned to God by deuotion and good will: and humane Iuſtice knitteth vs vnto men by mercie and humanitie. Whereby we ſee that the foundation of all Iuſtice is grounded vpon that honor & ſeruice which we owe to God, whereupon we are induced to be dutifull to our neighbors according to charitie. Therfore we muſt aboue all things loue Iuſtice, and apply all our ſtudie thereunto, ſeeing it is the firſt and principal point that concerneth the direction of a Chriſtian mans life, yea mo are partakers of the fruit thereof, than of any other vertue. *Iuſtice* (ſaith *Seneca*) *is the law of God, and the bond of humane ſocietie.* For auoiding therfore of confuſion in this matter, we ſay with *Plato*, that Iuſtice obſerued and kept towards God, taketh vnto it the name of pietie. But we will enter into the handling of that Iuſtice onely, which hath reſpect to our dealings with men, being by the ſame *Plato* called an equall diſtribution towards all the world, according to the deſerts of euery one, and a ſure foundation of cities and common-wealths. He ſaith alſo, that Iuſtice requireth vpright dealing throughout a mans calling and charge, and that nothing is more like to the greatnes of God, than a man perfectly iuſt. *Ariſtotle* calleth Iuſtice a generall vertue, bicauſe he that hath hir perfectly, may boaſt that he hath within him all the other vertues. For he could not know what were iuſt and vniuſt, nor make choice of the one and flie from the other, if he were not prudent, to which vertue that thing doth properly belong. Neither could he exerciſe the precepts of Iuſtice, if by temperance he knew not how to moderate all his paſ-

Three things neceſſary in euery common-wealth.

The ground of all Iuſtice.

The diſtinction of Iuſtice.

Whoſoeuer hath Iuſtice perfectly, hath all the vertues.

ſions and priuate affections, not ſuffering himſelfe to be ouercome either with wine, gluttonie, luſt, couetouſnes, or with any other deſires and motions, which hinder the vſe of reaſon. Beſides, he could not practiſe one principall & diuine point of iuſtice, which is to ſuccour with all his might the afflicted and oppreſſed, and to prouide that no man be wronged, if it lie in his power, notwithſtanding any danger whereinto he may fall, although it be certaine loſſe of life, and of all earthlie and tranſitorie goods, I ſay he could not practiſe this, if through Fortitude and Generoſitie he contemne not death, the earth, and whatſoeuer ſauoreth of the world, that he may be (ſo farre foorth as his humane nature will ſuffer) a follower of the diuinitie. Iuſtice (ſaith *Cicero*) is a conſtant and perpetuall will and deſire to giue to euery one his right. She is the proper vertue of a noble minded man, bicauſe ſhe is profitable to others, but to hir ſelfe fruitles, laborious, and perilous. Yea that man onely may be called iuſt, that profiteth as many as he can, but hurteth none, that is alwaies at agreement within himſelfe, and is a friend to God, to men, and to himſelfe. Iuſtice (ſaith *Diogenes*) worketh great tranquillitie and perfect felicitie in our ſoules. For to be afraid of none, and not to bluſh at the ſight of any mans perſon, bringeth with it great contentation, and is as it were the perfection of life, which is proper onely to a iuſt ſoule. Iuſtice (ſaith *Heſiodus*) is a chaſt and reuerent virgine, not violated or defiled, but lodged alwaies with ſhamefaſtnes, chaſtitie, and ſimplicitie. *Pindarus* calleth hir the Queene of all the world. *Pythagoras* teaching by his riddlelike precepts, how a man ought to beware of tranſgreſſing Iuſtice, ſaith: *Go not beyond the ballance.* If we purpoſe (ſaith *Plato*) to exerciſe Iuſtice perfectly, we muſt make no differēce of men in regard either of their friendſhip, kindred, wealth, pouertie, or dignitie. This vertue (ſaith *Cicero*) requireth of vs the forſaking of our pleaſures and priuate commoditie, that we may procure the benefit of the Common-wealth, although it be to our perill and loſſe. And thoſe men command and gouerne very wel,

The praiſe of Iuſtice.

Reſpect of perſons is not to be vſed in the practiſe of Iuſtice.

wel, who forbid vs to do any thing wherof we doubt whether it be iuſt or vniuſt: bicauſe equity is ſo cleere of it ſelf, that when we doubt of any thing, we may be aſſured that there is ſome iniuſtice in it. *Ariſtotle* and *Cicero* deuide Iuſtice into theſe two partes, *Diſtributiue* and *Commutatiue*. Diſtributiue Iuſtice conſiſteth in giuing to euery one according to his deſert, whether it be honor and dignitie, or puniſhment. Commutatiue Iuſtice is in keeping fidelitie and in cauſing it to be kept in promiſes and contracts, & in behauing our ſelues no otherwiſe to another, than we would be delt withall. Many parts and particular dueties are alſo attributed by the Philoſophers to Iuſtice, as Liberalitie and ſundry other, whereof we will particularly diſcourſe hereafter. But we muſt here learne, that the end of all Iuſtice tendeth to the preſeruation of the common ſocietie of men. For the preſeruation of the lawes (which are the Gardian and Tutor of good men, and a mortall enimie to the wicked) is ſo neceſſarie for euery eſtate and condition of life, that (as *Cicero* ſaith) the very Pirates, thieues & robbers could not liue together without ſome part thereof. If we deſire to know more of hir vnſpeakeable fruits, let vs conſider that which *Paulus* the Pythagorian hath written, ſaying, *Iuſtice among men ought in my opinion to be called the Mother and Nurſe of all the other vertues. For without hir no man could be either temperate, valiant or prudent: the profite wherof will be very euident if we conſider all hir effects. For the prouidence of God is that Iuſtice which gouerneth the world, and hath the principalitie ouer it. In cities and townes Iuſtice is rightly called Equitie and Peace: in particular houſes betweene the huſband and the wife, Vnitie and Concord: in reſpect of ſeruants towards their maſters, Good will: of maſters towards their ſeruants, Humanitie and Gentleneſſe: and in mens bodies Health and perfection of the members*. Thus you ſee that Iuſtice is the beginning and perfection of all the vertues. By theſe ſhort ſayings of ancient and graue perſonages, the excellencie of this holy and ſacred vertue Iuſtice appeereth ſufficiently vnto vs. Yea it is ſo earneſtly commaunded by the ſpirit of God vnto Magiſtrates in theſe words of

The diuiſion of Iuſtice.

The difference between Commutatiue and Diſtributiue Iuſtice.

The end of Iuſtice.

The neceſſitie of Iuſtice.

Diuers names agree to Iuſtice in diuers reſpects.

Ierem. 21. 12. & 22. 3. of *exercising Iudgement and Iustice*, so often repeated, that whosoeuer infringeth and violateth it, can not auoid the curse and wrath of the Almightie, which will both light vpon their owne heads, and also worke the destruction of them that are committed to their charge. It belongeth to Iustice, to receiue the innocent into protection and safegard, to maintaine, defend, sustaine, and deliuer them, and to Iudgement, to resist the boldnes of the wicked, to represse their violence, and to punish their offences: bicause Magistrats are therefore armed with the sword and with power, that publike peace should not be disturbed. This also is that which *Solon* meant to teach vs, when he said: *that the greatnes and preseruation of all Common-wealths consisted in two things, in the reward of the good, & in the punishmẽt of the wicked:* which being taken away, the whole discipline of humane societie must needes be dissolued and come to nothing. For there are many that haue no great care to do wel, if they see not vertue recompenced with some honor: although this beseemeth not a noble-minded man, who ought to do nothing but onely for the loue of vertue. And againe, the malice of the wicked cannot be brideled, if they see not vengeance and punishment prepared for offenders. All these aboue specified considerations did so greatly recommend Iustice to the men of old time, and caused them to esteeme so much of it, that whensoeuer occasion was offered to maintaine and execute it, it was preferred before all things: insomuch that the father did not pardon his owne sonne. The Egyptians were the ancientest Lawmakers, as Historiographers report, and were very carefull and diligent obseruers of Iustice. In their cities they painted Iudges without hands, and the President or chiefe Iustice with his eies blind-folded: to teach, that Iustice ought not to be either a briber, or respecter of persons, that is, she must neither take any thing, nor iudge for any fauour. The kings of their countrey obserued this order, to cause Iudges when they were installed by them in their offices, to sweare, that albeit they were commanded by them to iudge vniustly, yet they should

What Iustice and Iudgement are.

The Egyptians were zealous of Iustice.

How they painted Iudges.

ſhould not obey them. Since their time, the ancient Grecians and Romanes ſhewed themſelues great, true, and zealous followers of this vertue of Iuſtice, and that towardes their greateſt enimies. They iudged it a very noble act to accuſe the wicked, ſo it were not vpon any priuate occaſion or paſſion: they delighted greatly to ſee yoong men by way of Iuſtice to purſue tranſgreſſors, as grayhounds well flesht follow after wild beaſts. This cauſed *Solon* being demanded what citie ſeemed to him beſt gouerned, to anſwer: *that city wherein they that are not wronged, do as egerly follow after ſatisfaction in the behalfe of another man wronged, as if themſelues had receiued the iniurie*. For the truth is (quoth he) that they which violate and breake lawes, do not offend one man alone, but the whole Citie and Common-wealth: therefore euery one ought to deſire and ſeeke after iuſt puniſhment. Moreouer, the ſeueritie which the Lacedemonians obſerued in their iudgements, procured ſuch a publike ſafety, that for a long time they vſed not to put either lockes to cofers, or barres to gates. *Ariſtotle* maketh mention of a certaine countrey, where the inhabitants were to aſſure the ſafetie of the waies, and to repay vnto paſſengers that loſſe, which they had receiued by theeues and robbers. Neither is it long ſince the like ſtatute was obſerued in many places of Italie. But I ſtand greatly in doubt, that at this day it is ilfauoredly kept. O happie, yea an hundred times happy was the golden age of thoſe famous men, full of heauenlie ſpirite, bicauſe vnder their gouernment Iuſtice was had in ſuch honor and reuerence. But let vs rub vp the memorie heereof by ſome notable examples. If any thing cauſeth Magiſtrates to commit iniuſtice, it is chiefly the fauour which they beare, & the bond wherewith they are bound more to ſome than to others. Therefore *Cleon* the Lacedemonian minding to deale in publike affaires, gathered all his friends togither, and told them, that he renounced & diſcharged himſelf of all their friendſhip, bicauſe friendſhip many times cauſed men to yeeld, and to ſtep aſide from their good and right purpoſes in matters of iudgement.

The Grecians and Romans.

What citie is beſt gouerned.

Examples of the loue of Iuſtice.

Cleon.

ment. True it is that when we haue none but good men to our friends, who are mooued and poſſeſſed with the ſame zeale to vertue that we are, as before was mentioned, we ſhall neuer fall into theſe inconueniences. The example of *Ariſtides* the Athenian his loue vnto Iuſtice, is woorthie of ſpeciall remembrance. For calling into the law an enimie of his, after he had ſet downe his accuſation, the Iudges were ſo mooued againſt the accuſed party, for the impietie of the fact in controuerſie, that they would haue condemned him vnheard: ſo greatly did they truſt to the honeſtie of the accuſer, that he had ſet downe nothing but the very truth. But *Ariſtides*, who for his great and rare vertue had before deſerued the ſurname of Iuſt, went with the accuſed partie and caſt himſelfe at the Iudges feete, beſeeching them, that he might be heard, to iuſtifie and to defend himſelfe, according as the lawes commanded. Further, one writeth of him, that when he was vpon a time Iudge betweene two parties that pleaded before him, one of them ſaid: my aduerſarie hath done thee great wrong *Ariſtides*. But he foorthwith interrupting his talke, made this anſwer: *My friend, declare only whether he hath wronged thee. For I am heere to do thee right, and not my ſelfe:* ſhewing thereby, that Iuſtice ought to be executed without any priuate paſſion, reuenge, or choler, wherewithall many at this day are ouercome. *Iunius Brutus* Conſul of Rome, condemned his two ſonnes *Titus* & *Tiberius* to be beheaded, being conuicted for conſpiring the reentrie of *Tarquinius* race vnto the kingdome of Rome, from whence they had been banquiſhed for wickednes and whoredome. Truely a notable example, and cleane contrarie to thoſe that are fauourers and accepters of perſons. *Phocion* refuſed to helpe his ſonne in law *Charillus* in iudgement, being accuſed for taking certaine monie vniuſtly, ſaying vnto him: *that he had made him his Allie in all iuſt and reaſonable matters onely*. *Alexander* the Great vſed this commendable cuſtome as he ſate in place of Iuſtice to heare criminall cauſes pleaded, that whileſt the accuſer declared his accuſation, he ſtopped one of his

Ariſtides.

I. Brutus.

Phocion.

Alexander.

eares

eares with his hand, to the end he might keepe it pure & vpright, not admitting thereinto (as he gaue them to vnderstand) any preiudicate or false impression, that so he might heare the accused partie speake in his own defence and iustification. Truely an example meete for kings and princes, that they should not lightly beleeue slaunderers, nor giue sentence of execution presently vpō their report and perswasion: bicause they ought not to take pleasure, or to glut themselues as it were, with some pleasant pastime, in the corrections and punishments of men, which is the propertie of a tyrant. Neither ought they, after the punishment is inflicted, to repent them thereof, which is a token of ignorance, and baseneſse of mind: but Iustice must see execution done when reason and iudgement require, and that without either griefe or pleasure. *Augustus Cæsar* knowing that *Asprenas* a very familiar friend of his, was accused in iudgement, and fearing that if he went to the place where the matter was to be heard, he should offer wrong to Iustice, as also that if he went not, he should seeme to abandon his friend, as iudging him culpable: he asked counsail of the Senate, with whom he resolued to be present at the iudgement of his friend, but to speake nothing, bicause in so doing he should neither do him wrong, nor violate iustice. *Augustus.*

Agesilaus king of Lacedemonia deserued likewise great praise for this vertue, albeit he were a very assured friend to his friend, and of a gentle nature, readie to imploy himselfe in the behalfe of all them that stood in need of him. Neuertheleſse, when a friend of his contended with him about a matter, which he desired to obtaine of this prince, saying, that he had made him a promise thereof: If the thing (quoth he) be iust, I haue promised it; but if it be vniust, I haue not promised, but onely spoken it. He vsed also to say, that he esteemed Iustice as chiefe of all the vertues, and that valure was of no valew if it were not ioined therwith, yea, would be needleſse if all men were iust. And when certaine men who were sent vnto him to conferre about some agreement, said one day vnto him, that the great King would *Agesilaus.*

Prowes without Iustice is worth nothing.

haue

haue it ſo; wherein (quoth he vnto them) is he greater than I, if he be not more iuſt? Whereby he iudged verie well, that the difference between a great and a little king ought to be taken from iuſtice, as from a kingly meaſure and rule, according vnto which they ought to gouerne their ſubiects, ſeeing they were at the firſt eſtabliſhed to do iuſtice, as *Herodotus* ſpeaking of the Medes, and *Cicero* of the Romanes, make mentiõ. This is that which a poore old woman ſignified to *Phillip* king of Macedonia, when ſhe came to him to haue hir complaint heard. To whom when the king made anſwer that he had no leaſure at that time to heare hir, ſhe cried with a loud and cleere voyce, *Be not then king*. Whereupon this meeke prince (by which name he ſaid he had rather be called for a long time, than by the name of Lord for a little while) was ſo touched at the hart with the conſideration of his dutie, that he returned preſently into his pallace, where, ſetting aſide al other affaires, he gaue himſelf many daies to heare all their cõplaints and requeſts that would come before him, beginning firſt with the ſaid poore woman. Another time being ouertaken with ſleepe, and not well hearing the iuſtification and defence of one *Machetas*, he condemned him in a certaine ſumme. Whereupon the ſaid partie cried out aloud, that he appealed to *Phillip* after he ſhould be throughly awake. Which being noted by the ſaid Prince, he would needes heare him againe: and afterward declared him not guiltie, paying notwithſtanding with his own money that ſumme wherein he had before condemned him, that ſo he might keepe inuiolable the authoritie of his ſentence. The emperor *Traian* is iuſtly commended of Hiſtoriographers, bicauſe he alighted from his horſe, as he was going to warre, only to heare the complaint which a poore woman was about to make vnto him. And truely nothing doth ſo properly belong vnto, or is ſo well beſeeming a prince of a good and gentle nature, as the practiſe and exerciſe of Iuſtice. Therefore when the Hebrews aſked a king of Samuel, they added this, *To iudge vs like all nations*. Yea theſe heads which had the ſouereignetie ouer thẽ

The difference between a great and a little king.

Phillip.

Traianus.

1. Sam. 8. 5.

before

before were only in the nature of Iudges. It is Iuſtice only, which through the grace of God cauſeth kingdoms & monarchies to flouriſh: as *Archidamus* did very well ſignifie to one, who asked of him what were thoſe gouernours of the Lacedemonian common-wealth, by whoſe means it was maintained in ſuch and ſo great glory as was then to be ſeen. They are (ſaid he) the lawes firſt, and next the magiſtrates obſeruing the lawes. Moreouer the law muſt be the rule of Iuſtice, as Iuſtice is the end of the law. In ſome other place we ſhall vnderſtand more at large by the grace of God, what the law is, and how we are to obey it, where alſo we will conſider particularly of the duetie of magiſtrates, and of their dignitie. In the mean time let vs mark well for our inſtruction the notable ſayings and examples of ancient men here mentioned of vs, which do ſufficiently teſtifie vnto vs how greatly they recommended the preſeruation of this vertue of Iuſtice. Whereof if we beleeue (as the truth is) that God is the author, that he doth continually exerciſe the ſame amongſt vs by viſible teſtimonies, and that he will bring it to a full periode and perfection at the appointed time, which is only known to him, let vs take good heed that we neither contemne nor violate it. Let ſuch as are decked with diademes for the adminiſtration of Iuſtice, who neuertheles commit this duetie to others vnder them, make choice of ſufficient and able men to beare ſo heauie a charge, I meane able, both for their learning, and alſo for their good example of life. Otherwiſe let them be ſure, that this great Iudge will require at their hands the wrong that is offred to innocēcy. To meete with which inconuenience, & to take away the cauſe of ſo many abuſes & naughtie dealings, which now a daies are knowen to ſuch as are moſt ignorant, to the vtter ouerthrow of a million of poore families, I thinke that this is one of the beſt and ſureſt means, not to leaue Iuſtice, which is ſo precious a thing, to the licence of any whoſoeuer will take it vpon him, whereby it is ſet to open ſale, as it were ſome merchandiſe of ſmall account. Which dealing (that I may ſpeake my mind freely) giueth occaſion,

What cauſeth kingdoms to flouriſh.

God is the author of Iuſtice.

What maner of men magiſtrates ought to be.

One meane wherby the abuſe of Iuſtice may be taken away.

The inconuenience that commeth by setting offices to sale. Exod. 18.

sion, yea constraineth those men to take bribes, and to be couetous, who (according to the counsaile of Iethro giuen to Moses) ought to be fartheſt from it. For so long as the places of iudgement shall be vendible, and bestowed vpon him that offreth most, we shall alwayes see that for mony, such as are most ignorant, worst liuers & vnworthiest will be the first & chiefest. Now what iustice can be hoped for of such men? For after they are once placed therin, the chiefest respect is to reape gaine, profit and aduantage, according to that valew & rate of mony which they laid out vpon it. Did my office cost me so much? than it must be thus much worth vnto me. For if I had imployed my money else-where, I might haue had thus much of reuenues and inheritance. Truly this saying full of impietie neuer caused them to blush that haue vttered it sundrie times, although it hath wrought the same effect in many that haue heard it. The Emperor *Alexander*, and after him *Lewes* the 12. vsed this speech long since by way of prophecie, *That buyers of Offices would sell by retaile as deare as they could that which they bought in grosse*. And for this cause a wise Politician of our time hath written very learnedly, that they which set to sale estates, offices and benefices, sell withall the most sacred thing in the world, which is Iustice. They sell the common-wealth, they sell the bloud of the subiects, they sell the lawes: and taking away the reward of honor, of vertue, of knowledge, of godlinesse, of religion, they open a gate to thefts, to bribes, to couetousnes, to iniustice, to ignorance, to impietie: in a word, to all kind of vice and filthines. Neither do I doubt but that they which buy them are as greatly to be reprooued and blamed, as those that sell them: bicause they minister life and nourishment, as much as in them lieth, to this monstrous Hydra of couetousnesse and lucre, which sucketh vp and deuoureth the substance of the poore. But they will say, if we lay not out our money hereupon, others wil do it that are as well prouided with coine, and yet peraduenture are not so zealous of Iustice as we are. What? wilt thou doe euill for feare least another should do it before thee?

The saying of Alexander and Lewes the 12.

Against buyers of offices.

thee? Beſides, if thou conſidereſt thy ſelfe well, what leadeth thee hereunto but ambition or couetouſnes? And if peraduenture ſome one among an hundred is touched with a good deſire to profite and to ſerue his countrey, what can he do alone amongſt ten that are corrupted? But let this be ſpoken without offence to good men, who for the moſt part bewaile their eſtate and condition being in ſuch company. And let not ſuch buiers of offices thinke, that bicauſe of their bought eſtates they deſerue any honor, (if for other reſpects they are not worthie) which is the reward of vertue only: but rather let them know, that they deceiue themſelues no leſſe than thoſe men did, who thought to flie with the golden wings of *Euripides*: making that thing of the heavieſt matter that could be, which ought to be moſt light. The Emperor *Aurelianus* was ſo fearfull of placing an vnworthie man in the ſeat of iudgement, that he neuer preferred any to the dignitie of a Senator, but with the conſent of the whole Senate. But to end our ſpeech, we will hold this, that nothing is more neceſſarie to guide and to order the life of man to hir proper & happy end, than the vertue of Iuſtice: which being taken from amongſt vs, all other vertues ſequeſter themſelues far from vs, giuing place to the perturbations of our ſoules, which draw vs into ruine and confuſion. And when as the greater ſort being well inſtructed in their duetie, beſtow the adminiſtration of Iuſtice vpon thoſe men only that deſerue it, opening that gate vnto them only for their vertue, then do they put in vre the firſt point requiſite for the preſeruation of their eſtates, namely, the recompenſing of good men. This will cauſe euery one to ſeeke out the way that leadeth to vertue, whoſe propertie it is to bring men to honor. And frō this good beginning will proceed the other point no leſſe neceſſary, being the intire ornament and preſeruation of Iuſtice, namely, the puniſhment of the wicked: ſo that all things ſhalbe maintained in good order, to the benefit, reſt, profit and greatnes of this French monarchie.

Aurelianus.

A meane to preſerue policies.

A pretie compariſon.

ACHITOB. AS there is but one onely waye to hitte the white, and many to miſſe it, by ſhooting either higher or lower than is requiſite: ſo fareth it with our actions, which cannot be good but after one ſort, but are euill many waies. This is that which we noted before in diſcourſing of three principal vertues, called Morall, which conſiſt in the midſt of two vices, namely: *too little and too much.* And this may alſo be noted in the fourth of thoſe vertues, whereof we intreated euen now, whoſe defect and contrarie vice is *Iniuſtice*, and hir exceſſe and counterfet follower is *Seueritie*. Of which vices, according to the order begun by vs, we are now to diſcourſe. This matter therefore I leaue to you my Companions.

Euerie vertue is in the midſt of two vices.

ASER. They make themſelues guiltie of great Iniuſtice, who being appointed of God to perſecute the wicked with the ſwoord drawne, will (forſooth) keepe their hands cleane from bloud, whereas the wicked in the meane while commit murder, and offer violence vncontrouled. But it is no leſſe crueltie to puniſh no offence, than not to forgiue any in whomſoeuer it be: the one being an abuſe of clemencie, the true ornament of a ſoueraigne: and the other, to turne authoritie into tyrannie. Neuertheles Magiſtrats in the execution of Iuſtice ought to take great heed, leaſt by ouer-great ſeueritie they hurt more than they heale.

AMANA. As a Goldſmith can make what veſſell he will, when the droſſe is taken from the ſiluer: ſo when the froward man is taken away from the kings preſence, his throne ſhal be eſtabliſhed in Iuſtice. Notwithſtanding the ſeate of a Iudge that is too ſeuere, ſeemeth to be a gibbet alreadie erected. But we ſhall vnderſtand of thee ARAM, the nature and effects of theſe vices, *Iniuſtice*, and *Seuerity*.

How the thrones of kings may be eſtabliſhed in Iuſtice.

ARAM. None are ſo peruerſe, nor giuen ouer ſo much to the deſires and concupiſcences of their fleſh, that they can vtterly deface through obliuion the knowledge of good

good and euill, or the inward apprehenſion of ſome diuine nature, both which are ioined together in all men. Inſomuch that by reaſon of that which vrgeth them within their ſoules, they are conſtrained to confeſſe themſelues culpable for their vniuſt deedes before the iudiciall throne of this Deitie. Therfore with what impudencie ſoeuer the wicked outwardly gloze their corrupt dealings, as if they gloried in them, yet ſeeing they haue, aſwell by the teſtimonie of their conſcience, as by proofe and experience, this knowledge euen againſt their wils, that Iniuſtice is vnfruitful, barren, and vngrateful, bringing foorth nothing woorthy of any account, after many great labors and trauels which it affoordeth them, the remembrance of their vnpure deedes abateth their courage, & maketh it full of trouble and confuſion. So that although a corrupt and naughty man, during the ſway of his vitious paſſion, perſwadeth himſelfe, that by committing a wicked & execrable deed, he ſhal enioy ſome great and aſſured contentation, yet the heat, thirſt, and fury of his paſſion being ouerpaſſed, nothing remaineth but vile and perilous perturbations of Iniuſtice, nothing that is either profitable, neceſſarie, or delectable. Moreouer, this troubleth his mind, that through his diſhoneſt deſires he hath filled his life with ſhame, danger, diſtruſt, & terror of the iuſt iudgement of God. For theſe cauſes the Philoſophers ſpeaking of Iniuſtice, ſaid very well, that there was no vice whereof a man ought to be more aſhamed than of that, bicauſe it is a malice and naughtines that hath no excuſe. For ſeeing men haue this inward ſence and feeling, that their very thoughts do accuſe or abſolue them before God, they ought to make account thereof, as of a watchman that watcheth & prieth into them to diſcouer all thoſe things which they would gladly hide if they could. This cauſed *Cicero* to ſay, that it is more againſt nature to ſpoile another man, and to ſee one man to increaſe his riches by the hurt of another, than either death, or pouertie, or griefe, or any loſſe of goods, belonging either to the bodie or to fortune. And if a good man neither may nor ought for

All men haue ſome knowledge of good and euill, and ſome inward ſence of a diuine nature.

The fruits of Iniuſtice in the wicked.

profit ſake, to ſlander, deceiue, lie, or execute any ſuch like thing: it is certaine, that there is nothing in this world of ſo great value, no treaſure ſo pretious, which ſhould moone vs to forgo the brightnes and name of vertuous and iuſt. Now, as we learned before, that Iuſtice was a generall vertue, ſo Iniuſtice alſo comprehendeth all thoſe vices whereinto men commonly fall. For this is Iniuſtice, not to giue to euery one that which belongeth vnto him. In reſpect of God it taketh the name of *Impietie*, in regard of men, *of deniall of rights and lawes.* Our diſcourſe is of this latter, which bringeth foorth pernitious effects after diuers manners, deſtroying all duties of honeſtie. But not to ſtay ouer-long in the kinds of Iniuſtice, we will note this, that we are ſo many waies guiltie of Iniuſtice, as we deny to our neighbours thoſe duties which we owe vnto them, and which our vocation requireth of vs: as alſo when we ſeeke to inrich our ſelues by their hinderance, whether it be openly, or by ſiniſter and ſuttle meanes againſt chriſtian ſinceritie, which ought to ſhine in all our dealings. Let vs ſee how the Ancients hated this vice, and ſpake of the pernitious effects thereof. *No man* (ſaith *Socrates*) *ought to commit any vniuſt act, how ſmall ſoeuer it be, for any treaſure, wealth, or profit, which he may hope to reape thereby: bicauſe all the treaſures of the earth are not to be compared to the leaſt vertue of the ſoule.* For this cauſe all men iointly ought to haue this one end and intent, that when they profit themſelues, they ſhould alſo be beneficiall to euery one. For if all men ſhould haue reſpect but to their owne, their vnitie would ſoone be diſſolued. *And although it were ſo* (ſaid *Cato*) *that Iniuſtice did procure no perill to him that doth practiſe it, yet would it to all others.* *Plato* calleth it a corruption of the ſoule, and a ciuill ſedition which neuer looſeth ſtrength, no not in thoſe that haue it onely within themſelues. For it cauſeth a wicked man to be at variance within himſelfe. It vrgeth, troubleth, and turmoileth him continually, vntill it haue plunged him in the gulfe of all vices: whereupon afterward he eaſily ouerfloweth in all impietie, not caring for any thing but to ſatisfie his vn-

Vertue is to be preferred before all worldlie things.

Iniuſtice is a generall vice.

How many waies a man may be vniuſt.

brideled

brideled desires. And if it fall out that they who haue the sword in hand to correct Iniustice, do either authorize or practise it themselues, then is the gate of all miseries opened vpon euery one, through the vnrulie licence of the wicked, who wallow in all kind of crueltie: from whence all disorder and confusion proceedeth, to the vtter ruine and finall subuersion of most florishing townes and cities, and in the end, of empires, kingdomes and monarchies. Thus doth Iniustice disanull the force of lawes, which are the foundation of euery estate: it is an enimie to good men, and the Gardian and Tutor of the wicked. Briefly, it bringeth foorth all effects contrarie to those which we mentioned to be the fruits of Iustice, and is the welspring of the other vices that hinder dutie. Is it not Iniustice that giueth authoritie to murders, robberies, violent dealings, & to other damnable vices, which at this day are vnpunished, and are the cause that of many great, goodly, & welthy families, poore widowes only and orphanes quite vndone, do remaine, crying for vengeance, and expecting it from aboue, for the wrong that is offered to their innocencie? How many such are set before our eies by histories, which are the light of truth? But alas the vnhappines of our age is growne to greater measure. How many of the greater sort, I meane of the Gouernors & Magistrats of this desolate kingdome, may iustly challenge that praise, whereby *Pericles*, Captaine and Gouernor of the Athenians, thought himselfe more honored, than by all his braue exploits done in his life time, either in warre, or in politike gouernment, wherein he was the chiefest of his time, and which his friends laid before his eies, being readie to die, thereby to assure him, and to cause him to reioice in a true immortalitie of glorie? *O my friends* (said he vnto them) *Fortune hath had hir part in those exploits: but I make greater account of this, that I neuer caused any of my Countreymen to lament, or to weare a mourning gowne, which onely thing ought to be attributed to my vertue.* O excellent and honorable praise, which euery good man ought to seeke after, and to desire: namely, to be no cause of bringing sor-

The effects of Iniustice.

Pericles.

A notable example for euery ciuil Magistrate

row and griefe to the common-wealth through any acte of Iniuſtice. Moreouer this vertuous Athenian died willingly and without repining, taking delight in an acceptable remembrance of thoſe good turnes, which he had done to his countreymen. But contrarywiſe it will be a very hard matter for others, who haue been the cauſe of many euils to their countrey, and for all thoſe that delight in committing iniuſtice, not to die in great feare, horror, and trembling, tormented with remorſe of conſcience for their life paſt. The whole courſe whereof cannot be much more happy, ſeeing euery wicked act ingendring it owne torment from the very inſtant wherein it is committed, through the continuall remembrance thereof filleth the ſoule of the malefactor with ſhame and confuſion, with freights and perturbations, with repinings and terrible diſquietnes of ſpirit. This is that which *Plutarke* ſaith, *That euery wicked man committing a treſpaſſe, is the priſoner of Iuſtice as ſoone as he hath done it.* This life is his priſon, out of which he hath no meane to depart, or to flie, but is to receiue the execution of that ſentence which is giuen againſt him by the ſoueraigne Iudge. And if in the meane time he feaſt it out, ſend preſents and gifts, yea if he ſolace himſelfe with ſundry ſports, delights and pleaſures, it is all one as if condemned men that were priſoners ſhould play at dice and cardes, and vſe other paſtime, with the halter ouer their heads wherwith they muſt be ſtrangled. But there are many men that cannot be better compared than to litle children, who ſeeing men worth nothing, to dance and play vpon a Theater, apparelled with cloth of gold and ſiluer, or with other rich garments, and crowned with precious ornaments, haue them in great eſtimation and admiration, and thinking them happy, vntill in the end they ſee them pearced through with great thruſts of a ſpeare, or hewen in pieces with ſwords, or behold fire comming out of thoſe goodly precious robes of gold, which conſumeth them. The ſelfe ſame thing is done by them, who when they ſee many wicked men, either placed in great authoritie and dignitie, or deſcending of good & famous houſes,

Why the life of the wicked cannot be happy.

A compariſon.

A compariſon.

The wrong conceit which men haue of the wicked that proſper.

ſes they honor, admire, and eſteem them the happieſt men & moſt at eaſe in the world: neuer conſidering that they are chaſticed & puniſhed for their offēces, before they ſee thē either put to death, or elſe quite fallē from the height of their fortune. Now ſeeing it is a thing flatly confeſſed of thoſe that haue any knowledge of our Philoſophie, and prooued ſufficiently by our former diſcourſe, that nothing can be called honorable or profitable which proceedeth of iniuſtice, or of malice, that excuſe, which men giuen ouer to vice, do commonly alledge to cloke their impietie withall, namely, that Iniuſtice bringeth with it very ripe and readie fruit, and that the puniſhment if there be any, commeth very late, and long time after the delight taken by the offence, hath no more any ſhew of reaſon in it. For, as we haue alreadie learned, the puniſhment of any ſin is equall with it both for age and time. Furthermore God permitteth oftentimes his diuine iudgement to be publikely knowen and ſhewed vpon the vniuſt: yea he declareth himſelfe ſo much the more openly, by how much the leſſe men exerciſe Iuſtice and vpright dealing. And yet in reſpect of his maieſtie, we muſt not look vnto time, which is alwaies one and the ſame to him, and not future or paſt: yea the whole continuance of mans life is as nothing vnto him, and leſſe than the preſent inſtant. But if according to our carnall ſences, we deſire examples of the greatnes and ſwiftnes of his wrath, iuſtly kindled ouer our heads for our execrable impieties, contrary to the nature of his gentleneſſe and benignitie, which mooued him to waite for vs a long time, who can be ignorant of them in the vnſpeakable affliction of this poore France, wherein it were very hard in mans iudgement to diſcerne, whether is moſt lamentable, either iniuſtice, or the miſerie and calamitie, which by the vengeance of God followeth it, the horrible puniſhment whereof the fautors of iniquitie both haue & daily do feele vpon their heads? Thoſe common-wealths (ſaith *Cicero*) which are readie to be ouerthrowen, & haue all things forlorne and deſperate in them, fall into this miſerable iſſue, that they whom the lawes condemne are

The puniſhment of ſinne is equall with it both for age and time.

All things are preſent with God.

A ſure token of a deſperate common-welth.

reſtored, and iudgements giuen are reuoked and broken. And when ſuch things come to paſſe, let none be ignorant of this, that deſtruction is at hand, neither can any man iuſtly conceiue hope of ſafety. What other thing can I ſay of France (I would to God I were deceiued) ſeeing that all Iuſtice is turned topſie turuie therein, the wicked are placed in authoritie, & good men driuen away: ſuites in law are commenced againſt euery one more vpon knauerie than equitie, corruption than integritie, fauor than vprightnes? But to the end that the greater ſort, and euery particular man may open his eies and behold this ſhipwracke that threatneth vs: let vs conſider in our Anceſtors, through the reading of hiſtories, the like cauſes of the ruine, alteration, and ſubuerſion of many very flouriſhing Eſtates, proceeding from the raigne of Iniuſtice, which being the daughter of tyrannie (as *Dionyſius* the elder ſaid) muſt needes be of the ſame nature: namely, that by vſurping an vniuſt and intollerable dominion, it muſt of neceſſitie fall ſpeedily into a miſerable and wretched end. We haue in all our former diſcourſes alleadged ſundrie examples of vices, which (as we ſaid euen now) take their beginning, or at leaſt wiſe are inſeparably ioined with Iniuſtice, and heerafter we will make mention of others, when we handle certaine points, which properly depend of this ſelfe ſame originall. In the meane time we will heere note that the deniall of Iuſtice hath procured to many their death or vndoing. *Phillip* the firſt, king of Macedonia, was ſlaine by *Pauſanias* a meane Gentle-man, bicauſe he would not let him haue Iuſtice againſt *Antipater*, who had offered him wrong. *Demetrius* the beſieger, hauing receiued many requeſts and ſupplications of his ſubiects, threw them all into the water, as he went ouer the bridge of a riuer: whereupon his ſubiects conceiued ſuch hatred againſt him, that within a while after his army forſooke him, and yeelded themſelues to *Pyrrhus* his enimie, who draue him out of his kingdome without battell. In our time, *Henrie* king of Sweathland, ſtriking with a dagger a Gentle-man that asked Iuſtice of him, ſtirred vp the

The miſerable eſtate of France.

The deniall of Iuſtice dangerous.

Phillip.

Demetrius.

Henrie king of Sweathland.

the Nobilitie and people in ſuch ſort againſt him, that putting him into priſon, where he is at this preſent, they elected his yoonger brother to be their king, who nowe raigneth. But for a more woonderfull matter, we might heere rehearſe, how God, to ſhew vnto vs his deteſtation of Iniuſtice, hath ſometimes ſuffered his iudgement to fal out in that very howre and time, which ſuch as were vniuſtly condemned did aſſigne to their vniuſt Iudges. In the liues of the kings of Caſtile, we finde that *Ferdinando* the fourth of that name, putting two knights to death more through anger than iuſtly, one of them cried aloud in this ſort: O vniuſt king, we cite thee to appeere within thirtie daies before the tribunall ſeate of Ieſus Chriſt to receiue iudgement for thy Iniuſtice, ſeing there is no other Iudge in earth to whome we can appeale from thy vniuſt ſentence. Vpon the laſt of which daies he died likewiſe. True it is, ſome man may ſay, that death is ſo naturall, and the hower thereof ſo vncertaine, although determined, that no other cauſe thereof ought to be ſuppoſed, but onely neceſſitie. But yet when it followeth ſo neerely ſome notable wickednes committed, and ſome diſquietnes and torment of mind is mingled therewith in the ſoule, as it commonly falleth out, we may take ſuch a death for a teſtimonie and beginning of the Iuſtice of God, who will not ſuffer the vniuſt man to rule any longer, but exerciſeth his iudgements diuerſly in due time and ſeaſon, vpon thoſe that are not to giue an account of their doings to men like themſelues. And as for ſuch as are of meaner eſtate, and lower in degree, God ſuffreth alſo many times their puniſhment to be notorious, and that ſometime by ſuch as are not much better than themſelues. Heereupon *Apollonius* that great Philoſopher ſaid, that in his peregrination ouer three parts of the world, he marueiled moſt at two thinges, whereof the firſt was, that he alwaies ſawe the greater theeues hang the leſſe, and oftentimes the innocent. And thus it fell out in the time of king *Phillip* the long, wherein a Prouoſt of Paris, named *Henrie Lapperell*, cauſed a poore man that was priſoner in the Chaſtelet to be

A notable hiſtorie of the death of Ferdinando the 4.

Notable Iniuſtice committed by a Prouoſt of Paris.

be executed, by giuing him the name of a rich man, who being guiltie and condemned, was ſet at libertie by him. But his reward followed him hard at the heeles: being for the ſame accuſed, conuicted, hanged, and ſtrangled. Not long after a Preſident of the Parliament, named *Hugues* of Crecy, met with the ſame fortune, for a certaine corrupt iudgement giuen by him. Therefore let euery one of vs learne to flie from this pernitious vice of Iniuſtice: namely, from euery action repugnant to the dutie of chriſtian charitie, and deſtroying the bond of humane ſocietie, through the vtter ſpoiling of the riuers that flow from the fountaine of honeſtie. And let vs be afraid through ſuch impietie to fal into the indignation and wrath of the Almightie, to whome onely (as to the author of Iuſtice, and to whome all time is as nothing) it belongeth to define and to determine thereof, when, after what ſort, and how farre it ſtandeth with reaſon, all which things are vnknowne to vs. If he deferre ſometime the puniſhment of Iniuſtice, let vs know, that it is for their greater and more greeuous condemnation, who multiplie and heape vp daily vpon their heads iniquitie vpõ iniquitie. And for an example, which great men ought to follow, and not ſuffer Iniuſtice to be practiſed according to euery mans fancie, or vnder any other pretence whatſoeuer, we wil propound vnto them the fact of a Pagan king, who ſhall riſe vp in iudgement againſt them, if they do otherwiſe. The Prince I meane is *Artaxerxes*, ſurnamed Longhand, and king of the Perſians, who being requeſted by a Chamberlaine of his whome he greatly fauoured, to do ſome vniuſt thing, & hauing by his diligence found out, that he vndertooke this ſuit for another, who had promiſed him thirty thouſand Crownes, called of them Dariques, he commanded his Treaſurer to bring the like ſumme vnto him, and then ſaid vnto his Chamberlaine, Take this mony which I giue thee. For in giuing it vnto thee, I ſhall be neuer the poorer, whereas if I had done that which thou requiredſt of me, I ſhould haue beene more vniuſt. *Alexander Seuerus* the Emperour handeled after another faſhion, yea more iuſtly,

Hugues of Crecy.

Artaxerxes.

Alexander Seuerus.

iuſtly, a ſeruant of his, who vſed like a horſe-leech of the court to ſucke their bloud that had to deale with his maſter, by thruſting himſelfe forward, and profering his means to fulfill their requeſt for a good reward, by reaſon of the fauour which he bare him: which turned to the great diſhonor of his imperiall maieſtie, bicauſe a Prince ought not to make greater account of any thing, than of the grace and fauor of his gifts and benefites. This monarch cauſed him to be tied to a poſt and choked with ſmoke, making this proclamation by ſound of trumpet, *That they which ſell ſmoke, ſhould ſo periſh with ſmoke*. Now to enter into the laſt point of that matter which is here propounded vnto vs, we muſt diligently note, that as it is the dutie of all Magiſtrates, and of ſuch as haue authoritie ouer others to chaſtice & to puniſh euery malefactor, ſo likewiſe they muſt beware leſt vnder pretẽce of exerciſing Iuſtice they fall into another kind of Iniuſtice through ouer-much rigor, which is as hurtfull or rather more than that vice whereof we diſcourſed euen now, namely, into *Seueritie*, which cauſeth them to be miſliked for crueltie, and belongeth rather to a beaſtly and ſauage nature, than to the nature of man. For clemencie and compaſſiõ neuer ought to be ſeparated from a good & iuſt ſentence, which is to hold ſmal faults excuſed, or but lightly to puniſh thẽ, prouided alwayes that Iuſtice be not violated. *Clemencie* (ſaith the wiſe man) *is the true preſeruation of the roial throne*. And therefore one of the ancients ſaid, that it was ill to be ſubiect to a prince vnder whom nothing was tolerated, but worſe when all things were left at randon. We may alleage here for an example of ouer-great ſeueritie, the fact of *Manlius Torquatus* a Conſull of Rome, who cauſed his ſonnes head to be cut off, bicauſe he fought agaynſt his enimie bodie to bodie, contrary to the Edicts, and out of his ranke, albeit he came away victor. The act of *Anſidius* the Romane was more cruel & barbarous than iuſt, when he ſlew his ſonne for withdrawing himſelfe to take part with *Catiline*: vttring this ſpeech vnto him: *I did not, wretch as thou art, beget thee for Catiline, but for thy countrey*. Such murders

The puniſhment of one who ſold his maſters fauor.

Of Seueritie.

Clemencie preſerueth a prince his throne. Prou. 20. 28.

M. Torquatus.

Anſidius.

murders and cruelties deface all the commendation of Iuſtice, whoſe waies ought to be ordinary and vſuall, ruling rigor with gentlenes, as the rigor of diſcipline ought to moderate gentlenes, that the one may be commended by the other. *Seneca* rehearſeth a crueller fact than any of the former, committed by *Piſo* the Proconſul, who ſeeyng a ſouldior returne alone to the campe, condemned him to death, thinking that he had ſlaine his companion, notwithſtanding he affirmed that his fellow came after him. At the very inſtant of the execution his companion came, whereupon the captaine that had charge to ſee the condemned partie executed, returned to the Proconſul with both the ſouldiors. But *Piſo* being offended therwith, put them all three to death: the firſt, bicauſe he was condemned: the ſecond, bicauſe he was the cauſe of the condemnation: and the captaine, bicauſe he obeied not: ſo that he put three to death for the innocencie of one man, abuſing his authoritie and power in moſt cruell maner, what ſoeuer rigor was vſed in thoſe times in the ordinaunce of warlike diſcipline. Now to take from vs all taſte of ſuch barbarouſneſſe, let vs cal to mind an act of *Auguſtus Ceſar* worthie of eternall praiſe, who would not condemne one that was accuſed of ſeeking his death, bicauſe the arguments and prooſes were inſufficient, but left him to the iudgement of God. Let vs learne therfore for the concluſion of our diſcourſe to hate all kind of Iniuſtice in ſuch ſort, that euery one of vs ſeeke to profit his neighbour, rating at an high price (as *Euripi.* ſaith) the violating of right, which is holy and ſacred. And thus through the good order of magiſtrates, and reformation of euery one by himſelfe, the wicked ſhall haue no means to rob, to ſpoile by force, to take bribes, and to deceiue others, when breakers of iuſt lawes ſhall be puniſhed. Then will the effect of thoſe two ſentences take place which are taken out of the holy ſcriptures, and written in a table in the great chamber of the palace belonging to the head citie of this kingdome, and which ought to be well engrauen in the harts of all Iudges: the firſt ſentence is conteined in theſe words,

Moſt cruell ſeueritie of Piſo.

Auguſtus Ceſar.

words, *Execute iudgement and righteouſneſſe: or otherwiſe I haue ſworne by my ſelfe* (ſaith the Lord) *that this houſe ſhall be waſte.* The other ſentence is this: *O ye Iudges, take heed what ye do: for ye execute not the iudgements of man, but of the Lord: and with what iudgement ye iudge, ye ſhalbe iudged.* For truely the crowne of praiſe and immortall glory is kept and prepared for them that walke in truth and righteouſnes, but ſhame and diſhonor, with eternall fire for thoſe that perſeuer in vnrighteouſnes. Ier.22.3.5. 2.Chr.19.6. Matth.7.2.

Of Fidelitie, Forſwearing, and of Treaſon.
Chap. 39.

ARAM. SVch is the corruption of our age, wherin impietie and malice are come in place of ancient innocencie, that vertue ſeemeth very vnfit to be receiued and imploied in affaires, ſeeing the gate is quite ſhut vp againſt hir. So that a man might aptly ſay, that whoſoeuer ſhould thinke to bring backe agayne, amidſt the peruerſe liues and corrupt maners of this preſent time, the vprightneſſe and integritie of ancient behauior, he did as much as if he offered fruites out of ſeaſon, which being faire in ſight, were notwithſtanding vnfit to be vſed. Neuertheleſſe we muſt not doubt to bring hir in ſight, and to maintaine hir with all our power, who knoweth how to cauſe hir enimie Vice both to reuerence and feare hir, and in the end alſo to triumph ouer him, mauger all the power and vnder-propping, which he receiueth from the wicked. In the middeſt therfore of ſo many trecheries and treaſons, wherof men glory now adaies, let vs not be afraid to paint them out in their colors, therby giuing honor to Fidelitie, which is a part of Iuſtice, or rather Iuſtice it ſelfe: which I leaue to you my companions to make plaine vnto vs. Of the corruption of our age. When vertue ſeemeth to be out of ſeaſon.

ACHITOB. It is impietie to violate faith. For God who is truth, deteſteth all lying: and is a terrible reuenger of the contempt of his name. *To loue or to hate openly* (ſaith

(saith *Cicero*) *doth better beseeme a noble hart, than for a man to hide and to dissemble his will and affection.*

ASER. *Guile and fraud* (saith *Seneca*) *are meete weapons for a cowardly and base-minded man.* Therefore we must take good heed (as *Pittacus* said) *That same speake not euill of vs to them vnto whom we haue giuen our faith.* But it belongeth to thee AMANA to handle this matter.

AMANA. Amongst the famous and great personages of olde time, no vertue was more commended, or straightlier kept and obserued than Faith and Fidelitie, which they affirmed to be the foundation of Iustice, the indissoluble bond of friendship, and the sure supporter of humane societie. Of this Faith we mind now to speake, not touching at all that religious and sacred faith, concerning the holy mysteries of true pietie, which is a singular gift of God his spirit, and peculiar to those that appertain to his eternall election. This therfore which respecteth the mutuall conuersation and promises of men, hath been always kept vnuiolable of honorable men, & ought to be so amongst vs: bicause he that giueth his faith, layeth to pawne whatsoeuer is most precious & diuine in his soule: So that if he forget himselfe somuch as to breake and violate the same, he committeth manifest impietie, shewing that he careth not to offend God by abusing his name to colour his lying. It were a great deale better neuer to take God to witnes, than to forsweare him in mockerie: seeing the Scripture so often forbiddeth vs to take his name in vaine, to sweare falsly by it, or in any sort to defile the same. It is true that this question hath alwaies beene, and is at this daye more than euer in controuersie: namely, whether a man is bound to performe that which he hath promised and sworne to by compulsion, or no? And this sentence is receiued & approoued of many, that nothing but our Will bindeth vs to performe those things, which necessitie forceth vs to promise. But to speake according to truth, and without any particular passion, we say, that true and perfect magnanimitie suffereth vs not to promise any thing, and to pawne our faith thereunto, except we

What Faith and Fidelitie is.

Of the violating of faith.

Leuit. 19. 12.
Deut. 5. 11.
Matth. 5. 34.

Whether a forced promise is to be kept.

we were willing to performe it: because no vertuous and wise man ought to forget himselfe so farre, as to do or to promise any thing contrary to his dutie for any necessity, no not for death it selfe. Neither is there any thing wherby a foole is sooner discerned from a wise man, than by promises: forasmuch as an vndiscreete man lightly promiseth whatsoeuer you will, and oftentimes more than is required of him: but a man of good iudgement weigheth his speech with sence and reason, before he gage it to any bodie, and hauing once giuen his word, he reuoketh it not, what losse or dammage soeuer may insue thereof, as he that esteemeth a great deale more of the honour of truth and fidelitie, than of his owne life, being touched with vntruth and periurie. And if it were lawfull for euery one to alleadge necessitie or constraint, thereby to cloake the breach of faith, to whome might a man trust in any matter? Who doubteth but that all agreements made betweene men, whether in time of warre or of peace, or in any particular affaires betweene partie and partie, are grounded vpon a benefit, which euery one supposeth to be necessarie and profitable for himselfe, and so consequently that they ought not to be kept? Who doubteth but that the breach of them may easily be coloured with the like necessitie, and so vnder this goodly pretence of false right and equitie should be allowed? But what? May we be iudges for our selues, and in our owne cause? First our aduerse parties to whom we are bound must be called, and must agree with vs of Iudges to determine of our promises, whether they were lawfull or vnlawfull, forced and necessary or no: according to the law, which releaseth a man of his promise if it be vniust or vnreasonable, or if it be too burthensome vnto him, or if he were circumuented by deceit, fraud, error, force, iust feare, or grieuous hurt. But when we are both iudge and partie, and in stead of iustice seeke after force and violence, it is soone seene, that all shew of excusing the breach of faith giuen, is onely grounded vpon malice and subtiltie. This did *Lysander* admiral of the Lacedemonians vsually practise, who made

A wise man must neuer promise any thing against dutie.

Psal. 15. 4.

Lysander a forsworne and deceitfull man.

made no reckoning of Iuſtice but when it was profitable, accounting onely profit to be honeſtie, and ſaying, that children muſt be deceiued with the play of cock-all, and men with othes. Which kind of dealing argueth a man to be in truth worſe in behauior towards God, than towards his enimies: bicauſe he that beguileth his enimie through the means of fidelitie ſworne vnto him, doth ſufficientlie teſtifie, that he feareth him, and dares not diſcouer vnto him that which lieth hid in his hart: and yet in the mean time he hath no reuerence or feare of the diuine maieſtie from which nothing is hid, but vſeth that for a couering and maske of his wickednes. *We muſt* (ſaith *Cicero*) *keepe that promiſe vnviolable, which we haue made to our enimie, albeit the miſhaps of warre haue conſtrained vs to yeeld vnto it*. How much leſſe therfore ought we to breake our faith giuen to our friends, and to thoſe of whom we neuer receiued any thing but profite and pleaſure? Through this neglect of faith we fill our ſoules with lying, nouriſhing and delighting them therein, and ſeparating them far from the truth (the fountaine of all goodnes) to lie vnto our neighbors, to deceiue and beguile them in thoſe things, which we are able to performe, thereby deſtroying the bond of humane ſocietie, yea of nature it ſelfe, which bindeth vs both to will and to procure their good. This is that which *Epenetus* the Lacedemonian would teach vs, when he ſayd, that liers were the cauſe of all the ſinnes and crimes in the world. And therfore *Plutarke* alſo ſaith, *That to lie is a ſeruile vice woorthy to be hated of all, and not to be pardoned in any, no not in ſlaues themſelues. All they* (ſaith *Cicero*) *that ſpeake one thing, and meane another, ought to be taken for faithleſſe, wicked and malicious men: whereas a good man will neither faine nor diſſemble in any ſort, either to buy better cheape or to ſell deerer*. It is not the point of a plaine, open and ſincere man, or of him that is iuſt and vertuous, to conceale from the buyer the fault of that thing which he ſelleth, but rather of a malicious, deceitfull, crafty, ſuttle, and wicked man. And if this be a vice and ſinne, not to declare the fault of that thing which is ſold, how ſhall they be termed, who vſe a thouſand

We muſt keep promiſe with our enimie.

Of the neglect of fidelitie commeth a cuſtom of lying.

It is wickednes to conceale the fault of that which a man ſelleth.

ſand wordes and lies to ſet foorth their merchandice? Whereas good men haue always been very ſcrupulous & preciſe in keeping the truth from all kind of pollution, as that which ought to be as wel in the hart as in the mouth, in the works as in the words of euery honeſt man. But if lying procure blame and diſhonor to al men, it doth much more to kings and princes. For ſeeing they are placed in ſuch authoritie, that they may doe what pleaſeth them, what need they to lie? If Machiauell and his followers, fauorers of tyrannie, had well waighed that which we read in infinite places of ſcripture, that God will ouerthrowe diſſemblers and liers, with all their lies & ſubtilties, hardly could they commend diſſimulations, deceits, trecheries, and ſuch like pranks, wherewith they ſeeke to poiſon the noble minds of good princes, to cauſe thē to degenerate both from their natural diſpoſition, & from the ſteps of ſuch vertuous men as haue gone before them. And to this purpoſe I remember a deciſion of right concerning princes, which deſerueth to be grauen in letters of gold within their lodgings & palaces: namely, *That if the prince go againſt his promiſe, it ought to be reckoned amongſt the caſes that fall out by chance, neither may any man ſuppoſe the contrary.* For the obligation is double: the one in reſpect of naturall equitie, which wil haue couenants and promiſes kept: the other in regard of the Prince his faith, which he muſt obſerue inuiolable, although he receiue loſſe thereby, bicauſe he is the formall Warrantie vnto all his ſubiects, of that fidelitie which is amongſt themſelues: ſo that no fault is more deteſtable in a Prince than periurie. For if he that is debter and pledge for iuſtice be diſloiall, there is no more truſt to be giuen to him in all his othes: but if he be vpright, his bare word ought to be vnto him for a lawe, and his faith for an Oracle. God himſelfe (ſaith the maſter of the ſentences) is bound by his promiſe. Gather togither (ſaith he) all the nations of the earth, that they may iudge betweene me and my people, if there be any thing which I ought to haue done, and haue not performed it. What is he then that will call in queſtion, whether

Lying in a prince is moſt odious.

The promiſe of a prince is tied with a double bond.

Of the word & faith of a prince

a Prince is bound to that which he hath ſworne to and promiſed, ſeeing all ſoueraigne power is no leſſe bound to the lawes of God and of nature, than the ſimpleſt that is ſubiect thereunto? If faith ought not to be kept with enimies, it is not to be giuen vnto them: and if it be lawful to capitulate with them, it is as neceſſarie to keepe promiſe. Yea we may further adde, that periurie is not to be reuenged or called in queſtion, after that peace and agreement togither is made: otherwiſe there would neuer be any aſſurance of peace, or end of periurie. From the ſelfe ſame fountaine of the profanation of faith, and cuſtome in lying (it being the propertie of vice to ingender another vice for a puniſhment of it ſelfe) proceedeth that pernitious plague of kingdomes and Common-wealths, I meane Treaſon, hated of God and men, wherewith periured perſons being bewitched, feare not to betray themſelues, ſo they may betray others alſo, and their countrey. Whereupon they become odious to euery one, euen to thoſe who vſed them to ſerue their owne turnes in diſloyall and wicked actions, and in the end they receiue the reward due to their execrable impieties. For this is the common affection that men beare towards ſuch people, ſo to ſeeke them out (which notwithſtanding is not the propertie of a noble hart) when they ſtande in feare of them, as they that want gall, or the poiſon of ſome venemous beaſts: afterward to giue them ouer and to reiect bicauſe of their wickednes. If a man be called ſlothfull, he may become diligent: if talkatiue, hold his peace: if a glutton, temperate himſelfe: if an adulterer, abſtaine: if furious, diſſemble: if ambitious, ſtay himſelfe: if a ſinner, amend: but he that is once called a traitor, there is no water to waſhe him cleane, nor meane to excuſe himſelfe.

Of Treaſon.

Notable examples.

Nowe, let vs come to the examples of the Ancients, and know what zeale they bare to fidelitie and hatred, to periurie and treaſon, as alſo what recompence commonly followed and accompanied ſuch things, and with what reward noble-minded men did requite thoſe that were diſloiall and traiterous. *Attilius Regulus*, a Romane of great

A. Regulus.

great credite, being taken prisoner in the Carthaginian warre, and sent to Rome vpon his faith to intreat about a peace and the exchange of captiues, so soone as he arriued, gaue cleane contrarie aduice in the Senate: shewing that it was not for the profit of the Common-wealth to make such an agreement. Afterward, hauing resolued with himselfe to keepe faith with the enimie, he returned to Carthage, where he was put to death very cruelly. For his eie-lids being cut off, & himselfe bound to an engine, he died with the force of waking. *Demaratus* king of Sparta, being in Persia with the king, against whome a great man of Persia had rebelled, was the meanes of their reconciliation. Afterward this barbarian king hauing his said Vassaile in his power, would haue beene reuenged of him, thinking to put him to death. But the vertuous Lacedemonian turned him from it, declaring vnto him, that it would redound to his great shame, not to know how to punish him for his rebellion when he was his enimie, and now to put him to death being his seruant and friend. A reason truly well woorthie to be marked, but very slenderly put in vre at this day. *Augustus* hauing made proclamation by sound of trumpet, that he would giue 25000. Crownes to him that should take *Crocotas* ringleader of the theeues in Spaine, he offered himselfe to the Emperor, and required the summe promised by him, which he caused to be paid him, & pardoned him withall, to the end no man should thinke that he would take his life from him, thereby to frustrate him of the promised recompence: as also bicause he would haue publike faith and safetie kept to euery one that came according to order of Iustice: although in truth he might haue proceeded and giuen out processe against him. *Cato* the elder being in warre against the Spaniards, was in great danger by reason of the multitude of enimies, who sought to inclose him round about. And not being then in possibilitie to be succored of any but of the Celtiberians, who demanded of him 200. Talents (which are 120000. Crownes) in hand for their wages, the Councell tolde him, that it was not by anie

Demaratus.

Augustus.

Cato.

meanes to be gotten preſently, but yet promiſed to furniſh them with ſuch a ſumme, and that within any time which they would appoint: otherwiſe that it was more expedient not to meddle with them. But this wiſe and wel aduiſed captaine vſed this occaſion to very good purpoſe, by reſoluing with himſelfe and with his ſouldiers, either to ouercome their enimies, or elſe to die, (after they had agreed with the Celtiberians) that the Romane glorie ſhould not be ſtained by the falſhood of their promiſes. *For* (quoth he to his ſouldiers) *if we get the battell, we will pay them, not of our owne, but at the charges of our enimies: but if we looſe the victorie, none will be left aliue either to pay, or to demand any paiment.* There was no talke among the Councell of theſe noble Romanes, how they might deceiue their enimies, or thoſe whoſe ſeruice they were vrged to vſe, but they determined rather to die, than to be wanting in their promiſe. Likewiſe we may note, that as their enterprizes thus grounded had good ſucceſſe, ſo periurie and violating of right were through the vengeance of God purſued for the moſt part with vnhappie effects, contrarie to the platformes and deſires of periured and faithles men: or at leaſtwiſe that themſelues were ſpeedily puniſhed for their wickednes. And therefore when *Tiſſaphernes*, Lieutenāt to the king of Perſia had broken a truce, which he had made with the Grecians, they gaue him thankes by his owne Herald, bicauſe he had placed the Gods, in whoſe name the truce was ſworne, on their ſide. And in deede he ſmally proſpered after that in his enterprizes. *Cleomenes* king of Lacedemonia, hauing taken a truce for ſeuen daies with the Argians, aſſaulted them the third night after, knowing that they were in a ſound ſleepe, and diſcomfited them: which he did vnder this craftie ſubtletie, bicauſe (forſooth) in the foreſaid truce mention was made of the day onely, and not of the night. Whereupon the Grecians noted this as a iuſt iudgement of his periurie and breach of faith, in that he was miraculouſly fruſtrated of his principall intent, which was, by the meanes of that ouerthrow to haue ſuddenly taken the citie of Argos.

Periurie and faithles perſons haue alwaies had ill ſucceſſe.

Tiſſaphernes.

Cleomenes.

gos. For the women being full of wrath and iust griefe for the losse of their husbands, by the cowardly treacherie of this Lacedemonian, tooke those weapons that were in the said towne, and droue him from the wals, not without great murder and losse of the greatest part of his armie. Whereupon within a while after he became furious, and taking a knife he ript his bodie in smiling manner, and so died. *Caracalla* the Emperor, trauelling with his armie towardes the Parthians, vnder pretence of marying the daughter of *Artabanus* their king, who came for the same purpose to meete him, he set vpon him contrary to his faith, and put him to flight, with an incredible murder of his men. But within a little after being come downe from his horse to make water, he was slaine of his owne men: which was noted as a iust punishment sent from God for his vnfaithfulnes. The Corinthians saw before their eies their cities raced to the ground, bicause they had offered violence to the Romane Embassadors, contrarie to the lawe of nations. The Emperour *Iustinian* receiued infinite losses and dammages for breaking his faith with the Barbarians, and for violating the peace which he had made with the Bulgarians. Which thing procured him so great hatred of his owne subiects, by reason of the vnluckie exploits of warre which followed after, that being returned to Constantinople, *Leontius* vsurped the kingdome vpon him, sending him into banishment after he had cut off his nosethrils. *Rastrix* Duke of Cleaueland, hauing falsified his faith with *Lewes* king of Germanye, was put to the woorst and vanquished: and being prisouer, his eies were put out for a marke of his faithles dealing. But what need we search in antiquitie for testimonies of the fruits which commonly proceede from the breach of faith, seeing examples are daily before our eies to our cost? What do we behold at this day but a doubling, yea a heape of all miseries, bicause faith, which is so pretious & exquisite a thing that it admitteth no comparison, hath so often beene valued at so small a price? The historie heereof is but too common, and the truth too apparant (to the great hurt

Caracalla.

The Corinthians.

Iustinianus the Emperor.

Rastrix Duke of Cleaueland.

The cause of the present miserie of France.

of euery one) to ſtand vpon the proofe thereof, whereas it ought rather to be buried from all memory, if it were poſſible, as well to deface all ſpots of infamie, for which we are blamed of nations fartheſt of, as to take away the diſtruſt that one hath of an other, which is ſo great amongſt vs, that it hath been one principall cauſe of kindling the fire of diuiſion ſo often in this deſolate kingdom. But to leaue ſuch a pitifull matter ſubiect, let vs conſider what honor and entertainment men in old time gaue to traitors, who are now adaies ſo welcome to the greateſt.

Examples of the entertainment which the anciens gaue to traitors.

Laſthenes.

Laſthenes hauing holpen *Phillip* king of Macedonia to become maſter of the citie of Olynthum whereof he was an inhabitant, and complaining to the king, that certain called him traitor, he receiued this only anſwer: that the Macedonians were naturally rude and groſſe, calling a ſpade a ſpade, and all things els by their proper name.

Rymetalces.

When *Cæſar Auguſtus* heard *Rymetalces* king of Thracia (who had forſaken *Antonius* to ioyne with him) boaſt of his fact, the monarch drinking to others, ſaid with a loud voyce: *I loue treaſon well, but I loue not traitors.* And in truth what man of any good iudgement will truſt him? He that betraieth his prince, his benefactor, his citie, his countrey, his kinſfolks and friends into their hands to whom he is nothing ſo much bound, how may not he betray them alſo another time?

Agis.

This did *Agis*, ſonne of *Archidamas* king of Sparta very well ſignifie to the Ephories, who had commanded him to take the yong men of the citie with him, and to go to the countrey of one whom they would make knowen vnto him, who had promiſed to guide and bring them within the caſtel of his citie. What (quoth he vnto them) is it a reaſonable matter to commit the ſafetie and life of ſo many valiant yong men to one that betraieth his countrey?

Pauſanias.

Pauſanias, captaine of the Lacedemonians hauing receiued 500. talents of gold of king *Xerxes*, promiſed to betray the citie of Sparta vnto him. But his enterpriſe being diſcouered, *Ageſilaus* his father purſued him into a temple where he thought to haue ſaued himſelfe, and cauſing the gates thereof to be walled vp, ſuffred him

to

to die there of hunger: and afterward his mother cast his bodie to the dogs, and would not burie it. The like befell to *Cassius Brutus*, who would haue sold Rome: his father handling him after the same sort. *Darius* king of Persia, caused the head of his sonne *Ariobarzanes* to be cut off, bicause he sought to betraie his armie to *Alexander*. *Brutus* did the like to his children, who had conspired against their countrey, that king *Tarquinius* might reenter into Rome. *Mahomet* hauing taken Constantinople through the cowardlines and treason of *Iohn Iustinian* of Genua, after he had made him king according to promise, he cut off his head within three daies. A meete recompence for such a wretch, who was the cause of so great a plague to Christendome, whereby the Emperor *Constantine*, the Patriarke, and all the Christians were slaine. The Empresse with hir daughters, and with the noblest damsels she had, were led before *Mahomet*, and after a thousand vilanies offered vnto them, their bodies were cut in peeces. True it is that Histories are diuers touching this fact of *Iustinian*. For some say, that perceiuing himselfe to be hurt in fight, he fled: whereupon most of the men of warre were discouraged: and that after he had saued himselfe in the Ile of Chios, he died, either of his wound, or for griefe & sorow, bicause he was the chiefe cause of so great a mischiefe to Christendome. Neither may we passe ouer in silence the heroicall fact of Sultan Solyman the last that died, but propound it to Princes as a paterne of the hatred and punishment of periurie and treason. For sending a Bascha of his into Valona to passe into Italy both by sea and land, this Generall landed at the hauen of Castro, whereat the inhabitants being astonished, yeelded themselues vnto him vnder his othe and fidelitie, whereby he promised that they should depart, their liues saued, with bag & baggage. Neuertheless this Barbarian slew them all, except those whome he saw were fit to serue for slaues. But after his returne to Constantinople, the great Seignior being aduertised of his disloialtie, caused him to be strangled, & sent backe all his prisoners with their goods

Ariobarzanes.

Iustinian a Genoan cause of the taking of Constantinople.

A famous and heroicall fact of Sultan Solyman.

into Italy. Truly an act woorthie ſuch a Prince, who, if he had beene endued with the true knowledge of God and of his Church, deſerued the firſt place amongſt the great ones of his time. Now to end our diſcourſe, let vs learne to know the excellency of faith, which is ſuch a thing, that whoſoeuer laieth it in pawne, bindeth his ſafetie, his honor, and his ſoule to him, vnto whome he giueth it, and committeth manifeſt impietie againſt God, whē he breaketh and violateth the ſame: vnles he had vowed it for the performance of ſome wicked deede, with which both diuine and humane law diſpenſe. Let vs know alſo, that it is the beginning and foundation of a great and notable vertue to be giuen to truth, that it was of ſuch credite amongſt the Ancients, that in *Cato* his time, when any man rehearſed a ſtrange thing and hard to be beleeued, this prouerbe went of him, (bicauſe he was knowne throughout the whole courſe of his life to be a louer of truth) *This is not credible, although Cato himſelfe ſhould ſpeake it.* And thus by the examples of ſo many famous men, let vs in ſuch ſort be ſtirred to hate lying, whereof Satan is the father and author, that following the counſell of S. *Paule*, we ſpeake the truth euery one to his neighbour, who is euery one that needeth our helpe, and let all fayning and diſſimulation be baniſhed from vs, and all roundnes and integritie of hart and manners appeere in all our actions: let vs hate periurie and treaſon, periured and traiterous perſons, knowing that faith being taken away, the whole foundation of Iuſtice is ouerthrowne, al bonds of friendſhip broken, and all humane ſocietie confounded.

Cato commended for his truth

Epheſ. 4. 25. Luk. 10. 37.

Of Ingratitude. Chap. 40.

AMANA. AS the remembrance of an euil is kept a long time, bicauſe that which offendeth is very hardly forgotten: ſo we commonly ſee, that the memorie of benefits receiued is as ſuddenly vaniſhed & loſt, as the fruite of the good turne is perceiued. Which thing

The memorie of euill things is fruitfull, but of good things barren.

thing doth ſo ill beſeeme a man well brought vp and inſtructed in vertue, that there is no kind of Iniuſtice, which he ought more to eſchew. And therefore my Companions, I thinke that according to the order of our diſcourſe, we are nowe to ſpeake of the vice of Ingratitude, that knowing the ignominie therof, and the pernitious effects which flowe from it, we may beware of ſpotting our life therewithall.

ARAM. An vngratefull perſon can not be of a noble mind, nor yet iuſt. And therefore (as *Sophocles* ſaid) a man is to remember him often of whome he hath receiued curteſie and pleaſure. For one good turne begetteth another, and euery gentle hart eaſily pardoneth all iniuries, except vnthankfulnes, which it hardly forgetteth.

ACHITOB. Ingratitude maketh men impudent, ſo that they dare ioine togither to hurt thoſe that haue been their friends, and them to whom they are bound both by blood and nature. Let vs then heare ASER diſcourſe more amply of this pernitious vice.

ASER. If man had not ſhewed himſelfe vnthankfull for the vnſpeakeable benefits which he had receiued of his Creator, by eating of the fruite of the tree of life at the perſwaſion of Satan, contrarie to his expreſſe commandement to whome he owed all obedience, it is certaine that neither ſinne nor death, neither through them any kind of miſerie and calamitie ſhould haue had any power ouer him. But as by his Ingratitude he neglected his obedience to his Lord and Creator, ſo it ſeemeth alſo that his puniſhment was according to the manner of his offence. For his owne members, which before were in ſubiection to the will of his ſpirite, rebelled againſt it, and that with ſuch force, that they led him often captiue into the bondage of ſinne. Now although we are neceſſarily and iuſtly made inheritors of the ſame curſe both of ſinne & death, yet how become we ſo dull of vnderſtanding, as to deſire with cheerefulnes of hart, and without conſtraint, to ſucceede him in the cauſe therof, I meane Ingratitude, which we ought to hate in greater meaſure, and to flie from it more

Ingratitude the cauſe of the ſin and death of man.

No mans life void of Ingratitude.

more than from death it ſelf, by reaſon of the euils which it hath brought vpon vs? Notwithſtanding, if we looke narrowly into the iuſteſt mans life that is, it will be a hard matter, yea altogither vnpoſſible, to find it purged and exempted of this deteſtable vice, aſwell towards God as towards his neighbours. But this is farre woorſe, to behold the greateſt part of men to nouriſh and feede their ſoules with Ingratitude, as if they tooke ſingular delight therein, by accuſtoming their mindes to keepe very diligently the memorie of the aduerſities and iniuries which they ſuffer, and to let the remembrance of thoſe graces and benefits which they receiue, ſlip away incontinently, euen as ſoone as the pleaſure of them is paſt. Whereas dutie bindeth all perſons to eſteeme as a great benefit, all fauour, how little ſoeuer it be, which the heauens or men impart vnto them, and to preſerue it in perpetuall memorie, as in a moſt ſafe Treaſurie, wherein they may keepe & lay vp thoſe good things which they receiue. But contrariwiſe, vnthankefull men ſuffer the remembrance of their greateſt felicities to ſlide away ſuddenly: which is the cauſe that they are alwaies void of happines, of reſt, and tranquillitie, and full of vnquietnes & vncertaine deſires, which is an argument of the imperfection of their reaſon, and of their ignorance of that which is good. This is that which *Seneca* ſaith, that the life of the ignorant is vnthankful, wauering, & vnſtaied in things preſent, through the deſire of things to come. And as it is the propertie of an ignorant man to be alwaies troubleſome to himſelfe, ſo from Ingratitude and the forgetfulnes of our proſperitie, proceede cares & melancholie paſſions to no purpoſe, which conſume men, & pull on age vpon them more than yeeres. For it is vnthankfulnes that cauſeth vs to be neuer contented with our preſent eſtate, but to complaine and murmure, in ſteede of giuing praiſe (as it becommeth vs) to him that ſendeth vs far better things than we deſerue. Vpon the leaſt touch of affliction, the Ingratitude for a million of graces receiued before, cauſeth vs to cry out that we neuer had any thing but miſhap: whereas rather

The life of the ignorant is vnthankfull.

we

we ought to take aduerſitie for a bleſſing and teſtimonie of the loue of God towards vs, being aſſured that by Iuſtice rightly ordeined, he diſpenſeth pouertie and riches, health & ſicknes, honor and contempt, according as he ſeeth it expedient for euery one of vs. Yea, it is neceſſarie, by reaſon of the intemperancie of our fleſh, which is redie to caſt off the yoke of the Lord when he handleth vs ouergently, that he ſhould reine vs in hard with the bridle, and keep vs within the compaſſe of ſome diſcipline, leaſt we wholy giue ouer that ſeruice & obedience which we owe vnto him. But to vexe our ſelues vpon euery occaſion, and as often as things fal out contrary to our inconſtant & rebellious will, which for the moſt part is ignorant of that which belongeth vnto it, is that which *Pythagoras* ſayd, *To eat our hart*, or to offend & wound our ſoule and ſpirit, by conſuming them with cares & griefs: as alſo not to know that one cauſe which moſt of all troubleth this miſerable life, is the ſuddain entrance of ſorowes and irkſomnes into the hart, which afterward will not depart out of it but by litle and litle. Theſe are melancholy paſſions voyd of reaſon, which (as *Plato* ſaith) proceed from naughty fumes and bitter vapors gathered togither within vs, and which aſcend and mingle themſelues amidſt the paſſages of the ſoule. Euen as our ſtrange and vnwoonted dreams teſtifie & ſignifie, that there is within vs repletion of groſſe & gluiſh humors, & perturbations of the vital ſpirits: ſo are thoſe euil vapors which darken our ſenſes, & dim the eies of our ſoule: namely, ignorance, rebellion, arrogancie, murmuring, vnſatiable deſires & other inward corruptions which ingratitude ſtirreth vp and nouriſheth, and which hinder vs from acknowledging the benefits that God beſtoweth vpon vs, either towards him by thankſgiuing, or towards his creatures by good deeds, which he accepteth as done to himſelf. For only God needeth nothing, neither asketh any thing for himſelf, but only willeth vs not to be vnthākful for that which it pleaſeth him to giue vs. And through this ſelf ſame fountain of the corruptions of our ſoule we are bewitched with vnthankful forgetfulnes of thoſe good turns

God diſpoſeth all things by Iuſtice.

The vapors wherwith the eyes of the mind are dimmed.

turns which we receiue from our like: yea vpon the leaſt diſlike of them, which either with, or without reaſon we forge in our braines, we ſay, that neuer any did vs good. The vaſſaile, for the leaſt deniall or hard countenaunce which he receiueth of his lord, forgetteth all the good turnes, furtherances and fauours, which before that time he had done vnto him. The ſonne complaineth of the father, the brother of the brother, the friend of the friend, the ſeruant of the maſter. Alas we ſee but too many ſuch vngrateful wretches in France, who euē betray & ſel daily them, of whom they hold all their aduancement & greatnes. And if vnthankfulnes be familiar with the meaner ſort, let vs not thinke that it is farther off from thoſe of higher calling. For vpon euery light occaſion, eſpecially if a man frame not himſelfe to that vice which they haue in greateſt recommendation, they eaſily forget all the ſeruice that hath been done vnto them by reaſon of ſome new-come gueſt, who will ſhew himſelfe a ſeruiceable miniſter of their pleaſures. This commeth to paſſe ſooneſt, when they grow vp and increaſe in calling and greatnes, bicauſe commonly as they mount vp in calling (not being well inſtructed in vertue) they waxe worſe and worſe in behauior. But let them boldly take this for an infallible rule, that an vnthankfull prince cannot long retaine a good man in his ſeruice. For the hope of reward (ſaith *Plutarke*) is one of the elements and grounds of vertue, and of that honor, bountie and humanitie, wherwith the prince recompenceth vertuous men, thereby prouoking and alluring them to ſeeke the welfare of his eſtate. This alſo is that which procureth the proceedings of Artes and Sciences, and that which bringeth foorth notable wits: as contrarywiſe, all theſe things languiſh that are extinguiſhed by litle and litle through the ingratitude and couetouſnes of thoſe that rule. The ancients ſaid not without cauſe, that impudencie was the companion of ingratitude. For if no beaſt (as they ſay) is ſo ſhameleſſe as an impudent, who is he that may be ſaid to haue leſſe ſhame, than an vnthankful body? *Impudencie* (ſaith *Theophraſtus*) is

Of the ingratitude of great men.

Reward and honor nouriſheth vertue & Artes.

Impudencie & Ingratitude are companions.

The deſcription of impudencie.

is a contempt of glory, wrought in a man through the desire of vile and filthie gayne: and that man is impudent that boroweth some thing of him whome he purposeth to deceiue. Are not these the proper effects of the vice of Ingratitude, which seeketh nothing else but to drawe away the commoditie and profite of euery one, being vnwilling to doe good to any, or to requite a pleasure receiued, neither caring for true glory and immortall honor, which followeth euery vertuous action grounded vpon dutie and honesty? And truly it is a very hard matter for them to be answerable to their honor, who seeke their owne profit as much as may be. For we must know that in equitie and reason there is a difference betweene duetie, and that which we commonly call profit: yea they are distinct things, and separated one frō the other, as honestie is from such earthly commoditie. This latter maketh men voyd of feare to breake a sunder and to dissolue whatsoeuer was ordeined and ioyned togither both by the law of God and man, so that they may gaine thereby. But the other cleane contrary, causeth them to imploy liberally their goods, trauell, industrie, and whatsoeuer else is in their power, that they may profit euery one, and that without hope of any recompence: albeit they that receiue good turnes are bound to returne againe the like to their benefactors according to their abilitie, and to acknowledge their kindnes. For this cause amongst the lawes of *Draco* established among the Athenians, there was a commandement, that if any man had receiued a benefit of his neighbor, and it were prooued against him long time after, that he had been vnthankfull for it, & had ill acknowledged the good turne receiued, I say, that such a one should be put to death. And although no histories are able to shew vnto vs any kings or princes, which surmounted, yea, which matched *Alexander* the great in munificence and liberalitie, or *Iulius Cæsar* in pardoning iniuries, yet we read of them, that when they had knowledge of an vngratefull person, *Alexander* neuer gaue vnto him, nor *Cæsar* euer forgaue him: so greatly haue vertuous men alwayes hated

Dutie and profit are two distinct things.

A law against vnthankful persons.

The Storke a gratefull bird.

ted ingratitude. It is reported of the Storke, that as often as she hath yong, she casteth one out of the neast for the hire of the house, and reward of him that lodged hir. O barbarous ingratitude, to behold him that hath been lodged, serued, and brought vp in a house, and that with the sweate and labor of another, to seeke and to endeuor the spoil of all that is therin, euen to the honor, & oftentimes the life of his host! Is it not the same vice of vnthankfulnes that soweth dissentions and quarels between the children & the father, between brethren, kinsfolks & friends, and all for want of acknowledging one towards another, that bond of nature wherewith we ought to be tied, and that secondary supply of good turns, which knit vs vnseparably, and make vs daily beholding vnto them, if we consider exactly the nature of our estate, which cannot stand without the succor and aide of many, how great so euer we be? But what? We see by experience that which one of the Ancients said, *That all humane things growe to be old, and come to the end of their time, except Ingratitude. For the greater the encrease of mortall men is, the more doth vnthankfulnesse augment.* And yet we may note many examples in histories against this vice, which ought to awaken vs in our dutie. *Pyrrhus* is exceedingly commended by Historiographers, bicause he was gentle, and familiar with his friendes, ready to pardon them when they had angred him, and very earnest and forward in requiting & recompencing those good turnes which he had receiued. Which caused him to be grieued aboue measure for the death of a friend of his: not (as he said) bicause he saw that befall him which is common and necessarily incident to the nature of man, but bicause he had lost all means of acknowledging vnto him those benefits which he had receiued: whereupon he reprooued and blamed himselfe for delaying and deferring it ouer-long. For truly money lent may well be restored to his heires that did lend it: but it goeth to the hart of a man that is of a good, noble, and excellent nature, if he cannot make the selfe same man that benefited him, to feele the recompence of those pleasures which

The fruits of ingratitude.

Examples against ingratitude.

Pyrrhus.

which he receiued. This cauſed the ancients not onely to feare the note of ingratitude towards their friends, but alſo to contend with their enimies which of them ſhould do moſt good, and ſhew greateſt curteſie to his companion, as the ſame *Pyrrhus* did behaue himſelfe towards the Romanes, who had giuen him intelligence of a treaſon that was in hand againſt him. For he to acknowledge this good turne, ſent backe vnto them a great number of priſoners taken in warre, which were then in his cuſtodie, and would not let them pay any raunſome. But the Romanes, being vnwilling that he ſhould excell them in any kind of beneficence, as alſo bicauſe they would not giue occaſion that any ſhould thinke they meant to receiue a reward for not conſenting vnto a wicked act, ſent him as many priſoners of his for a counter-change. *Circerinus* who had been ſecretarie to the great *Scipio*, when he perceiued that he was a competitor, and ioint-ſuter for the Pretorſhip with the ſonne of the ſame *Scipio*, he feared ſo greatly leaſt he ſhould be noted with ingratitude towards his ſonne, vnto whom he was ſo greatly bound, and of whom he had receiued his aduancement, that putting off the white garment which they vſed to weare that ſued for offices, he became a ſollicitor for *Scipio*, and procured him that honourable eſtate wherewith himſelfe might haue been furniſhed, preferring immortal renowne before that, as one that would not ſhew himſelfe vnthankful towards them vnto whom he was beholding. *Circerinus.*

We read of a barbarous Turke, by countrey an Arabian, and Admiral of the Infidels in their warre againſt *Baldwin* king of Ieruſalem, who not willing to ſuffer himſelf to be ouercome in beneficence, much leſſe to beare the name of an vnthankfull body towards the ſaid prince, who had once ſet him & his wife at libertie when they were his priſoners, went by night vnto him into a towne whither he was retired after the loſſe of a bartell, & declared vnto him the purpoſe of his companions: wherupon he led him out of the town, and conducted him vntil he had brought him out of all danger. Moreouer as concerning that which we haue

A notable hiſtorie of an Arabian Turke.

haue alreadie touched, that great men ought to haue speciall regard to this, that they be not vnthankfull, but reward liberally men of desert, forasmuch as this point belongeth principally to the vertue of liberalitie, which subiect is sufficient for a seuerall discourse, we wil content our selues without any further addition, with the propounding of a notable example of *Baiazet*, emperour of the Turkes touching this matter. This man being aduertised at the taking of the town of Modona from the Venetians of the valure of a yong Ianitsarie of the age of 22. yeeres, who was the first that mounted vpon the wall, wherupon 30000. Ianitsaries mo being mooued therewith were imboldned to doe the like, gaue him presently an office of *Sangeat*, which is one of the greatest & richest estates next to the Baschas, and is valued at 10000. duckats in yeerely reuenues. Now if we desire to follow to the vttermost of our power, the noble courage of these famous personages, that so we may not fall into the shamefull vice of ingratitude, this will helpe vs greatly, if we alwais esteeme the benefit which we receiue of another, greater than it is: and contrarywise, repute that lesse than it is, which we giue. For thereby we shall feele our selues vrged, and as it were bound voluntarily to continue to doe good to our like, and so preserue the bond of humane societie inuiolable. Neither let vs (as proud and vain-glorious men do, who vaunt that they stand in need of none) disdain to receiue a pleasure of our friends, although they be of lesse calling than we, when they desire our friendship. For if it be an honest thing to do good to all, it cannot be dishonest to receiue likewise of all, bicause a receiuer is as needefull as a giuer for the accomplishing of a good turne. Furthermore, this will be another great occasion of preseruing the common & mutuall bond, whereby we stand bound one to another, and of banishing all ingratitude from amongst men, if we obserue this point alwais, to requite double if we can that good turne which we receiue of another. *Artaxerxes* king of Persia disdained not the water which a poore handycraftsman, as he saw

Baiazet.

A mean to keep vs from ingratitude.

Another meane for the same.

Artaxerxes thankfully accepted a litle water.

ſaw him paſſe by, brought from a riuer in his hands and gaue him, but receiued it with a ſmiling and cheerefull countenance, meaſuring the grace of the gift, not according to the value of the preſent, but according to his good will that offered it. He thought it no leſſe an acte of magnanimitie and kinglie bountie to take ſmall preſents in good part, and to receiue them with a good countenance, than to giue greater. Againe, we are to know, that a good man muſt neuer giue ouer to do good to all, notwithſtanding any pretence of Ingratitude wherwith they may be noted, whome he hath alreadie bound vnto him. For (as *Plato* ſaith) that is true vertue, which ſetteth it ſelf on worke, in reſpect of no other end than of it ſelfe: yea vertue is a very ſufficient recompence vnto it ſelfe. So although a man haue occaſion to be grieued at an vnthankfull perſon, yet he hath no libertie to repent him of the good turne which he hath done him. Yea the vnwoorthier he is that receiueth a benefit, the more is he to be commended from whome it commeth. And we may aſſure our ſelues that that thing onely is giuen, which is giuen without any reſpect. For if there be hope of recompence, the benefactor deſerueth not at all the name of a liberall man, but of one that giueth out to vſurie. Therefore *Cicero* miſliketh the rehearſing of duties done one to another, ſaying: that thoſe men are odious which vpbraid the good turnes they haue done, the remembrance of which the receiuer ought to retaine, and the giuer muſt paſſe them ouer in ſilence: ſeeing the greateſt contentation, which an excellent and noble-minded man can take in his glorious deedes and actions, is to ſee himſelfe adorned with that vertue which is profitable to others, but to it ſelfe is fruitles, painfull, and perillous. To the ende therefore that we may reape profit by all that hath beene heere diſcourſed, ſeeing we knowe by ouer-many experiences vnto what miſchiefe Ingratitude hath made vs ſubiect, let vs awaken our ſpirits out of the deepe ſleepe of ignorance, which hath ſo long time poſſeſſed them, conſidering that (as *Pythagoras* ſaid) the ſleepe of the ſpirite is worſe than death.

Vertue is a ſufficient recompence to it ſelfe.

The ſleepe of the ſpirite is woorſe than death.

Therefore let vs watch in ſpirite, that both with hart and voice we may ſing and ſet foorth the vnſpeakeable benefits that are daily offered vnto vs by the goodnes of God, whereof we ſhall be made partakers through his grace, if our frowardnes be no let vnto vs. Let our ioy, contentation and pleaſure be in them that deſtroy and driue farre from vs all irkeſomnes, and ſad melancholie, and let vs take ſingular delight in profiting one another by good turnes and benefits: yea let vs ſhewe that we haue ſuch noble minds, that no Ingratitude can turne vs aſide from the deſire of doing good to all. Laſtly, let vs recompence double, & reward without reckoning thoſe good turnes, which we receiue of others, rather fearing leaſt we ſhould be ouercome in beneficence, than in worldly reputation and glorie.

The ende of the tenth daies worke.

THE ELEVENTH DAIES WORKE.

Of Liberalitie, and of the vſe of riches. Chap. 41.

ASER. DIuine *Plato* handling good and euill things, ſaith: *That Prudence, Temperance, Fortitude, & Iuſtice, are good things, and that their contraries are euill, namely: want of Prudence, Intemperance, Cowardlines, and Iniuſtice.* As for the goods of Fortune, and of the bodie, as riches, glorie, friends, & honor, beautie, health, ſtrength, and dexteritie, he calleth them meane or indifferent things, which of themſelues

are

are neither good nor bad, but become either the one or the other, as they are vſed with prudence; or abuſed by imprudence and want of diſcretion. Nowe ſeeing we entred yeſterday into thoſe points that depend of Iuſtice, I thinke the ſequele of our matter requireth of vs the handling of Liberalitie, which is nothing elſe but an excellent vſe of thoſe meanes which God putteth into our handes for the ſuccouring of many: which vertue (as *Cicero* ſaith) is altogither ioined to Iuſtice, and ought to be guided by moderation and reaſon. Nowe my Companions, I leaue the diſcourſe of this matter to you.

What Liberalitie is.

AMANA. The vnſtable riches of earthly treaſure (as *Agapetus* wrote to *Iuſtinianus*) imitate the courſe of the floating waters. They abound for a little while to ſuch as thinke they haue them, and ſuddenly they returne backe againe and go to others: but the treaſure of Liberalitie and largeſſe, onely abideth ſtill with him that poſſeſſeth it.

Riches reſemble the waters.

ARAM. The habite of Liberalitie is a garment that neuer waxeth old, and charitie towards the poore is an incorruptible ornament. Diligence is ſufficient to make a man rich when meanes are offered, but nobility of mind is requiſite in the beſtowing of great riches vpon commendable things. To this purpoſe *Plato* ſaith, that a niggard ſometime is not wicked, but neuer good. Now then ACHITOB, inſtruct vs ſufficiently in this goodly matter.

ACHITOB. Seeing Liberalitie is a vertue betweene theſe two vices, *Couetouſnes*, and *Prodigalitie*, and ſeeing the iudgement of reaſon ought to be the director and maiſter of giuing, and of free Liberalitie, that it be not abuſed in delights, or fauour of the wicked, but vſed with a prudent and ripe deliberation; *Where*, *When*, and *Aſmuch* as ought to be, I am of opinion that we may not vnfitly appropriate the effects of this vertue of Liberalitie, to the good vſe of Riches, which of themſelues are not able to make a man better or more happy, as we were before ſufficiently taught: but if they be ioined with the knowledge of true honeſtie, and perfect goodnes, they offer

How riches may be well vſed.

meanes vnto him whereby he may the better execute his good and honeſt inclinations, to the profite and reliefe of all them that ſtand in neede. Heereupon we muſt beſtow onely whatſoeuer we haue more than neceſſarie: firſt vpon them that are of our blood and kindred, then vpon all indifferently that want our helpe. And this is ſuch an excellent and commendable deede, that *Ariſtotle* and all the Peripatecians maintained this opinion, that a happie life which conſiſteth in the perfect vſe of vertue, could not be in all reſpects abſolute, if it wanted the aſſiſtance of bodilie and externall goods, which are as inſtruments to further a man in the good and vertuous execution of his honeſt deſires. But we ſhewed heeretofore by good reaſon, and according to the opinion of the Academicks and Stoicks, that vertue onely is ſufficient of it ſelfe to make a man liue happily, and that his vertue cannot be either more honored, or diſgraced through the abundant hauing or not hauing of the goods of fortune, and of the bodie, ſeeing all other things receiue their glorie from vertue, and are not able to adde any thereunto. And therfore a poore vertuous man is not kept from any perfect vſe of vertue, no not of Liberalitie, which conſiſteth not in waſting much wealth, but in ſuccouring the afflicted willingly, and in helping euery one according to abilitie. For this cauſe the poore womans mite was eſteemed of God for a greater gift, than were all the preſents of the rich, bicauſe they gaue of their abundance, and ſhe of that litle which ſhe had. In this manner then euery good man may iuſtly deſerue the name of liberall, neither may any man excuſe himſelfe for not practiſing liberalitie according to his abilitie. But chiefly rich and mightie men are bound thereunto by that commandement giuen vnto them in the ſcripture, to make them friends with the riches of iniquity. They muſt take good heede that they paſſe not the bounds of this vertue of Liberalitie, but ſtrictly obſerue thoſe three points alreadie touched by me, namely: that they be liberall, *Where*, *When*, and *Aſmuch* as is requiſite. For when Princes beſtow eſtates, offices, or monie, vpon vnwoor-

Ariſtotles opinion concerning a happie life deſtitute of bodilie and outward goods.

A poore man may be liberall.

Luke 16.9.

vnwoorthie perſons, they giue where, and more than they ought. And if in time of warre, or calamities of their people, they giue to flatterers, dancers, and miniſters of their pleaſures, and conſume much vpon feaſts, playes, Turneis, and Masks, they ſpend *when* and *where* they ought not, deſeruing therby the name of prodigall men, and louers of riot and ſuperfluitie, howſoeuer flattering courtiers labor to diſguiſe ſuch waſtfull ſpendings with the name of largeſſe and liberalitie. But ſuch ſuperfluous expences bring foorth effects contrary to the vertue and dutie of a king, cauſing princes to leuie extraordinarie taxes and tributes vpon no iuſt neceſſitie, which is wholy to ouerthrow the vſe of liberalitie. And this is done alſo by men of meaner calling, when in their actions and expences they propound to themſelues an other ende than good workes grounded vpon the loue of their neighbors according to charitie. *Cicero* giueth vs a very good precept againſt the opinion of many in our time, who giue out in ſpeech, that they are borne to do great things, namely, to practiſe liberalitie, and being poore of worldly goods, ſeeke to inrich themſelues by vnlawfull and vniuſt meanes, that they may bring to paſſe their loftie deſires: thinking afterwards through good deeds and great liberalitie to make amends for that fault which they haue committed. But (as that father of Philoſophie ſaith) our goods and patrimonie muſt be iuſtly gotten, not by diſhoneſt and hateful gaine: ſecondly, we muſt profite as many as we can, ſo that they be worthie thereof. Moreouer a man may and ought to increaſe it by reaſon, diligence, and ſparing, but to maintaine liberalitie rather than to miniſter vnto luſt, voluptuouſnes, or heaping vp of treaſures. And yet now a daies theſe are the principall occaſions for which riches are deſired, which as they increaſe, ſo we will haue our traine augmented, and our table to be anſwerable thereunto. Then although ouer-great abundance remaine, yet we exerciſe very coldly the true works of liberalitie, which are to ſuccor the needie. But this is to be farre ſeparated from the commendable end, and good vſe of riches, wher-

How princes paſſe the limites of liberalitie.

When the inferior ſort paſſe the bounds of liberalitie.

About what we are to bestow the ouerplus of our wealth.

of all that we haue ouer and aboue our necessitie ought to be imploied in the seruice of the common-wealth, in relieuing the poore, diseased, afflicted, and prisoners, in procuring the good bringing vp of youth, and generally in exercising all other deeds of pietie: accounting it great gaine to helpe the poore, seeing God is the rewarder thereof. Amongst the ancient Romanes there was a law kept inuiolably, *That no man should presume to make a publike feast, except before he had prouided for all the poore of his quarter.* And they accounted it a great shame and offence to the common-wealth to see any man beg in the streets. Therefore *Plato* said, that where there are beggers in a towne, there are also thieues & church-robbers. Now if we that beare the name of Christians, and acknowledge the poore to be members of Iesus Christ, are not ashamed to banquet and feast, when as in the meane time the needy crie at our gates, and almost die of hunger, doe we not thinke that these Heathen men shall rise in iudgement before that great and iust Iudge, to accuse and condemne vs as thieues and church-robbers, and chiefly them that maintaine their delights and pleasure with the goods of the poore, towards whom the liberall distribution of our owne wealth especially ought to be extended both by the lawe of God and man? We must feede the poore, and not kill them: but to denie them nourishment, or to driue them from vs, is to kill them. For this cause *Epaminondas* captaine generall of the Thebanes, hauing knowledge of a very rich man that had no care of the poore in the towne, sent a poore needie fellow vnto him, and commanded him vnder great penaltie to giue presently without faile 600. crownes to that poore man. The citizen hearing this commandement, came vnto him to know the occasion and cause thereof: *It is* (quoth *Epaminondas*) *bicause this man being honest is poore, and thou which hast robbed greatly the common-wealth, art rich: compelling him thereupon to be liberall in despite of his teeth.* So carefull were the ancients to helpe them that had need, and to shew themselues enimies vnto them that made no account of the poore.

A notable law amongst the Romanes.

How Epaminondas compelled a rich man to be liberall.

But

But if we ſhould diligently ſearch all hiſtories and deeds of famous men, yet could we not find a more notable example, or worthy to be folowed than that of *Cimon* the Athenian, who hauing gotté great wealth honorably, both for himſelf and his country, by the taking and ouerthrow of many Barbarians and townes belonging vnto them, knew neuertheleſſe how to beſtow it liberally with greater glory and honor, by relieuing all his poore countreymen to whom his houſe was as an hoſpitall wherein they were all nouriſhed and fed at an ordinarie that was common to ſo many as would come thither, which was furniſhed, not with daintie and delicate fare, thereby to occaſion rich folks to ſeeke it out, but with many common ſorts of victuals in all plentie and abundance, and that for a great number of perſons. This he did chiefly, as he ſayd, to the end that poore honeſt men might haue the more leaſure to imploy themſelues about the affaires & ſeruice of the common-wealth, and not be diuerted from that through trauell and care to get their liuing by the exerciſe of handicrafts. Beſides, he cauſed all the incloſures, hedges and ditches of his lands and inheritance to be taken away, that ſtrangers which paſſed by, and his owne countreymen that wanted, might take of the fruits that were there according to their neceſſitie. Now if this vertue of liberalitie be praiſe-woorthie in all perſons that vſe it well according to their abilitie, it is moſt of all neceſſarie, honorable and profitable for kings and princes, heads and captains of armies, gouernours of eſtates and common-wealths, as that which procureth vnto them, more than any other thing, the good will of euery one, wherein the chiefe ſtrength and ſtay of their greatneſſe conſiſteth. But withall they haue great need of prudence and iuſtice, eſpecially ſoueraigne princes, to diſtribute liberally and according to harmonicall proportion their giftes, graces, and good turnes, whether they be eſtates, offices, beneficces, knighthoods, exemptions, freedoms, and other recompences due as rewards to their ſubiects, according as euery one deſerueth. It belongeth principally to them to

Cimō a notable paterne of the true vſe of riches.

Liberalitie moſt neceſſarie for princes and great men.

The lawes of liberalitie.

keep religiouſly and from point to point the lawes of liberalitie, marking well to whom they giue, how much is giuen, at what time, in what place, to what end, and their owne abilitie that giue. Moreouer a ſoueraigne muſt looke that recompence go before gift, by rewarding firſt thoſe that haue deſerued, before he giue to thé that haue deſerued nothing: and aboue all things he muſt meaſure his largeſſe at the foote of his power. Bũt when the iuſt rewards of ſubiects and honeſt men are diſtributed amongſt the vicious, ſtrangers, and vnworthy perſons, this is that which oftentimes ſetteth floriſhing eſtates on fire. There is neuer any want of flatterers and of impudent crauers about kings, whoſe onely drift is to ſup vp the bloud, gnaw the bones, and ſucke the marow of princes and their ſubiects, to ſatiſfie their fooliſh & vnprofitable expences, which are ſuch and ſo great, that a man is well at eaſe to giue them any thing, they are alwais ſo needie and monyleſſe, and ſticke not to ſay that they neuer receiue good of their maſters. In the meane while, they that haue beſt deſerued of the common-wealth, are commonly remooued furtheſt from their maieſties: which commeth to paſſe both by the ignorance of the greater ſort, who make but a bad choice of ſeruants worthy their fauour, as alſo bicauſe the honor & credite of good men forbiddeth them by flattery and begging to ſeek after the rewards of vertue, which ſhould be offred vnto them. But not to wander farre from our matter ſubiect, let vs now conſider of ſome notable examples of the Ancients concerning this wherof we haue here diſcourſed. It was by his magnificall and incomparable liberalitie, that *Alexander* the great made a way for his noble plat-formes, whereby he became monarch of three parts of the world, diſtributing liberally all his demains amongſt the Macedonians, as before we mentioned. But what a notable teſtimonie of this his liberalitie did he giue a freſh, when during the warre he cauſed this to be publiſhed in his armie, that all they that were indebted vpon any occaſion whatſoeuer, ſhould bring their creditors vnto him, and he would diſ-

A common miſchief which foloweth the greater ſort.

The liberalitie of Alexander,

To the Macedonians,

To all debtors in his armie,

charge

charge all their debts? Which thing he likewiſe performed. Moreouer, who will not admire the liberality which all his life time he exerciſed towards the learned men of his time? We read that he gaue at one time to his maiſter *Ariſtotle*, 800. Talents, which amount to 480000. crownes, as a reward for his paines, trauels, and expences which he had beene at in deſcribing the nature and propertie of liuing creatures. He ſent to *Anaxarchus* the Philoſopher 50. Talents, which are 30000. Crownes, but he refuſed them, ſaying: that he knewe not what to doe with ſo great a ſumme. *What* (ſaid *Alexander* then) *hath he no friendes to pleaſure, ſeeing all king Darius wealth will not ſuffice me to diſtribute among ſt mine owne?* *Perillus* beſought him to giue him ſome monie towards the mariage of his daughters, whervpon he gaue to him alſo 50 Talents. And when he told him that it was too much by halfe, he replied thus: *If half be enough for thee to take, yet is it not enough for me to giue.* Likewiſe he gaue to a poore Egyptian asking his almes, a rich and populous citie, & when the other all aſtoniſhed ſuppoſed that he mocked him: *Take* (quoth he to him) *that which I giue thee: for if thou art Biace that demandeſt, I am Alexander that giueth.* The firſt Monarch of the *Ceſars*, is he not alſo exceedingly praiſed of Hiſtoriographers for the liberalleſt Prince of his time, and for ſuch a one as ſhewed in deede, that he loued not riches in warre, that afterward he might at his pleaſure liue in delight, or abuſe them about his owne pleaſures, but that they were the common price and reward of vertue, which he laid vp to recompence valiant and honeſt men withall? Of which reward he ſaid he would haue no part, but only diſtribute it to euery one according to his deſert. *Antonius* one of his ſucceſſours, ſought to imitate him in this bountifull liberalitie. For proofe heereof may ſerue that commandement, which he gaue to his Treaſorer to double the halfe of 2500. Crownes, which he had giuen to one of his fauorits, whereas his Treaſorer that brought him the ſaide ſumme, when he beheld it, thought that he ſhould haue diminiſhed the gift. But he ſtained this vertue with a perpetuall

To Ariſtotle.

To Anaxarchus.

To Perillus.

To an Egyptian.

Cæſar a liberall Prince.

Antonius a magnificall Prince, but voluptuous.

petuall blot and infamie, which cauſed his deſtruction, in that he applied it to the ſeruice and maintenance of his delights and pleaſures, and abuſed it in the fauor and behalfe of the wicked, which is al one in great men as if they themſelues were authors of vice and iniquitie. *Archelaus* king of Macedonia, may ſerue vnto them for a notable example, whereby they may learne to keepe themſelues in their eſtates from ſuch a pernitious euill. This king being requeſted by a Minion of his Court to giue him a cup of gold wherein he dranke, deliuered it to his Page, commanding him to beare and giue the ſame to *Euripides*, who was there preſent, and then ſaid to the other: As for thee, thou art woorthie to aske, and to be denied alſo: but *Euripides* is woorthie of gifts, although he aske not. *Antigonus* the elder being importunately deſired by one that was good for nothing, and that counterfaited the Cynick Philoſopher, to giue him a drachma, which might be in value about foure pence halfepenie, made anſwer: that it was no meete gift for a king. And when the other replied, that he ſhould then giue him a Talent, he anſwered: it is no preſent for a Cynick. *Titus* the emperor was ſo greatly in loue with liberalitie all his life time, that remembring one euening with himſelfe, that he had giuen nothing the ſame day, he cried out: O my friends we haue loſt this day. He vſed to bleſſe thoſe daies wherein the poore came vnto him, or when he ſought after them to do them good, putting in practiſe that precept of *Phocylides*, which ſaith: *Sleepe not at night before thou haſt thrice called to mind thy works that day, and repent thee of the euill, but reioice in that which was well done.* For this great good nature *Titus* was loued whileſt he liued, and bewailed after his death, and vpon his Tombe was written this Epitaph: *The delights of mankind are ended.* *Ptolemæus* the Thebane, Captaine ouer a great armie, had ſo acquainted himſelfe not to denye any that ſtood in neede of his liberalitie, that when a poore ſouldior demanded his almes of him, he hauing at that preſent nothing to beſtow vpon him, gaue him his ſhooes, ſaying: *My friend, make thy profit of this, ſeeing I haue no better thing to*

Archelaus gaue not to the vnwoorthy.

How Antigonus denied one that was importunate.

Titus a good & liberall Prince.

A notable precept of Phocylides.

Ptolemæus the Thebane.

giue

giue thee. For I had rather go bare-foote, than see thee suffer so much. *Denys* the elder, entring into his sonnes lodging, and beholding there great store of rich iewels of gold and siluer, and of incredible treasure, said vnto him: *My sonne, I did not giue thee these riches to vse in this sort, but to impart of them vnto thy friends. For thou must know, that no man in all the world is so rich as he that is liberall, who with his liberalitie preserueth his friends, and mollifieth his enimies.* This is that which *Cyrus* by experience shewed vnto *Crœsus*, and how smally those gifts which he had bestowed vpon woorthy persons had impouerished him. For sending to euery one of them to succour him with monie, they sent him altogither as much as they had receiued by gift from him, bestowing moreouer great rewards vpon the bearer of his message. So that the wealth which proceedeth from liberalitie is vnconsumeable, as that which is gotten by giuing, and by scattering abroad is gathered togither. *Pertinax*, who succeeded *Commodus* in the Empire, surpassed all the Emperors that euer were for exceeding liberalitie, which he vsed to the benefite and profite of all his subiects. For first he gaue freely all the waste and desolate ground in Italy, and in other his prouinces, to them that could and would till them, and to the labourers thereof he gaue freedome and exemption from al taxes and subsidies for ten yeeres, with perpetuall assurance that they should not be troubled in their possession. He forbad also that his name should be set in any castell or place within his dominion, saying: *that his lands were not proper to him onely, but common to all the people of Rome.* He abolished all customs, tributes, and toles laid vpon the hauens of riuers, at the entries into townes, waies and passages, which he called inuentions of tyrannie to get monie, & placed all such things in their ancient liberties. Which actions beseemed rather a father of the countrie, than a lord and maister: and there are few Princes that vse to doe so, but many to whome their owne will seemeth to be a most iust law. But contrariwise let them know, that they ought to be subiect to the eternall law, namely, to right, reason, truth, and iustice, which

Denys the elder

Cyrus.

Pertinax.

are

are the proper will of God onely, whoſe people they muſt rule with right and equitie, by comforting them through beneficence, and continuall good turnes. Let vs learne then by our preſent diſcourſe to decke our ſelues with this vertue of Liberalitie, euery one according to thoſe meanes that are giuen vnto him from aboue, and are iuſtly gotten by him: taking good heede, that we abuſe it not in any kind of voluptuouſnes or vice, neither yet vpon the wicked, as though we purpoſed to nouriſh and maintaine their impieties. For this is vtterly to deſtroye Iuſtice, and conſequently the bond and preſeruatiue of humane ſocietie. But if we, being well inſtructed by the ſpirite of wiſedome, feede the hungrie, giue drinke to the thirſty, lodge them that want harbour, and clothe the naked, ſowing in this manner by the works of pietie that talent which is committed to our keeping, we ſhall reape abundantly in heauen the permanent riches & treaſures of eternall life.

Matth. 25.

Of Couetouſnes, and of Prodigalitie. Chap. 42.

ACHITOB. IF that diuiue rule of *Cicero* were aſwell written in our hart, as he deſired to haue it ſetled in his ſonne, *that onely that thing is to be iudged profitable which is not wicked, and that nothing of that nature ſhould ſeeme profitable*, we ſhould not behold amongſt vs ſo many curſed acts, as are daily committed through the vnbrideled deſire of the goods of this world. For that which moſt of all troubleth men, is when they thinke that the ſin which they purpoſe to practiſe is but ſmall in reſpect of the gaine, thereby craftily ſeparating profite from honeſtie, and ſo ſuffering themſelues to be ouercome of couetouſnes, which is the defect of liberalitie, whereof we diſcourſed euen now, whoſe exceſſe alſo is *Prodigalitie*, of which two vices we are now to intreat.

No wicked thing ought to be iudged profitable.

ASER. *Euery one that coueteth treaſures* (ſaid *Anacharſis*, one of the wiſe men of Græcia) *is hardly capable of good coun-*

ſell

ſell and inſtruction. For the couetous man commonly murmureth at that which God permitteth and nature doth, ſo that he will ſooner take vpon him to correct God, than to amend his life.

AMANA. *It is a hard matter* (ſaid *Socrates*) *for a man to bridle his deſire, but he that addeth riches thereunto, is mad. For couetouſnes neither for ſhame of the world, nor feare of death, will not repreſſe or moderate it ſelf.* But it belongeth to thee ARAM, to inſtruct vs in that which is here propounded.

ARAM. Since the greedie deſire of heaping vp gold and ſiluer entred in amongſt men, with the poſſeſſion of riches, couetouſneſſe folowed, and with the vſe of them pleaſures and delights: whereupon they began to ſaile in a dangerous ſea of all vices, which hath ſo ouerflowen in this age of ours, that there are very few towers how high ſo euer ſeated, but it hath gone vp a great deale aboue them. For this cauſe I ſee no reaſon why men ſhould eſteeme ſo much, or iudge it ſuch a happy thing to haue much goodly land, many great houſes, and huge ſummes of readie money, ſeeing all this doth not teach them, not to be caried away with paſſions for riches, and ſeeing the poſſeſſion of them in that maner procureth not a contentation void of the deſire of them, but rather inflameth vs to deſire them more through an inſatiable couetouſnes, which is ſuch a pouerty of the ſoul, that no worldly goods can remedie the ſame: For it is the nature of this vice to make a man poore all his life time, that he may find him ſelf rich only at his death. Moreouer it is a deſire that hath this thing proper and peculiar to it ſelfe, to reſiſt and to refuſe to be ſatiſfied, whereas all other deſires helpe forward the ſame, and ſeeke to content thoſe that ſerue thē. *Couetouſneſſe* (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) *is a vice of the ſoule, whereby a man deſireth to haue from all partes without reaſon, and vniuſtly with-holdeth that which belongeth to another. It is ſparing and skantie in giuing, but exceſſiue in receiuing.* The Poet *Lucretius* calleth it a blind deſire of goods. And it mightily hindereth the light of the ſoule, cauſing the couetous man to be neuer contented, but the more he hath, the more to deſire and wiſh for. The medicine which he ſeeketh, namely, gold

Couetouſnes hath ouerflowen all.

Couetouſnes will neuer be ſatiſfied.

Couetousnes like to a dropsie.

gold and siluer, encreaseth his disease, as water doth the dropsie: and the obtaining thereof is alwaies vnto him the beginning of the desire of hauing. He is a *Tantalus* in hell, who between water and meat dieth of hunger. Now it is very sure, that to such as are wise and of sound iudgement, nature hath limited certaine bounds of wealth, which are traced out vpon a certaine Center, and vpon the circumference of their necessitie. But couetousnesse working cleane contrary effects in the spirit of fooles, carieth away the naturall desire of necessarie things, to a disordinate appetite of such things as are full of danger, rare, and hard to be gotten. And which is worse, compelling the auaritious to procure them with great payne and trauell, it forbiddeth him to enioy them, and stirring vp his desire, depriueth him of the pleasure. *Stratonicus* mocked in olde ryme the superfluitie of the Rhodians, saying, that they builded as if they were immortall, and rushed into the kitchin as if they had but a little while to liue. But couetous men scrape togither like great and mightie men, and spend like mechanicall and handy-craftesmen. They indure labour in procuryng, but want the pleasure of enioying. They are like Mules that carie great burthens of golde and siluer on their backes, and yet eate but hay. They enioy neyther rest nor libertie which are most precious, and most desired of a wise man: but liue alwayes in disquietnesse, being seruauntes and slaues to their richesse. Their greatest miserie is, that to encrease and keepe their wealth, they care neither for equitie or iustice: they contemne all lawes both diuine and humane, and all threatnings and punishmentes annexed vnto them: they liue without friendship and charitie, and lay holde of nothyng but gayne. When they are placed in authoritie and power aboue others, they condemne the innocent, iustifie the guiltie, and finde alwayes some cleanly cloke and colour of taking, and of excusing (as they thinke) their corruption and briberie, making no difference betweene duetie and profite. Wherfore we may well say in a word, *That couetousnes*

Stratonicus derided the superfluitie of the Rhodians.

Couetous men compared to Mules.

The miserable life of couetous men.

couetouſnes is the roote of all euill. For what miſchiefs are not procured through this vice? From whence proceed quarels, ſtrifes, ſuites, hatred and enuie, theftes, pollings, ſackings, warres, murders, and poiſonings, but from hence? God is forgotten, our neighbour hated, and many times the ſonne forgiueth not his father, neither the brother his brother, nor the ſubiect his Lord, for the deſire of gaine. In a worde, there is no kind of crueltie that couetouſneſſe putteth not in practiſe. It cauſeth hired and wilfull murders (O execrable impietie) to be well thought of amongſt vs. It cauſeth men to breake their faith giuen, to violate all friendſhip, to betray their countrey. It cauſeth ſubiectes to rebell againſt their princes, gouernours and magiſtrates, when, not able to beare their inſatiable deſires, nor their exactions and intollerable ſubſidies, they breake foorth into publike and open ſedition, which troubleth common tranquillitie, whereupon the bodie politike is changed, or for the moſt part vtterly ouerthrowen. Moreouer, the exceſſe of the vertue of liberalitie, which is prodigalitie, may be ioyned to couetouſneſſe, and than there is no kind of vice but raigneth with all licence in that ſoule that hath theſe two gueſtes lodged togither. And bicauſe it is a thing that may ſeeme hard to conceiue, how two vices ſo diſagreeing by nature, may be found to agree in the ſame ſubiect, we will ſoone beleeue it, if we ſay with the ancients, that it is the point of couetouſneſſe to gripe, and to take, *Where* and *When* it ought not: and that this dealing is put in practiſe neceſſarilie vpon one of theſe two occaſions, eyther of niggardlineſſe and ſparing, or for prodigalitie, as they do that vniuſtly ſeeke for meanes to ſatiſfie their fond deſires, and their vnprofitable and ſuperfluous expences. The common opinion is, that they who put to no vſe the richeſſe which they gette ſo couetouſly, are more miſerable than thoſe that abuſe them after they haue obtayned them by ill meanes: bicauſe manye maye reape profite by theſe, but of the other none, no not their onely

1. Tim. 6. 10.

The fruits of couetouſnes.

How prodigalitie and couetouſnes may in ſome ſort be linked togither in one ſubiect.

Couetous men compared to hogs.

onely heires receiue more benefit than they do of hogs, which is after their death. But it falleth not out ſo altogither with kings and princes, whoſe couetouſnes ioined with prodigalitie is more hurtfull to their ſubiects than that which is ioined with ſparing. For this latter, althogh it maketh them commit much iniuſtice, and polling of their people to fil their treaſuries, yet when any need happeneth to the common-wealth, either of forraine warre, or of any other calamitie, a good ground-work is laid in the bottome of their cofers for to redreſſe the ſame. But the other maintained with the like iniuſtice, leaueth nothing behind for prodigall princes, wherewith to helpe themſelues in time of neceſſitie. Whereupon oftentimes proceedeth the finall ſubuerſion of their eſtate, weakened by exactions, to the ouerthrow and vndoing of many who would haue been the ſinewes of their ſtrength: and all to inrich a few who then will ſtand them in ſmall ſtead, or els bicauſe they waſted it vpon riot and ſuperfluities, wherby the warlike vertues both of themſelues and of their ſubiects become degenerate & baſtardlike. Of this we note, that after a prince groweth to be prodigall and deſirous of ſuperfluitie and fooliſh expences, no riches he hath will euer ſuffice him: ſo that to ſatiſfie his ſpending, he muſt needs become couetous and vniuſt. The like happeneth many times to the meaner ſort, and to men of all eſtates, that they are couetous and prodigal both togither, namely, when they gather wealth by vnlawfull meanes, & ſpare to ſpend it in the workes of pietie, that they may ſowe it plentifully vpon delights and pleaſures. But the humor of niggardlines and neerneſſe is moſt common in couetous men, whom *Plutarke* compareth to rats and mice that are in gold mines, which eate the golden oare, and yet nothing can be gotten from them but after their death. Likewiſe he compareth them to pipes through which water being conueied into a ceſterne nothing remaineth for them. So couetous men heape vp treaſures to leaue them to their heires, that they alſo may afterward leaue them to their heires as their predeceſſors did: and ſo neither the

Couetous men compared to rats and cundit pipes.

one

one nor the other reape any good or benefit by them, vntill in the end either some Tyrant take all away by violence from that hold-fast, or els some one that is the worst of the race succeedeth, spending all dissolutely vpon pleasures. This caused *Diogenes*, iesting at couetous men, to say that he had rather be their sheepe than their sonne, because they are very carefull to giue their cattell meete pasture, but in steede of feeding their youth with conuenient and profitable nourishment, through good and vertuous education, they marre, spill, & corrupt them, by grafting couetousnes in the soules of their children, as if they ment to build within them a strong fort wherein to keepe their succession safely. Whereas contrariwise they should learne of *Cicero*, that the glory of vertue, and of praisworthie and honorable deeds, is the greatest riches which fathers can leaue to their children, and more excellent than any other patrimonie whatsoeuer. *Socrates* called a yoong man brought vp in ignorance, and rich withall, a golden slaue. And that seruant answered not vnfitly, when, being demanded what his maister did, (who was a couetous man, and one that hauing great quantitie of good wine, sold it to others, and sought for sowre wine in Tauernes for his owne drinking) he said: Albeit he hath great store of good, yet he seeketh for euill. But let vs now consider of some notable examples, shewing foorth the pernitious effects, which, as we said, proceed from these two vices, *Couetousnes*, and *Prodigalitie*. *Muleasses* king of Thunes, had his eies put out by his sonne, that he might seaze vpon his treasures. *Priamus* king of Troy, fearing the taking of his citie, sent *Polydorus* his yoongest sonne to his sonne in law *Polymestor*, with a great quantitie of gold and siluer: but he being desirous to possesse the same, slew the child his brother in law, for which afterward he receiued his deserued hire. For Queene *Hecuba* comming vnto him, and taking him aside into a chamber, not shewing countenance of any discontentment, with the helpe of hir women put out his eies. The Emperor *Caligula* was so much touched with couetousnes, that there was no kind of lucre, or

It is better to be the sheepe than the sonne of a couetous man.

Examples of the fruites of couetousnes and of prodigalitie.

Muleasses.

Polymestor.

Caligula.

meane to get monie by, how vnlawfull and wicked soeuer it were, which he sought not out: insomuch that he laid a tribute vpon vrine, and sold his sisters gownes, whome he had violated and sent into banishment. And yet in one yeere of his raigne he spent prodigally 67. Millions of gold, which *Tiberius* his predecessor had gathered togither. *Nero* vsing great crueltie, polling, exaction, and confiscation towards his subiects, gaue to the ministers of his tyrannie in those fifteene yeeres wherein he raigned, the value of 55. Millions of Crownes. He caused a very stately gilt pallace to be built, which tooke in compasse a great part of Rome, but it was ouerthrown after his death, that the memorie of such a cruell tyrant might be rooted out of the earth. A notable example for such as thinke to get a vaine glorie by buildings that are more stately than necessarie, and yet leaue behind them a notorious marke of their tyrannie, and a perpetuall testimonie to posteritie, that they haue raised their houses with the blood of their subiects. *Henrie* the seuenth Emperour, a Prince indewed with most excellent vertues, was poisoned with an Host, which an Italian Monke corrupted with monie caused him to take. But what neede we seeke for such examples of ancient men to know the fruites of couetousnes, when as the vnhappines of our age daily affoordeth vs new before our eies, wherein we heare nothing almost spoken of, but poisonings and murders hired with monie, and all committed to this ende, that the authors of them may haue their goods whome they kill, for the satisfieng of their insatiable couetousnes? Amongst many other, who hath not heard of the cruell wilfull murder of a Gentlewoman of a good house, and of hir men and maides, by hir owne brethren in law, done a few daies past? A crueltie exceeding that of the Cannibals, who yet spare domesticall blood. But God the iust Iudge would not that such an execrable wickednes should be long concealed & vnpunished. For when it could not be found out by any inquirie of man, one of the murderers touched with the hand of God, and taken with an extreame sickenes, being

Nero.

Against the superfluitie of sumptuous buildings.

An Italian Monke.

A cruell murder of a Gentlewoman and of hir household.

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as it were mad, and as *Cain* was in times past, disclosed his sinne of himselfe, the hainousnes whereof so troubled him, that he said he could hope for no mercie. Afterward recouering his health, he was taken vpon his owne confession, and being conuicted of the fact, accused all the authors thereof, of whome some are executed, and the rest expect no better euent. That couetousnes causeth subiects to rebell against their couetous Princes, and that oftentimes to their ouerthrowe: we haue an example in *Mauritius* the Emperour, who was depriued of the Empire, and had his head cut off, besides the death of his fiue children, & of his wife, by reason of the ill will of his people and men of warre, which he had purchased, who could beare no longer his couetousnes, whereby he was mooued to winke at spoiles and murders, and to keepe backe the pay of his souldiors. In the time of S. *Lewes* the king, the people of fiue cities & fiue villages of high Almaigne, which at this day we call Switserland, raised such a great tumult & sedition, that they put to the edge of the sword all their Princes, Lords, and Noble-men, the chiefe cause therof was their couetousnes, which made them oppresse their subiects with vniust exactions. The niggardlye sparing of king *Lewes* the eleuenth, mooued strangers greatly to contemne him, and was in part the cause of the rebellion of his subiects. For hauing put away in a maner all the Gentlemen of his houshold, he vsed his Tailor alwaies for his Herald of Armes, his Barber for Embassador, and his Phisition for his Chancellour: and in derision of other kings, he ware a greasie hat of the courcest wooll. We find in the chamber of accounts a bill of his expences, wherein is set downe 20. souse for two newe sleeues to his olde dublet, and an other clause of 15. deniers for grease to grease his bootes. And yet he increased the charges of his people three millions more than his predecessour had done, and alienated a great part of his Demaine. Sparing may well be vsed, (which at this daye is more necessarye than euer) and yet the maiestie of a king nothing diminished, neither the dignitie of his house, and without the abasing

Mauritius deprived of the Empire for his couetousnes.

The Nobilitie of Switserland destroied for the same cause.

Lewes 11.

baſing of his greatnes. Likewiſe thoſe men, who after they haue hoorded much treaſure, are ſo beſotted and blinded with a couetous loue of their wealth, that they will not vpon any neceſſitie imploy it, can no more auoid their deſtruction, than the other before mentioned. This doth the hiſtorie of *Calipha* king of Perſia, teach vs, who hauing filled a Tower with gold, ſiluer, iewels, and pretious ſtones, and being in warre againſt *Allan*, king of the Tartarians, was ſo ill ſuccoured of his owne people, bicauſe he would not giue them their pay, that he was taken in his towne, and by *Allan* committed priſoner in the ſaid Tower, with theſe words: If thou hadſt not kept this treaſure ſo couetouſly, but diſtributed it amongſt thy ſouldiors, thou mighteſt haue preſerued thy ſelfe, and thy citie. Now therefore enioy it at thy eaſe, and eate and drinke thereof, ſeeing thou haſt loued it ſo much. And ſo he ſuffered him to die there of hunger, in the midſt of his riches.

Calipha.

How Dionyſius puniſhed a couetous wretch.

The puniſhment which *Dionyſius* the elder, king of Syracuſa, laied vpon a rich couetous ſubiect of his, was more gentle, but woorthie to be well noted, being full of inſtruction. For being aduertiſed that he had hid great ſtore of treaſure in the ground, he commanded him vpon paine of life to bring it vnto him: which he did, although not all of it, but retained part, which he tooke with him, & went to dwell in another citie, where he beſtowed his monie vpon inheritance. When *Dionyſius* vnderſtood thereof, he ſent for him, and reſtored all his gold and ſiluer, ſaying vnto him: foraſmuch as thou knoweſt now how to vſe riches, not making that vnprofitable, which was appointed for the vſe of man, take that, which before thou waſt vnwoorthie to enioy. And to ſpeake the truth, there is no reaſon wherewith the couetouſnes of ſuch men may be coloured. For if they ſay, that they ſpend not bicauſe they care not for ſpending, it is a point of great follie in them to labour to gather more wealth than they want. But if they deſire to ſpend, and yet dare not for niggardlines do ſo, nor enioy the fruite of their labour, they are a great deale more miſerable. Whereby it appeereth vnto vs what

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a goodly and commendable thing it is to be content and satisfied with a little, which freeth vs from the desire of vnnecessarie things. Now if we are to take those things for superfluous, which we will not vse, we ought, for the reasons already set down, to make no lesse accoũt of those which we would abuse in riot and superfluitie. The couetousnes of *Darius*, king of the Persians, was beguiled and laughed to scorne through the subtile inuention of *Nitocris* Queene of Babylon (some attribute it to *Semiramis*) who, being desirous to welcome hir successors that were touched with auarice, which she abhorred aboue al things caused a high sepulcher to be erected ouer those gates of the citie through which there was most passage, with these words ingrauen therein: *If any king of Babylon that shal come after me find want in his treasurie, let him open this tombe and take as much as he will. Otherwise let him not open it, for it will not be best for him.* After many ages were past, and none of the kings of Babylon had touched the said sepulcher, *Darius* conquering the kingdom caused the coffin to be opened, thinking to find there that which was promised. Neuertheless he found nothing there but a dead body, with this writing: *If thou wert not insatiable and very couetous, thou wouldest not haue opened the tombe of the dead.* Moreouer, that couetousnes oftentimes blindeth men so farre, as that it causeth them to take away their owne life without feare of condemning their soules, many examples thereof are left in memorie: of whom some through griefe for some great losse of goods, others to leaue their children rich, haue voluntarily procured their own death. *Cassius Licinius* was of this number, who being accused, attainted, & conuicted of many thefts and briberies, and beholding *Cicero* President at that time, about to put on the purple gowne to pronounce sentence of confiscation of goods, and of banishment, he sent word to *Cicero* that he was dead during the processe and before condemnation: and presently in the field he smothered himself with a napkin, hauing no other meaning therein but to saue his goods for his children. For then the lawes concerning the punishment

How Darius his couetousnesse was beguiled.

C. Licinius strangled himselfe to leaue his goods to his children.

of such as had robbed the common-wealth, or of such as being preuented slew themselues, were not made: so that they that were accused might saue their liues by forsaking their goods, yea by paying so much only as their accusers demanded. But there are some of a cleane contrary disposition to *Licinius*, who being readie to giue vp the ghost, would gladly cary their wealth with them, as we read of *Hermotrates*, who by his wil made himself heire of his own goods. *Athenæus* maketh mention of another, who at the houre of his death deuoured many pieces of his gold, and sewed the rest in his coate, commanding that they should be all buried with him. *Valerius Maximus* telleth of one, who being besieged within the town of Cassilina by *Hannibal*, preferred the hope of gaine before his owne life. For he chose rather to sell a ratte which he had taken, for 200. Romane pence, than to satisfie his hunger, whereof he died quickly after: and the buier being the wiser man, saued his life by that deare meate. *Crassus* Consul of Rome is likewise noted by Historiographers to be extreme couetous, which caused him to swimme between two factions diuided for *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, seruing his owne turne by them both, and chaunging many times from one side to another in the administration of the common-wealth. He shewed himselfe neither a constant friend, nor a dangerous enemy, but soone forsooke both amitie and enmitie, when he saw it would be profitable to him, wherof the encrease of his substance gaue great proofe. For when he first began to entermeddle in affaires, his riches amounted but to 300. talents, which according to our money came to about 180000. crownes: but after when he purposed to go from Rome to warre with the Parthians, he would needes know how much all his wealth came to. And first he offred to *Hercules* the tenth of all his goods: secondly, he made a publike feast for all the people of Rome of a thousand tables: and thirdly, he gaue to euery citizen as much wheate as would finde him three moneths. Notwithstanding all this, he found that he was worth 7100. talents, which amounted to foure millions,

Hermocrates bequeathed his goods to himselfe.

A ratte sold for 200. pence.

Couetousnes caused Crassus to play on both sides.

Wonderfull riches.

two

two hundred and three-score thousand crownes. He vsed to say, that he accounted no man rich, except he were able of his owne charges to hire and maintaine an armie: bicause, as no man can set downe a readie reckoning of the expences of warre, as king *Archidamus* sayd, so the riches that is to sustaine it, may not be limited. But in the ende his couetousnesse and ambition, which commonly are not farre separated one from another, led him to a violent death, as we declared elsewhere. Now as *Crassus* was blamed for couetousnesse, so *Pompey* was as much commended and well thought of, bicause he abhorred & contemned it. Whereof he gaue good proofe, as also of great piety at the taking of the city of Ierusalem from the Iewes. For when he entred into the Temple, & beheld the great riches thereof, the table of gold, the golden candlesticke, a great number of vessels of gold, with great abundance of good & exquisite spice for smels, & knew moreouer that there was in the treasurie about two thousand talents of sacred siluer, yet he would not touch it in any wise, nor suffer any thing to be taken from it. We that say we are christians, follow a farre off the pietie of these heathen men, whē as both great and small watch for nothing more than how to intrappe the goods of the Church to make them serue our delights and pleasures. Moreouer we see that this cursed plant of couetousnes groweth as much in the house of prayer, as in the courts of kings and princes. The corruption also that hath folowed the same, is knowen sufficiently in those men, who to satisfie their vnsatiable desires call themselues protectors of this Hydra Ignorance, to the destruction and perdition of their own soules, and of ten thousand mo for whom they are to answer. *Iouian Pontanus* rehearseth a pleasant history of a cardinall named *Angelot*, who was well punished for his couetousnes. This cardinal vsed when his horse-keepers had in the euening giuen oates to his horses, to come downe all alone without light by a trap doore into the stable, & so steale their oates and cary it into his garner wherof he kept the key himselfe. He continued his goings and com-

Pompey abhorred couetousnes.

The great couetousnes of a cardinall.

mings ſo often, that one of his horſe-keepers not knowing who was this thiefe, hid himſelfe in the ſtable, and taking him at the deed doing, (being ignorant who it was) beſtowed ſo many blowes on him with a pitchforke, that he left him halfe dead, ſo that he was faine to be caried by foure men into his chamber. *Iohn Maria* Duke of Millan, chaſticed very iuſtly, but ouer-ſeuerely, the couetouſneſſe of a Curate, who denied the ſeruice of his office in the burying of a dead body, bicauſe his widow had not wherewith to pay him the charges of the buriall. For the Duke himſelfe going to the funerals of the dead, cauſed the prieſt to be taken and bound to the corſe, and ſo caſt them both into one pit. A crueltie no leſſe deteſtable than the vice of thoſe wretches that ſell the gifts of God, and make merchandiſe of that, which they ought to giue freely to the people. Now to end our matter, we maintaine this, that couetouſnes and vnlawful deſire of riches, is the root of all euill, miſerie and calamitie. Moreouer it is more to be miſliked in great men when it followeth riot and prodigalitie, than if it be ioyned with niggardlines, as wel for the reaſons before touched, as alſo bicauſe niggardly and couetous princes vſe more carefully in their eſtates and dignities to prouide ſuch men as are prudent and ſtaied, for the preſeruation of their ſubiects, knowing that their owne ruine dependeth of their vndoing. Which thing voluptuous princes neglect, bicauſe they dreame of nothing but of their pleaſures, and ſo prouide none but ſuch as will ſerue their humor therein, and flatterers, or elſe ſuch as will giue them moſt money wherewith to maintaine their delights. And let vs further know, that all couetous men go aſtray from the right way of truth, and infold themſelues in many griefs and miſeries, and become odious to euery one. Beſides, not being content with their daily bread, when contrarywiſe their deſire is infinit, they euidently mocke God as often as they make that petition: bicauſe they labour to conceale and to diſſemble before him that knoweth all things, their couetous & greedie affection, whereas true prayer ought to declare

The cruel puniſhment of a couetous curate.

1. Tim. 6. 10.

What magiſtrates are beſt liked of couetous princes.

and

and to open the inward meaning of the hart. Let vs therfore that are better instructed learne, that godlines with contentation is great gaine: and let vs not wearye our selues in the heaping vp of treasure, which the rust and moath may consume and eate, and the theefe steale, but let vs renounce riches and the world, ouer which Satan beareth rule, least in that terrible day he accuse vs before the great Iudge, and conuince vs of taking some thing of his, and then the Iudge being vpright and iust, deliuer vs into his hands to throw vs into darknes, where there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth for euermore.

1. Tim. 6. 6. Matth. 6. 19.

We must renounce vniust riches.

Of Enuie, Hatred, and Backbiting. Chap. 43.

ARAM. THe mind of man, which of it owne nature is created sociable, gratious, and ready to helpe euery one, yea, which by the force of charitie working togither with it, feeleth it selfe as it were constrained to mourne with those that weepe, and to reioice with them that laugh, is able to shew nothing more vnworthy it selfe, than to be ouercome of enuie, which is a wild plant in the soule, bringing foorth cleane contrary effects to that good wil which we owe to our neighbor, & comprehending in it all iniustice generally, & all wickednes of men: as we may see if you think good (my companiõs) to search more narowly into the nature of this vice.

Nothing more vnworthie the spirite of man than enuie.

ACHITOB. Enuie proceedeth of a naughtie disposition, and prouoketh light braines (as *Pindarus* saith) to reioice in beholding the aduersitie of some, and to be vexed at the happie successe of others: causing men also to delight in backbiting honest men, especially such as are praised. But take heede (saith *Pittacus*) least, seeking to auoid enuie, thou becommest miserable.

The nature of Enuie.

ASER. *Glorye and vertue* (saith *Virgil*) *are alwaies enuied: which vice is commonlye accompanied with Hatred and Ill-will, whereby men are driuen forward to detract and slander others. But hee that keepeth his mouth* (sayth the wise man,) *keepeth his soule*. Let vs then heare AMANA, who

Hatred and Ill-wil are the companions of Enuie.

who will inſtruct vs more at large in this which is heere propounded vnto vs.

AMANA. That wicked and ſuttle enimie of mankind, not being able to abide the glorie whereunto God had called men, of which he depriued himſelfe through his pride, was driuen with enuie to tempt our firſt parents: whoſe ingratitude conceiuing ſinne in the ſoule of man, the firſt fruite brought foorth by this curſed plant, ſeemeth likewiſe to haue beene enuie, with which *Adams* eldeſt ſonne being mooued, ſlew his onely brother. Oh curſed and furious enuie, oh fruitfull branch of execrable euils, ſeeing by thee man was firſt beguiled, and induced afterward to admit murder into his hart, and to water the earth, being yet virgine-like, with his brothers blood: whereby he began his chiefe worke vpon innocencie, to the end that wicked men might from father to ſon haue this prerogatiue to oppreſſe the good! Is there any vice then amongſt vs which we ought to hate and flie from more than from enuie, which hauing nothing of hir firſt euill nature diminiſhed, leadeth men to moſt vniuſt and deteſtable actions? Neuertheles, to what paſſion are we more inclined, or do we nouriſh more willingly than this? Let euery one enter into himſelfe, and vndoubtedly he ſhall find there a thouſand enuies, which are neuer without hatred and rancor, grafted in the ſecreteſt place of his ſoule. True it is, that enuy according to the ſubiects which it meeteth withall, bringeth foorth more pernitious effects in ſome, and leſſe hurtfull in others. But howſoeuer it be, this paſſion is alwaies blame-woorthie, and ought to be eſchewed of euery good and vertuous man, whoſe deſire is, not to wander out of the path of dutie and honeſtie. We ſay therefore that Enuie is a griefe ariſing of another mans proſperitie, and that malignitie is commonly ioined with it, whether it be the fountaine therof, as ſome ſay, or one part thereof, as others will haue it. This malignitie is a delight & pleaſure takē in another mans harme, although we receiue no profit thereby: and it ſeemeth to be accidentall, that is, procured by hatred or ill will, ariſing

What execrable ruits enuie hath brought foorth.

What Enuie is.

Malignitie is deſined of ſome to be the effect of that malice which one man beareth to another.

ſing of ſome euill affection that one man beareth to another. For this cauſe *Plutark* diſtinguiſheth hatred from enuie, ſaying: that hatred is bred in our harts through an imagination and conceit which we haue, that he whome we hate behaueth himſelfe wickedly, either towards all men generally, or particularly towards vs: but that men enuie onely thoſe whome they know to be in proſperitie. And ſo it ſeemeth, that enuie is indefinite and not limited, much like to ſore eies, that are offēded at euery cleernes and light, but that hatred is limited, being alwaies grounded and ſtaied vpon ſome certaine obiects in regard of it ſelfe. Moreouer, no man hath iuſt cauſe to enuie another mans proſperitie. For he doth no man wrong, bicauſe he is happie: whereas on the contrarie ſide many are iuſtly hated for their vices and impieties, and ought to be ſhunned of good men: which hatred of the wicked is a propertie that belongeth to good men. But the hatred that is borne towards good men, is a paſſion not much ſeparated from enuie. And thus may theſe two paſſions, reſembling two plants, be ſaid to be nouriſhed, preſerued, & increaſed by the ſelfe ſame meanes, albeit they ſucceed one another. The ſame *Plutark* being deſirous to teach vs, how we ought to abhorre enuie, calleth it ſorcerie: bicauſe through the poiſon thereof, it doth not onely fill the enuious bodie with a naughtie and hurtfull diſpoſition, but the infection diſperſeth it ſelfe alſo through the eies, euen vpon them that behold it, ſo that they are touched therewith, as it were by ſome poiſonfull influence. Likewiſe he compareth it to the flies called Cantharides. For as they alight eſpecially vpon the faireſt wheate, and moſt blowne roſes: ſo enuie commonly ſetteth it ſelfe againſt the honeſteſt men, and ſuch as haue moſt glorie & vertue. Power, honor, ſtrength, riches, are but brands to kindle the fire thereof. Therefore *Thucidides* ſaith, that a wiſe man deſireth to be enuied, to the ende he may doe great things. *Bias* ſaid, that enuie and an old houſe oftentimes light vpon a man, and neuer knocke at his gates. But if enuie be hurtful to others, it is much more noiſome to

The difference betweene hatred and enuie.

To hate the wicked is a propertie of a good man.

Enuie compared to ſorcerie.

To Cantharides

The firebrands of enuie.

Enuie moſt of al hurtfull to the enuious perſon.

to him that poſſeſſeth it, tormenting him within continually with a thouſand turbulent paſſions, which ſhorten his daies, diminiſheth powers of his bodie, and are a great deale more pernitious to his ſoule. For it will not ſuffer him to taſte or conceiue any good ſpeech, or ſound inſtruction, from whomſoeuer it commeth: but cauſeth him to reiect and ſpeake againſt it, as if he were iealous and enuious of his owne good. The occaſion whereof is the ill will which naturally he beareth againſt all them that deſerue more than himſelfe, whereupon he ſtriueth rather to blame, or to wreſt in ill part whatſoeuer was well meant, than to reape any profite thereby. And if he heare a man commend other mens deuices, or any of his owne doings contrary to his mind, he thinketh that he hath ſo many blowes giuen him with a cudgell. Thus we ſee, that enuie wiſhing well to none, doth no leſſe torment and hurt his ſoule that is infected therewith. And to ſpeake in a word, it comprehendeth the generall iniuſtice, which is all kind of wickednes, and deſtroieth all duties of humanitie, cauſing men to hurt thoſe whom they ought to loue and ſuccour. Of this wild plant of enuie, backbiting is a branch, which delighteth and feedeth it ſelfe with ſlandering and lying, whereupon good men commonly receiue great plagues, when they ouer-lightly giue credite to backbiters. Therfore *Diogenes* the Cynick being demanded what biting of beaſts was moſt dangerous, anſwered: *of furious and wild beaſts, the backbiters; and of tame beaſts, the flatterers.* To the ſame purpoſe *Themiſtocles* the Thebane ſaid, *that it was the greateſt griefe in the world, to ſee the honor of a good man in the mercie of a venemous toong, and wronged with ſlanderous ſpeeches.* For ſeeing good fame and credite is more pretious than any treaſure, a man hath no leſſe iniurie offered him when his good name is taken away, than when he is ſpoiled of his ſubſtance. But backbiting and ſlandering do then bring foorth moſt pernitious effects, when Princes are ready to heare ſlanderers, of whome they themſelues are in the end corrupted. For the enuious & backbiting perſon doth as a naughtie painter did, who having

Of backbiting.

What biting of beaſts is moſt dangerous.

When backbiting hurteth moſt.

ilfauouredly

ilfauoredly painted certaine cocks, commanded his boy to driue the naturall cocks farre from his picture: ſo he laboureth as much as may be to withdraw good men fró thoſe whom he would gouerne. But bicauſe he cannot do it openly, fearing their vertue whom he hateth from his hart, he will ſeeme to welcome, to honour, and to admire them, and yet vnder hand, and behind their backs he will caſt abroad and ſow his ſlanders. And if ſo be that his priuie and ſecret reports, which pricke behind, do not preſently bring forth the end of his intent, yet he keepeth in memorie that which *Medius* vttred long ſince, who was as it were the maſter and captaine of the whole flock of flatterers, banded togither about *Alexander* againſt all the honeſt men in the court. This fellow taught, that they ſhould not ſpare to nippe boldly and to bite with ſtore of ſlanders. For (quoth he) although he that is bitten ſhould be cured of the wound, yet the skarre at the leaſt will ſtill remaine. And by ſuch skars of lies and falſ accuſations, or rather to giue them a better name with *Plutark*, by ſuch fiſtuloes & cankers *Alexander* being gnawen, vniuſtly put to death *Calliſthenes*, *Parmenion*, and *Philotas*, giuing himſelfe ouer to the wil and poſſeſſion of three or foure flatterers, of whom he was clothed, decked, ſet foorth and adored as it were a barbarian image. Such is the force & efficacie of lying ioyned with flattery ouer that ſoule, which hath no ſound iudgement of reaſon to diſcern truth from falſehood, or a good nature from a malicious. True it is, that this comfort cannot be taken away from good men, namely, to be perſwaded that the ſleights of backbiters and ſlanderers are able to preuaile but litle againſt the inuincible tower of ſacred vertue, & of an aſſured hope well grounded, which, whatſoeuer commeth to paſſe, triumph alwaies, and victoriouſly hold enuy and backbiting vnder their feete. And although theſe vices by reaſon of their force cauſe them to ſuffer ſometimes, yet patience keepeth them from being ouercome, ſo that they neuer ſinke downe vnder aduerſities, but euen then lay handes vpon the hauen of their deliueraunce. So that if princes would not

A peſtilent precept of Medius giuen to backbiters.

The comfort which cannot be taken away from good men.

Good counsell for princes against flatterers.

not fall into those inconueniences, nor be deceiued as this great Macedonian monarch was, they must, vpon the reports of backbiters, throughly and with reason waigh all things, and not suffer themselues to be perswaded by slanderers, but discerne their words with a sound iudgement. Further let vs note, that they which lend their eares to their lies and detractions, are no lesse to be blamed and reprehended, than the slaunderers themselues, bicause they are both touched with the same imperfection, I meane, of taking delight in the euill report of another. And as the slanderer hurteth by accusing those that are not present, so doth he that suffereth himselfe to be perswaded before he hath learned the truth of things. Moreouer, they that accustome themselues to heare willingly reports and lies, commonly also take more pleasure in reading and learning fables and dreames, faults and vices noted in peoples and nations, than in true narrations and goodly sentences made & written with good iudgement and diligent studie, or in perusing the honors, heroicall facts, and commendations giuen to vertuous and famous men, which doth touch and grieue them no lesse than it doth the enuious and backbiter: whereas they ought to accept of those things as of spurres to driue them forward vnto vertue. Therefore whosoeuer considereth well all those pernitious effects that are procured through backbiting, he shall know that it is a great point of modestie, and most necessarie for him that hath profited well in Morall Philosophie, not to suffer any man to be blamed and euill spoken of in his presence, although he were his capitall enimie. We see also that this crafty & subtill kind of wickednes is vsually practised of backbiters and enuious persons, when they perceiue that they cannot cause themselues to be accounted as honest mē as they are whó they purpose to slander, then they labour to prooue that these men are not so honest, as some others whom they commēd & preferre, seeking by that means to couer their hatred & il-will, and to get credit to their slander by that praise, which they giue indirectly to others. They spare not the

We must not lend our eares to slanderers.

Who delight most in reading of fables.

A subtill practise of enuious men.

the dead many times, neither is there any let in them why through their enuy they drawe them not out of that reſt wherin they are, which is deteſtable impietie. Now ſeeing we know what euil proceedeth from theſe wild & naughty plants of enuy, hatred & backbiting, & that naturally, as inheritors of the vice & ſin of our firſt parents, we cary in our harts, I know not what enuy, ielouſie & emulation againſt ſome one or other, let vs beware that we noriſh not ſuch vicious paſſions, but weaken their force, & make thē altogither vnable to cauſe vs to depart from dutie: let vs accuſtome our ſelues not to enuy the proſperitie of our enimies, neither to backbite them in any ſort. And if it be poſſible, let vs not be ſparing in giuing vnto them their praiſe & honor, whenſoeuer they do any thing that deſerueth iuſtly to be commended: bicauſe that alſo bringeth greater praiſe to him that giueth it. For thē if it fall out ſo that he reproueth ſomwhat in his enimy, his accuſatiō carieth more credite and force with it, as that which proceedeth not from the hatred of his perſon, but from a diſlike of his doings, therby declaring that equitie & iuſtice only are the bounds of his hatred. Beſides we ſhal reape a greater benefite than is hitherto rehearſed. For when we accuſtome our ſelues to praiſe our enimies for well doing, and are not grieued when any proſperitie befalleth them, we ſhall vtterly driue from vs the vice of enuy and iealouſie ouer the good ſucceſſe of our friends & acquaintance, when they attain to honor. Whereas on the contrary ſide if we acquaint our ſelues and take delight in enuying the welfare of our enimies, we ſhall do the like many times to our friends: as we ſee experience thereof in many at this day, who are ſo touched with this vice, that they reioice at the euil which happeneth to their wel-willers, and to ſuch as are the occaſion of their good & preferment. But if we be deſirous to diſcharge our dutie towards our neighbours for whoſe profite we are borne, let vs ſeeke to practiſe that ſentence of *Cicero, that an honeſt man & good citizen neuer ought to be moued with hatred or enuy vpō ſuppoſed crimes, no not towards his enimy, wiſhing to die rather thā to offend againſt iuſtice,*

A meane to reſiſt enuy and hatred.

Equitie and Iuſtice are the only bounds of a good mans hatred.

Iuſtice, which is an vtter enimie to that vice. This alſo will be a good helpe and meane to keepe vs from backbiting, if we eſchew al kind of ſcoffing, which (as *Theophraſtus* ſaith) is nothing elſe but a cloſe and coloured reproofe of ſome fault, which by little and little inureth him that mocketh to backbite another openly and vntruly. This great imperfection of gibing is very familiar amongſt vs, although it be as vnſeemely for an honorable perſonage as ſome other more infamous vice. But to the end we may haue better occaſion to keepe vs from it, let vs know that many times a man is more mooued with a gibing gird, than with an iniurie: bicauſe this latter proceedeth commonly from the vehemencie of ſudden choler, euen againſt his will that vttereth it, but the other is more taken to hart, as that which ſeemeth to come from a ſetled wil and purpoſe to offer wrong, and from a voluntarie malitiouſnes without any neceſſitie. If we be diſpoſed to be merie, as ſometimes opportunitie, place, and perſons inuite vs thereunto, let it be done with a good grace, and without offence to any. Now although enuie and backbiting, by reaſon of their pernitious effects, are ſo odious to all honorable and vertuous perſonages, yet no other reuenge is to be ſought or deſired, than that puniſhment which followeth and groweth with the vice it ſelfe, which neuer ſuffereth him that is touched therewith, to enioy any reſt in his ſoule, as we haue already learned. Neither is there any great care to be had for the matter, ſeeing enuious perſons and backbiters are no waies able to bite the deſerts of good men. But if we would haue their puniſhment augmented and doubled, there is no better way, than to ſtudie ſo much the more to do well, as we ſee them labor more earneſtly to enuie and to condemne our dealings. For as the Sunne being directly ouer the top of any thing whatſoeuer, if it leaue any ſhadow at all, yet is it but ſhort and little, bicauſe the light thereof is diſperſed round about the ſame: ſo the excellencie of vertue, glorie, & honor, in the end conſtraineth the venemous toong to drinke and to ſwallow downe hir owne poiſon, not daring to

What ſcoffing is, and how it is to be auoided.

A ſcoffe is many times woorſe taken than any other iniurious ſpeech.

How mirth is commendable.

A notable way how to be reuenged vpon the enuious.

to bring it againe in sight, whereby enuie and blame are as it were wholy extinguished, and vnable to hurt good men any more. This reason caused *Phillip* king of Macedonia to make this answere to certaine, who told him, that the Græcians spake ill of him behind his backe, notwithstanding he did them much good, and therefore willed him to chastice them: What would they do then (quoth this noble and gentle Prince) if we should doe them any harme? But they make me become a better man. For I striue dailie both in my wordes and deedes to prooue them lyars. And another time, as his friendes counselled him to put to death, or to banish a Gentleman of Macedonia, who continued in slandering him, he would not doe either of both, saying: that it was no sufficient cause to condemne him to death: and as for banishing him, he sayd: that it was a great deale better if he stirred not out of Macedonia, where all men knewe that he lyed, than if he went amongst strangers to speake ill of him, who bicause they knewe him not well, might peraduenture admit his slander as true. Whereby this vertuous Prince at one tyme shewed foorth the effectes of three excellent vertues: first, of *Clemencie*, in that hee would not put him to death, of whome he had receiued great iniurie: then of *Magnanimitie*, in contemning iniurie: and lastly, of woonderfull *Prudence*, in that he did not banish him. And in deede he was of such a gentle nature, that he would neuer punish them that gaue him an euill report, but rather tooke away the occasion thereof, as heeretofore we haue in part mentioned it. And for a greater testimonie of the goodnes of this Monarch, the answere he made to them that counselled him to destroy the citie of Athens, deserueth well to be heere set downe. *I doe all thinges* (quoth he to them) *for glorie, how then should I destroy Athens, which by reason of learning, is the Theater of glorie?* The example of *Demetrius Phalerius*, a Prince of immortall renowne, serueth fitly to teach vs what small account we are to make of the dealings of enuious men, so farre ought we to be from caring either

Phillip tooke occasion through backbiting to do better.

Athens the Theater of glorie.

for their dooings or sayings. When word was brought to this Prince, that the Athenians, mooued with enuie against him, had broken downe those three hundred images, which were before erected in their streete of *Ariopagus* to his honour, and thereupon was prouoked by his Councel to be reuenged of them, he said: The Athenians may well throw downe my images, but they are not able to abase my vertues, for whose sake my images were heeretofore erected for a publike spectacle. And truely those actes of Princes, which, being done in their life time, are woorthie of memorie, may serue them for an euerlasting monument, and not Images & Tombs made with mens hands, which length of time, besides a thousand other accidents may bring to pouder. Neither are they depriued of the same glorie that liue vnder the gouernment of great men, when, according to their places and callings, they direct their actions to the benefite and safetie of the Common-wealth. For whensoeuer enuie laboureth to hurt them with supposed crimes, their innocencie (as *Horace* saith) will be vnto them in place of an inexpugnable towet of brasse: so that being assured of that, they neede not stand in any feare of the cruell teeth of slanderers. Therefore *Socrates* being reprooued by *Hermogenes*, bicause he did not once dreame of defending himselfe when he was accused, made this answere: I haue dreamed of that all my life time, by striuing to liue well. To conclude then our present discourse, let vs learne to vncloath our hartes of all enuie and hatred, which procure so many turbulent and hurtfull passions in the soule, and ouerthrowe all that charitie and loue, which we ought to beare towards euery one. Let vs feare this sentence pronounced by the holie spirite, *that whosoeuer hateth his brother is a man slayer*. And if we see that vice and imperfections raigne in our like, let vs hate their euill manners, and loue the welfare of their soules, by endeuouring to bring them backe againe into the path way of vertue, vntill we see that all hope of remedie is taken away by reason of their long setled habite and continuance

The best monument for a Prince.

Innocencie is a tower of brasse against slanderers.

1. Iohn 3. 15.

ance in vice: for then we are to ſhunne altogither the hurtfull conuerſation of ſuch forlorne men. Let vs take heede that wee pleaſe not our ſelues in detracting and backbiting, or in ſpeaking raſhly of any without aduiſement taken of whome, to whome, and what we ſpeake. Let vs not be giuen to lying, or to harken to ſlanderers, but following the counſell of the Scripture, let vs laye aſide all malitiouſnes, and all guile, and diſſimulation, and enuie, and all euill ſpeaking, and as newe borne babes deſire the milke of vnderſtanding, which we may as it were boaſt that we haue in the true and right knowledge of Iuſtice, which is to render to God that which is due to him, according to pietie, and to our neighbours whatſoeuer belongeth to them, according to the dutie of charitie, which is gentle, not eaſily prouoked to anger, nor enuious, nor reioycing in iniquitie, but alwaies in the truth. 1.Pet.2.1.2. 1.Cor.13.4.

Of Fortune. Chap.44.

AMANA. IF I bee not deceiued (my Companions) wee haue hitherto ſufficientlye diſcourſed of the foure Morall vertues, being riuers that flowe from the fountaine of dutie and honeſtie, as alſo of all the partes that belong vnto them, and of their contrarie vices. Therefore from hence foorth we are to make choice of ſome other matter, and to applie that which we might haue learned in the diſcourſes of our Morall Philoſophie, vnto Eſtates, charges, and conditions of life, whereunto euerie one of vs may be called during this life: yea, let vs aſſaie to giue aduice and councell to ſuperiours, according to the meaſure of our iudgement. But bicauſe, as I thinke, the entrie to ſo high a matter, requireth ſome leaſure to thinke vppon it, I am of opinion, that we were beſt to deferre this point vntill the next dayes worke: and in the meane tyme, for the ſpendinge of the reſte of this after-noone,

looke out ſome matter ſubiect, apt, and fit to recreate our ſpirites withall: which, bicauſe naturally they delight in varietie and diuerſitie of thinges, cannot haue a more conuenient matter, than to make ſport with the diuers and ſundrie effects of *Fortune*, which, according to the ſaying of the Ancients, is very conſtant in hir inconſtancie. Further, let vs conſider howe we may vſe this word of Fortune, which is ſo common amongſt vs, and not abuſe it.

Fortune is conſtant in hir inconſtancie.

ARAM. To him (ſaith *Cicero*) whoſe hope, reaſon, and cogitation dependeth of Fortune, nothing can be ſo certaine or aſſured vnto him, that he may perſwade himſelfe it will abide by him, no not one day. But he is moſt happie that is of himſelfe ſufficient in euery reſpect, and that placeth the hope of all his affaires in himſelfe, in regard of men.

ACHITOB. I am ſhe (ſayth Vertue, ſpeaking in *Mantuan*) that ſurmounteth Fortune, and the ſcourge that puniſheth ſinnes. Vice and Vertue (ſayth *Plutarke*) haue no maiſters to rule ouer them: and they are very blind, who, calling Fortune blinde, ſuffer themſelues to be guided and ledde by hir. But we muſt learne of thee (ASER) what we are to thinke of this counterfet Goddeſſe.

ASER. If we are perſwaded, that he who is Iuſtice it ſelfe, and the eſſentiall truth, maketh Princes contemptible (as it is ſaid in the Scripture) and cauſeth them to erre in deſert places out of the way, raiſing vp the poore out of miſerie, and making him families like a flocke of ſheepe, there is no doubt but that *Fortune* being an Epicurian worde, rather than an Heatheniſh, is nothing elſe but a fayned deuice of mans ſpirite, and an imagination without truth: vpon which (as *Plutarke* ſayth) a man can not ſettle his iudgement, nor yet comprehend it by the diſcourſe of reaſon. So that we muſt confeſſe, that all things are guided & gouerned by the prouidence of God, who knoweth and ordereth caſuall thinges neceſſarily. Which albeit we eaſily cõfeſſe with the mouth, as alſo that proſperi-

Pſal. 107. 40. 41.

What Fortune is.

God ordereth caſuall things neceſſarily.

prosperitie and aduersitie depend onely of the will of God, yet we may daily note in many of vs, effects cleane contrarie to the worde, in that, when we deliberate about our affayres, we presently cast our eie vpon humane meanes, to come to the ende of them, although they are but second causes, casting behind our backes that helpe, which is from aboue. And when we want the blessing of God, through his anger and iust indignation, (which we care not to appease) and so for the most part stumble vpon the cleane contrarie of all our platformes and goodly enterprises; then we accuse, not our ignorance and ingratitude towardes his Maiestie, but the vnfortunate mishap and chance of humane thinges, which through the common error of men, we attribute to *Fortune*. Nowe, knowing that we liue, and mooue, and haue our being in God onely, that his mysteries are great and woonderfull, and such, that if we should go about to sound the bottom of them, it were all one as if we sought to pearce the heauens, after the manner of the Giants, set foorth vnto vs by the Poets: that our way is not in our power, and that of our selues we cannot direct our steps: that it is the Lorde that offereth a man into his handes, who vnwittingly killeth him with the heade of his Axe slipt from the helue: that lots cast at aduenture, fall out according to his iudgement, and that generally all things are done by the ordinance of God, I say, knowing all these things, yet bicause the order, reason, ende, and necessitie of those thinges which are so strange, vncertaine, and mutable in the world, are for the most part hidden in the counsell of God, and cannot be comprehended by the opinion and reach of man, we may well call them casuall and chancing, in respect of our selues. The like we may both conceiue of all future euents, holding them in suspence, bicause they may fall out either of the one or the other side, (and yet being resolued of this, that nothing shall come to passe which God hath not ordained) and also note them out by this worde Fortune, not attributing thereunto any power ouer the inconstancie and

Humane meanes are but second causes.

Acts.17.28. Rom.11.33.

Ier.10.23. Exod.21.13. Deut.19.4.5. Prou.16.33.

How we may vse these words of Fortune and Chance.

continuall alteration of humane things: especially seeing they are so changeable, that it would be a verye hard matter (speaking after the manner of men) to comprehend them vnder a more proper and fit word. The definition also, which the Ancients gaue of Fortune, is very agreeable to the effect of the thing signified, and of that wherof we haue daily experience: namely, that there is no other final end of chang & alteration in man, than that of his being. *Plato* saith, that Fortune is an accidentall cause, & a consequence in those things which proceed from the counsell of man. *Aristotle* saith, that Fortune is a casuall & accidental cause in things, which, being purposely done for some certaine end, haue no apparant cause of their falling out otherwise: so that a man may well say, that such a thing came to him by Fortune, which falleth out besides his thought, when he vndertaketh any worke with deliberation. *Epicurus* said, that Fortune was such a cause, as agreed neither to persons, times, or manners. *Theophrastus* speaking of Fortune, saith, that she looketh not whereat she shooteth, that oftentimes she delighteth in taking away that, which is gotten with very great paine, but especially in ouerturning those felicities, which, as men think, are best staied and assured. *Iuuenal* saith, that when it pleaseth hir, she maketh a Consul of a Rhetoritian: & likewise cleane contrary, hauing this propertie in hir to reioice greatly in the varietie of chances, & to deride all the deuices of men, oftener lifting vp into the place of soueraigne authoritie such as are vnworthy thereof, than those that deserue the same. Amongst the Ancients, the Romanes honoured Fortune more than all the rest, esteeming of hir (saith *Pindarus*) as of the patron, nurse, & vpholder of the citie of Rome. They builded for hir many sumptuous Temples, wherein she was adored vnder sundry names, & honorable titles for a Goddesse of singular power: insomuch that they thought themselues more beholding to hir for the greatnes & prosperity of their Empire, than to vertue. *Sylla* hauing attained to the soueraigne authoritie of a Monarch, and of Dictator, yeelded himselfe & all his actions

The opinions of ancient Philosophers touching Fortune.

The Romanes gaue great honor to Fortune.

actions to the fauor of Fortune, saying, that he reputed himselfe to be Fortunes child, and thereupon tooke vnto him the surname of *Happie*. Which opinion seemeth to haue preuailed greatly with him, in causing him, after he had committed infinite proscriptions, murders, & cruelties, voluntarily & without feare to giue ouer the Dictatorship, to lead the rest of his yeeres in all assurance & quietnes, & as a priuate man to passe & repasse through all Italy without any gard, euen in the midst of them whome he had so much offended. We read also, that when *Mithridates* king of Pontus wrote vnto him concerning the war, which he had vndertaken against him, saying, that he maruelled how *Sylla* durst buckle with his great fortune, especially knowing that she had not deceiued him at any time, whereas she neuer knew *Sylla* Consul, he returned this answer: For this selfe same reason thou shalt now see, how Fortune doing hir dutie, will take hir leaue of thee to come to mee. *Iulius Cæsar* gaue a certaine argument of the assurance he had in Fortune, when, entring vpon the sea in a little Fregate in a very tempestuous weather, and the Pilot making some doubt of waighing vp the Anchor, he sayde thus vnto him: Be not afrayde my friende, for thou carriest *Cæsar* and his Fortune. *Augustus* his successour sending his Nephew to the warre, wished that he might be as valiant as *Scipio*, as well beloued as *Pompey*, and as fortunate as himselfe: attributing to Fortune, as a principall worke, the honour of making him so great as he was. To this purpose also it is reported, that great acquaintance and familiaritie growing betweene *Augustus* and *Antonius* his Companion in the Empire, they often passed away the time togither with sundrie sortes of plaies and pastimes, wherein *Antonius* alwayes went away vanquished. Whereupon one of his familiar friendes well seene in the arte of Diuination, tooke occasion many tymes to vtter his mind vnto him in these or the like speeches. Sir, what do you so neere this yoong man? Separate your selfe farre from him. Your fame is greater than his, you are elder than

Sylla surnamed himselfe *Happie*.

I. Cæsar.

Augustus.

A true foresight of a Soothsayer.

he, you command moe men than he, you are better exercised in feates of Armes, you haue greater experience: but your familiar spirite feareth his, and your fortune, which of it selfe is great, flattereth his, and if you sequester not your selfe farre from him, she will forsake you and goe to him. Thus we see what great estimation the Romanes had of Fortune, yea they stood in so great awe of hir power, that *Paulus Æmilius* that great Captaine sayd, that amongst humane things, he neuer feared any one of them, but amongst diuine things he alwaies stoode in great feare of Fortune, as of hir in whome there was small trust to be placed, bicause of hir inconstancie and mutable varietie, whereby she neuer vseth to gratifie men so liberally, or to bestow such absolute prosperitie vpon them, but that some enuie is mingled withall. Oh deceitfull Fortune (said *Demetrius*) thou art easily found, but hardly auoyded! They that haue laboured most in painting out this fained Goddesse, say, that she hath a swift pace, a loftie mind, and a hawtie hope. They giue hir light wings, a globe vnder hir feete, and in hir hand a horne of abundance, full of all such heauenlie and earthlie things as are exquisite and pretious, which she poureth foorth liberally, when and where she pleaseth. Some put a wheele into hir hands, which she turneth about continually, whereby that part which is aboue is presently turned downeward: therby giuing vs to vnderstand, that from hir highest preferment she throweth downe in one instant such as are most happy, into the gulfe of miserie. In a word, we may well compare hir to a glasse, which, the brighter it is, the sooner it is broken & dasht in peeces. Histories, the treasurie of antiquitie, set before our eies innumerable examples of common and contrary effects, which are wrought by this inconstant Fortune, and those oftentimes practised vpon the same persons, whome of smal she hath made very great, and after taken them downe lower, yea made them more miserable (if I may so speake) than they were at their beginning. *Hannibal*, that renowmed Captaine of the Carthaginians, that redouted enimy of the Romanes, after

P. Aemilius.

The description of Fortune.

What is meant by Fortunes wheele.

Examples of the contrary effects of Fortune.

Hannibal.

after notable victories obtained ſundry times againſt thē, was in the ende vtterly ouerthrowen and compelled to flie hither and thither, and to haue recourſe to forraine princes, into whoſe armes he caſt himſelfe for the ſafetie of his perſon: and after long wandring, being old & ſpent, he ſetled himſelfe with the king of Bithynia. But *Titus Flaminius* whom the Romanes had ſent embaſſador to that king, required to haue him, that he might put him to death. For (quoth he) as long as he liueth he will be a fire for the Romane empire, which wanteth but ſome one or other to kindle it. When he was in the vigor and ſtrength of his age, neither his hand nor his body had procured ſo great damage to the Romanes, as his good vnderſtanding and ſufficiencie in the arte of warre had done, being ioined with the hatred he bare them. Which is nothing diminiſhed through old age, neither yet through the alteration of his eſtate and fortune: bicauſe the nature and qualitie of maners continueth alwaies. *Hannibal* being aduertiſed of this requeſt of *Titus*, ſtieped poiſon in a cup of drinke which he had kept a long time againſt an extremitie. But before he dranke thereof, he vttred theſe wordes. Go to, let vs deliuer the people of Rome from this great care, ſeeing it lieth ſo heauy vpon them, and the time ſeemeth vnto them ouer-long to ſtay for the naturall death of this poore old man, whom they hate ſo extremely. And yet *Titus* ſhall not obtaine a victory greatly honorable, or woorthy the praiſe of the ancient Romanes, who, euen then when *Pyrrhus* their enimy warred againſt them, and had wonne battels of them, ſent him word to beware of poiſon that was prepared for him. Thus did this great & vertuous captaine finiſh his daies, being vtterly ouerthrowen, and trode vnder foote by fortune, which for a time had placed him in the higheſt degree of honor that could be. *Eumenes* a Thracian, one of *Alexanders* lieutenants, and one that after *Alexanders* death had great wars and made his partie good againſt *Antigonus* king of Macedonia, came to that greatneſſe and authoritie from a poore Potters ſonne: & afterwards being ouercome and taken

Flaminius oration againſt Hannibal.

What ſpeech Hannibal vſed before he poiſoned himſelfe.

Eumenes.

taken priſoner, he died of hunger. But ſuch preferments of fortune will not ſeeme very ſtrange vnto vs, if we conſider how *Pertinax* came to the Empire, aſcending from a ſimple ſouldier to the degree of a captaine, and afterward of Gouernour of Rome, being borne of a poore countrywoman. And hauing raigned only two moneths, he was ſlaine by the ſouldiers of his gard. *Aurelianus* from the ſame place obtained the ſelfe ſame dignitie. *Probus* was the ſonne of a gardiner, and *Maximianus* of a blackſmith. *Iuſtinus*, for his vertue ſurnamed the Great, from a hogheard in Thracia, attained to the empire. Wil you haue a worthy exãple agreeable to that ſaying of *Iuuenal* which we alleaged euen now? *Gregory the 7.* from a poore monke was lift vp to the dignitie of chief biſhop of Rome: & *Henry* the 4. emperor, was brought to that extreme miſerie by wars, that he asked the ſaid *Gregory* forgiuenes, & caſt him ſelfe down at his feete. And yet before this miſerable monarch could ſpeake with him, he ſtood 3. days faſting and barefoote at the popes palace gate, as a poore ſuppliant waiting whẽ he might haue entrance & acceſſe to his holynes. *Lewes* the Meeke, emperour, & king of France, was conſtrained to giue ouer his eſtate, & to ſhut himſelf vp in a monaſterie, through the conſpiracie of his own childrẽ. *Valerianus* had a harder chaunge of his eſtate, ending his days whileſt he was priſoner in the hands of *Sapor* king of the Parthians, who vſed the throte of this miſerable emperor whenſoeuer he mounted vpõ his horſe. But was not that a wonderful effect of fortune, which hapned not long ſince in Munſter, principal towne in the country of Weſtphalia, wherin a ſillie botcher of Holland, being retired as a poore baniſhed man from his country, called *Iohn* of Leiden, was proclaimed king, was ſerued & obeied of all the people a long time, euen vntil the taking & ſubuerſion of the ſaid town after he had born out the ſiege for the ſpace of 3. yeeres. *Mahomet* the firſt of that name, of a very ſmal and abiect place, being enriched by marying his miſtres, and ſeruing his own turne very fitly with a mutinie raiſed by the Sarraſins againſt *Heraclius* the emperor, made himſelf

Pertinax.
Aurelianus.
Probus.
Maximianus.
Iuſtinus.
Gregory 7.
Henry 4.
Lewes the Meeke.
Valerianus.
Iohn of Leiden.
Mahomet.

ſelf their captain, tooke Damaſcus, ſpoiled Egypt, & finally ſubdued Arabia, diſcomfited the Perſians, and became both a monarch & a prophet. Wil you ſee a moſt wõderful effect of fortune? Look vpon the procedings of that great *Tamburlane*, who being a peſants ſon & keping cattel, corrupted 500. ſheepheards his companions. Theſe men ſelling their cattel, betook them to armes, robbed the merchants of that country, & watched the high ways. Which when the king of Perſia vnderſtood of, he ſent a captaine with a 1000. horſe to diſcomfit them. But *Tamburlane* delt ſo with him, that ioining both togither they wrought many incredible feates of armes. And when ciuil warre grew betwixt the king and his brother, *Tamburlane* entred into the brothers pay, who obtained the victory by his means, & therupon made him his lieutenant general. But he not long after ſpoiled the new king, weakened & ſubdued the whole kingdom of Perſia. And when he ſaw himſelfe captain of an army of 400000. horſmen, & 600000. footmẽ, he made warre with *Baiazet* emperor of the Turkes, ouercame him in battel, and tooke him priſoner. He obtained alſo a great victorie againſt the Souldan of Egypt, and the king of Arabia. This good ſucceſſe (which is moſt to be maruelled at and very rare) accompanied him always vntill his death, in ſo much that he ended his days amongſt his children, as a peaceable gouernour of innumerable countries. From him deſcended the great *Sophy* who raigneth at this day, and is greatly feared and redoubted of the Turke. But that miſerable *Baiazet* who had conquered before ſo many peoples, and ſubdued innumerable cities, ended his dayes in an iron cage, wherein being priſoner, and ouercome with griefe to ſee his wife ſhamefully handled, in waiting at *Tamburlanes* table with hir gowne cut downe to hir Nauell, ſo that hir ſecrete partes were ſeene, this vnfortunate Turke beate his head ſo often againſt the Cage, that he ended his lyfe. But what neede we drawe out this diſcourſe further to ſhewe the ſtraunge dealinges, and maruellous chaunges of fortune in the particular eſtates and conditions of men, which

Tamburlane.

Baiazet.

Of the foure soueraigne Empires.

which are to be seene daily amongst vs, seeing the soueraign Empires of Babylon, of Persia, of Græcia, and of Rome, which in mans iudgement seemed immutable and inexpugnable, are fallen from all their glittering shew and greatnes, into vtter ruine and subuersion, so that of the last of them, which surpassed the rest in power, there remaineth onely a commandement limited and restrained within the confines of Almaigne, which then was not the tenth part of the rich prouinces subiect to this Empire? Is there any cause then why we should be astonished, if little kingdoms, common-wealths and other ciuill gouernments end, when they are come to the vtmost, & ful point of their greatnes? And much lesse if it fal out so with mé, who by nature are subiect to change, and of themselues desire and seeke for nothing else but alteration. Being assured therefore, that there is such vncertaintie in all humane things, let vs wisely prepare our selues, and apply our will to all euents, whose causes are altogither incomprehensible in respect of our vnderstandings, and quite out of our power. For he that is able to say, I haue preuented thee O fortune, I haue stopped all thy passages, and closed vp all thy wayes of entrance, that man putteth not all his assurance in barres or locked gates, nor yet in high walles, but staieth himselfe vpon Phylosophicall sentences and discourses of reason, whereof all they are capable that imploy their wils, trauell and studie thereupon. Neither may we doubt of them or distrust our selues, but rather admire and greatly esteeme of them, beyng rauished with an affectionate spirite. He that taketh least care for to morow (saith *Epicurus*) commeth thereunto with greatest ioy. And (as *Plutarke* saith) riches, glory, authoritie and credite, reioyce them most, that stande least in feare of their contraries. For when a man seeketh after any of them with an ouer-burning desire, whereby also too great a feare of loosing them is imprinted in him, the pleasure which he hath by enioying the same, is verie weake and vnstable, much like to a flame blowen vp and downe with the winde. But as for the power of fortune (saith

We must prepare our selues for all euents.

Who taketh greatest ioy in outward goods.

(ſaith the ſame Philoſopher) it bringeth downe thoſe men that of their owne nature are cowards, fearefull and of ſmall courage. Neither muſt we attribute cowardlines to miſſortune, nor valure and prudence to fortune, who is not able to make a man great without vertue. For what good will weapons doe a man without experience, riches without liberalitie, victorie without bountie and clemencie, fighting without valure and boldneſſe: briefly all fortunes goods without knowledge how to vſe them well? Let vs learne alſo that it is too great blockiſhneſſe to attribute the cauſe of the change of monarchies, commonwealths, eſtates, of battels loſt, and generally of all caſuall miſhaps, both generall and particular, to certaine ſecond cauſes: one while accuſing the ambition of ſome, the ignorance or negligence of others, the ſmall courage, want of money, of men, or of munitions. But we muſt looke higher, and turne towardes him who vſeth ſuch meanes in the execution of his wonderfull counſell, when he mindeth to chaſtiſe and to puniſh men for their offences. Example hereof we haue in thoſe great monarchies of Babylon, of Perſia, and of Græcia, whoſe markes are no more to be ſeene, than the pathe of a ſhip in the water, or way of a bird flying in the aire. And yet they were ouerthrowen and vanquiſhed by ſuch as had a thouſand times leſſe humane force and chiefe ſinewes of warre, as treaſure, men, munition and other furniture, than their monarches and emperours had, who abounded euery way. But God purpoſed to puniſh their pride and iniquitie. Let vs therefore ſtand in awe, not of the goddeſſe fortune, which is but the dreame of man, and cannot (as *Cicero* ſaith) greatly hurt him, that iudgeth hope grounded vpon vertue more firme, than that which is built vpon hir forces, but let vs feare him who directeth and diſpoſeth in wiſdome all things created to their proper end, which is the glorie of his name, and ſaluation of his elect: albeit the order which he obſerueth, the cauſe, reaſon, and neceſſitie of them, are for the moſt part hid in his ſecret counſell, and cannot be comprehended by the ſenſe

Of the power of fortune.

Whether we muſt looke in the change and ſucceſſe of things.

The proper end of all things.

ſenſe of man. And yet not ſo hid, but that we ought prudently to conſider of thoſe means which he offreth vnto vs for our vſe, after we haue endeuoured to mitigate and to appeaſe his wrath and anger through the amendment of our life, and haue called for aide and helpe of him in all our enterpriſes grounded by reaſon vpon dutie.

The ende of the eleuenth daies worke.

THE TWELFTH DAIES WORKE.

Of Mariage. Chap. 45.

ASER. IT is greate perfection (as *Seneca* writeth) for a man to take in hand and deſire to obtain but one only thing. But no man is one and the ſame, except a wiſe man: all other men are of diuers formes. Who knoweth not with how great diſquietnes the mind of man is ſet on fire, with what lightnes it is caried hither & thither, and with what ambition and deſire it is ſtirred vp to take holde of many ſundry thinges at once? Notwithſtanding we muſt diligently marke, how the heauenly wiſdome hath made a diſtinction of eſtates and kindes of life amongſt men from the beginning, appointing that of Adams two firſt children, the one ſhould be a husbandman, the other a ſheepheard. Since that, the ſelfe ſame prouidence hath alwayes commaunded, that euery one of vs ſhould looke vnto his calling in all the actions of his life, accounting therof as of a ſtation aſſigned vnto

A wiſe man is not deſirous of many things.

Diſtinctions of callings appointed from the beginning. Gen. 4. 2.

Euery one muſt abide in his calling. 1. Cor. 7. 20.

vnto vs by his maieſtie, and as of a perpetuall rule whereby we muſt direct the ende of our intents, and following the will of God, ſtriue to continue ſuch men to the ende of our dayes, as we once purpoſed with our ſelues to be. For we may aſſure our ſelues, that there is no worke ſo ſmall and contemptible, which doth not ſhine and appeere precious before the heauenly throne, if we do it in faith according to our calling, and giue glory to the Eternall for our whole condition and ſtate of life. Nowe we know that after God had created man by his almightie power and vnſpeakable goodneſſe, to make him partaker of his glory, and to rule ouer the earth, the ſea, and all things contained in them, he gaue him preſently the woman for a faithfull companion, and ſweete ſolace to his life, and for the preſeruation of his kinde, inſtituting and ſanctifying mariage from that tyme forward. Therefore I thinke my companions, that we ought to handle this firſt, bicauſe it is the firſt calling of man, moſt common, and moſt honorable: to the end that we may, as we ſayd yeſterday, begin to apply the actions and practiſe of the vertues, of which we haue hitherto intreated, to eſtates and conditions of life, whereunto eche of vs may be called.

All things done in faith are precious in Gods ſight.

Gen.2.24.

AMANA. If we could (ſaith *Plato*) behold with bodily eyes the beautie that honeſtie hath in hir, we would be farre in loue with hir: but ſhe is to be ſeen onely with the eyes of the minde. And truely with the ſame eyes we may behold it in mariage, if we conſider narowly the honeſtie of the coupled life, when it is in euery reſpect abſolute, than the holy bond whereof, the earth hath nothing more beautifull or honeſt.

Honeſtie is alwayes beautiful.

ARAM. Mariage (as the ſcripture ſaith) is honorable among all, and the bed vndefiled. He that findeth a wife, findeth a good thing, and receiueth fauour of the Lord. Therefore of thee (ACHITOB) we deſire to vnderſtand more at large what thou haſt learned concerning this matter diſcuſſed with ſo many contrary opinions both old and new.

Mariage is honorable among all.

Heb.13.4.

Prou.18.22.

ACHITOB.

Man borne to liue in societie.

ACHITOB. Nature hauing brought vs foorth to liue in societie, and not alone, like to brute beasts, it must needes be (saith *Aristotle*) that he which liueth solitarily, is either a very beast, or more than a man. Now a societie is an assemblie and agreement of many in one, seeking after some good thing that is profitable, pleasant, and honest, at least that seemeth to be so: or else labouring to flie from and to eschew some euill. Euery societie respecteth the maintenance and preseruation of Monarchies, Kingdomes, and Common-wealths. But bicause no one whole and generall thing can be knowne (as the Philosophers say) except the parts thereof be first knowne, it agreeth very fitly with the cause of our meeting togither, and is also very necessarie for vs, to learne what the societie of wedlocke is, which being the seminarie and preseruation of all societies, is nothing else but a communion of life betweene the husband and the wife, extending it selfe to all the parts that belong to their house, of which we are to consider heereafter. The originall and antiquitie of this societie, called Mariage, is especially woorthie of memorie, bicause God himselfe was the author thereof. For he had no sooner created the first man, but he purposed to giue him a wife, for a faithful companion, a comfortresse of his life, and a helpe like vnto himselfe. Which he performed, as soone as he thought vpon it: forasmuch as with him to will, is to be able, and to do: as likewise to be able and to do, is to will. Furthermore, he instituted this diuine mysterie for the generall increase of mankind, and lawfull propagation of nature, euen in the time of innocencie before man had sinned, sanctifieng it at the same time with his blessing. Vnto which necessitie of mariage, man had made himselfe a great deale more subiect through the curse of sinne, which hath giuen place in his soule to the concupiscences of the flesh. Whereby it appeereth that we haue need of this remedy in two respects, namely: in regard of the end and condition of our first nature, as also by reason of sin, which came in afterward, except in those to whome God hath granted the speciall grace

The definition of societie.

The end of societie.

The definition of wedlocke.

The author and antiquitie of mariage.

The end therof.

Another end.

The necessitie and third end of mariage.

grace and gift of continencie, which is as rare a thing as any other whatsoeuer. Notwithstanding there hath alwais been a thousand contrary opinions as touching this matter, namely, whether mariage is to be desired & sought after, or rather to be hated and eschewed, neither part wanting reasons, oftentimes more glorious in shew than forceable to conclude for the defence of their saying. Among the Philosophers, *Pythagoras* the first of them, was one of the greatest enimies of mariage, as may be proued by that which is written of him. For being requested to be at the mariage of a friend of his, he excused himselfe, saying: *that he was neuer desirous to go to such a feast, or to be at such a funerall:* iudging that it was all one for a man to marrie a wife, and to wed a coffin, and to put himself into a tomb, or to take a sheet for the beginning of his burial. Many other Philosophers were of his opinion, yea they said, that nature appointing a contrary to euery liuing creature, hath also giuen to man (to whom all other things are subiect) the woman for his contrary, whose malice is a sworn enimie to the reason of man. *Secundus* was of this sect, who being demanded what a wife was, *the contrary* (quoth he) *of a husband.* Moreouer they said, that a womans nature was such, that although she had continued 30. yeeres with hir husband, yet he should daily find in hir new fansies, and sundry sorts of behauior: so that nature seemed a stepmother to men rather than to beasts, bicause these know and shun their contraries, but man is naturally led to loue and to seek after his enimie. His miserie therfore is very great in that so weake flesh is able to force a hart that is at libertie, causing a man oftentimes to procure to himselfe that which doth him hurt, and to make great account of that which he conteneth, as experience sheweth the same in regard of womē. *Thales* one of the Sages of Græcia, minding to shew that it was not good for a man to marry, whē one asked him why he maried not being in the flower of his age, said, that it was not yet time. Afterward, being growen to further age, and demaunded the same question, he answered, that the time was past. *Marius* the Roman asked

Continencie a rare gift.

The varietie of opinions touching mariage.

Pythagoras opinion of mariage.

Secundus opinion of a wife.

Thales iudgement of mariage.

ked *Metellus*, being a mã also of great credit, why he would not take his daughter to wife, seeing she was beautifull in body, staied in countenance, eloquent in speech, noble by race, rich in dowrie, happy in good name, & adorned with vertues? To whom he replied, *That he knew all this to be true, yet* (quoth he) *I had rather be mine own than hirs.* They that folow this opinion now touched, & abhorre mariage, alleage cómonly these or the like reasons: that although the name of husband be sweet and honorable, yet whosoeuer wil wel consider of it, shal find it ful of great and intollerable burthens: & that the time is yet to come, wherin many thorns are not found amidst the roses of mariage, and wherein great store of haile falleth not togither with that sweet raine. Who is able (say they) patiently to abide the charges of mariage, the care of children, the want which is somtimes in the house, the imperfections of seruants, but especially the insolencie and arrogancie of Wiues, and the yoke of so vnperfect a sexe? Who is able fully to satisfie, either their fleshly lust, or their insatiable pompe? Doth not the olde prouerbe say, that women and shippes are neuer so well rigged, but that still there remaineth something to be amended? Whereupon I would conclude willingly, that if a maried man neuer loath his estate, yet he tireth himselfe at the least. Riches breede care, pouertie griefe, sayling terrifieth, eating hindreth, walking wearieth. All these troubles are (we see) dispersed or diuided amongst many, but maried men haue them altogither. For if we marke a maried man, we shall seldom see him, but either pensiue or sadde, or wearie, or hindered, and sometime amazed or afrayd of that which may befall him, or may peraduenture be committed by his wife. Concerning good aduise and choice for the obtaining of a good mariage. If thou takest a poore wife, she will be contemned, and thy selfe lesse esteemed: if thou takest hir rich, she wil looke to commaund thee, and of a free man to make thee a slaue. So that whé thou thinkest to take an equall companion to wife, thou shalt wed an intollerable mistres, I know not whether I should say,

Metellus would not giue away himself to a wife

Reasons against mariage.

Women compared to ships.

How hard a matter it is to marry well.

a she deuil. If thou marieſt a faire woman, thou putteſt thy ſelfe in great danger, leſt thy round head become forked, which would be a fearefull metamorphoſis and alteration, if it were viſible and apparant. Euery caſtle is hard to keep, how wel ſoeuer it be watched, when it is aſſaulted by many: and his victory is in a deſperate caſe, who being alone, is compelled to fight againſt many. What ſhall I ſay more? Wealth maketh a woman proud, beautie ſuſpected, and hardnes of fauor lothſom. Is there any thing (as *Plutarke* ſaith) more light than the toong of an vnbrideled woman? more nipping than hir iniuries? more raſh than hir boldnes? more execrable than hir naughtie diſpoſition? more dangerous than hir fury? Theſe euil ſpeakers of women further inrich their ſayings with a thouſand hiſtories & examples, as teſtimonies of the infinite miſeries & inconueniences which haue been procured by them. Firſt they alleage the deceiuing of the firſt man by his wife, wherupon ſin & death, and through them all miſeries entred into the world. *Samſon* betraied by *Dalida*, *Salomon* became brutiſh through his concubines, *Achab* rooted out through *Ieſabel*, *Marcus Antonius* ſlue himſelf for the loue of *Cleopatra*, the deſtruction of Troy bicauſe of *Helena*, the *Pandora* of *Heſiodus*, the pitifull death of *Hercules* by *Deïanira*, and many other miſerable euents procured chiefly by womē, & plentifully declared in hiſtories. Neither do they forget the ſaying of *Hipponactus*, *That of one mariage only two good dayes are to be hoped for, namely, the mariage day, and the day of the wiues deth.* They ſay that the wedding day (according to *Alexandrides* ſpeech) is the beginning of many euils: that in no eſtate fortune ſheweth hir ſelf more inconſtant, & leſſe faithful in performing hir promiſe thā in mariage, as *Polybiſtor* ſaith: bicauſe there is not one to be found, wherin there is not ſome deceit, or ſome occaſion of complaint giuen to the man. They ſay as *Philemon* ſaid, *That a wife is a neceſſary and perpetual euil to hir husband: that* (as *Diphilus* ſayd) *nothing is hardlier found in all the world than a good wife.* Wherunto that old prouerbe agreeth, that a good wife, a good mule, and a good goate, are three naughtie beaſts.

An vnruly woman is full of all euil.

Examples of miſerable euents procured by women.

Two good days in mariage.

Three euil beaſts.

beasts. The answer also made by a noble Romane, is not forgotten of these seuere Censorers of women, to whom when some of his acquaintance and friends said, that he had great cause to hold himself happie and contented, bicause he had a wife that was faire, rich, and come of noble parentage, he shewed them his foote, saying: *My friends you see that my shoe is very new, faire and well made, but none of you can tell whereabout it pincheth me.* Likewise the saying of *Alphonsus* king of Arragon is alleaged by them that blame mariage, namely, *that if a mā would see a perfect and wel agreeing mariage, the husband must be deafe, and the wife blind, that he may not heare his wiues brawling, nor she see hir husbands faults.* He that trusteth to a woman (said *Hesiodus*) is as safe as he that hangeth by the leaues of a tree in the ende of Autumne when the leaues begin to fall. I remember yet three things which I haue heard vttered in contempt of mariage: the saying of a mery conceited man, the deed of another, and the answer of a good fellow that was in talk of a certaine mariage. They haue reason (quoth the first) who say, that when a yong man is to be maried, he must be arrested. For truly I thinke we should flie vp to heauen, if this arrest kept vs not backe. The second hearing this preached, that whosoeuer will be saued, must beare his crosse, ran to his wife & laid hir vpon his necke. Thirdly, when one said to a good fellow that he should tary vntill his sonne were wise before he maried him. Be not deceiued my friend (quoth he to him) for if he once grow to be wise he wil neuer marry. These & such like reasons are cōmonly alleaged by them that mislike mariage. But now marke what we say to the contrary. First we haue to consider the beginning and antiquitie of mariage, the place where it was instituted, and who was the Author thereof, and that in the time of innocencie, of which things we haue alreadie spoken. Moreouer we must remember, that the heauenly worde honoured with his presence, and set foorth a wedding feast with a miracle, euen with the first which he wrought in this world. Can any thing then be found more holie, than that which the holy

Alphonsus opinion of a perfect mariage.

Three mery conceits.

Notable reasons in the defence of mariage.

Christ honored a wedding with his presence, and with a miracle.

of

of holies, the father and creator of all things hath eſtabliſhed, honored and conſecrated with his preſence? But what greater equitie can we vſe thā to leaue to our ſucceſſors that which we hold of our predeceſſors? By wedlocke copulation we came into the world, and by the ſame we muſt leaue others behind vs, to continue that propagatiō which hath endured frō our anceſtors vnto vs. Can there be any greater want of conſideration than to ſeeke to flie from that, as prophane which God hath taken for holy? as euill, which he hath reputed good? As deteſtable, which he eſteemeth holy? Is there any greater inhumanitie, than to reiect the fountain of humanitie? Is there any greater ingratitude thā to deny to thoſe that are to come, that which we hold of thē that are paſt? When God created woman, not of the ſlime of the earth, as he did mā, but of his bone, did he not ſhew thereby that he ſhould haue nothing faſter cleauing, neerer ioyning, or ſurer glued to him than his wife, eſpecially when he added theſe words, *that it was not good for man to be alone*, as though he had ſayd, that his life would be miſerable, irkſom & vnpleaſant, if he had not giuen him a wife for a faithful companion? How dare we ſay, that we know better what is meet for vs, than he that made vs, & knew all our life before we came out of the bowels of our mother? then he that honoured the bond of matrimonie ſo far as to ſay, that a man ſhal leaue his father & mother, and cleaue to his wife? Is there any thing more holy than that honor which we owe to them that haue begotten vs? And yet the fidelitie of wedlock is preferred before fatherly and motherly honour, that it ſhould be kept & preſerued euen to the laſt gaſpe of life. Further we ſee how the ſpirit of God ſpeaking by his prophet honoreth mariage ſo far, as to vſe it for a ſimilitude and repreſentation of that holy & ſacred vnitie, which he hath with his church. What could any mā ſay more to extoll the dignitie therof? That which God hath begun, only death endeth: what God hath conioined, death only ſeparateth: what God hath made ſure, man cannot ſhake: what he hath eſtabliſhed, man cannot aboliſh. Oh what & how

Wherfore the woman was created of the rib of man.

Gen. 2. 18.

The great preheminence of mariage.

Pſal. 45.

Mariage euer vſed and receiued of all nations.

how great is the dignitie, preheminence, & prerogatiue of mariage? Again, do we not ſee how it hath been continued throughout all ages paſt vntill this preſent, receiued & approued of all nations, both Hebrews, Greeks, Latins & Barbarians, ſo that there is no nation vnder the cope of heauen, how barbarous ſoeuer it be, & far from ciuilitie, which ſheweth not great ioy & delight at wedding feaſts? Beſides, who ſhal defend common-welths without armor and weapons, and who ſhal weare armour if men be wanting? If that be not ſupplied by generation which through death neceſſarily endeth, how can the linage and race of mankind endure? The lawes of the Romans (who were the patern of vertue to all nations) with rigor puniſhed ſuch as would not marry, forbidding thē all publike dignities, & depriuing them of thoſe which they had obtained. And to inuite them the rather to marry, they appointed priuiledges for thē that had children, ſo that he was moſt benefited and preferred to publike honors that had moſt children. Whē *Auguſtus Ceſar* was Cenſor, inquirie was made by his authoritie of a Roman knight that had broken the law and would not marry, wherupon he ſhould haue been puniſhed, but that he prooued that he had been father of 3. children. The ſame *Auguſtus* being come to the empire, & deſirous to correct the deteſtable vnclennes of his ſubiects, & to compel them to contract matrimony, leuied an impoſt by way of a fine, vpon their legacies & windfals cōming by the death of others that did not marry after 25. yeeres of age, or that had no children. Wherby he greatly chaſtiſed whoredoms, adulteries & ſodomitrie: & furniſhed Rome with good citizens which then was greatly deſtitute of them by reaſon of ciuil warres. *What is the cauſe* (ſaith *Vlpianus* the lawyer) *that womens dowries had ſuch great priuiledges?* It was for no other reaſon, then bicauſe of the profit that commeth to al common-wealths by mariages. He that had 3. childrē amongſt the Romans could not be cōpelled to cary a meſſage, or publike embaſſage: he that had 5. was exempted frō perſonal charge: & he that had 13. from al charge. And in our time in the common-welth of

The Romans had lawes in fauor of mariage.

Auguſtus his care to repreſſe the vncleannes of his ſubiects.

Why the dowries of women haue alwais had great priuiledges.

of Florence (as *Raphael Volateranus* reherseth in his Philologie) *Euery citizen that is father of 5. children either males or females, is exempted, freed, & discharged of all publike taxe, loane, & subsidie. If nothing be more blessed, nor happines more to be desired than immortalitie, lineall propagation maketh vs immortal through the continuing of kind.* Wherupon we may inferre by way of conclusion, that no greater happines can come to man & wife in this world, than to leaue issue as a testimony to posteritie, that once they were in the world, & haue left behind them a token of their life. It was enacted by *Lycurgus* lawes, *that no citizen preferring the estate of continencie before that of mariage, should be at publike playes: which at that time was a note of great ignominie. We account not him a good gardiner that painfully dresseth those fruitfull trees which he hath in his garden or orchard, if he haue no care to plant and graft new, therby to substitute others in their place, which by succession of time waxe old & die. And how shal we take him for a good citizen, and such a one as zealously seeketh the good of the common-welth, that contenteth himselfe with those citizens that are alme, and neglecteth the ingendring of new in good and lawfull matrimonie, wherby to supply the want of such as daily decay?* Further, if I should go about to reherse here the happines, pleasure & contentatiō which mā & wife liuing holily togither, & according to the duty of their vocation, do mutually receiue one of another, who doubteth that a whole day would not suffice me? What greater solace in the whole world can be found than for a man to liue with hir vnto whom he is coupled, not by good wil only, but also by a mutuall cōmunication of bodies? If we take great delight to conferre with our friends & familiar acquaintance about our secret affaires, shall we not receiue greater ioy without cōparison to disclose our thoughts to hir vnto whom we speake as safely as to our selues, who is also partaker as wel of our aduersity as prosperity, and accounteth our weale or woe to be hir owne? We are ioined to our friends by good will and liking onely, but to our wife we are conioined and linked by soueraigne charitie, by bodily commixtion, by sacred confederacy, & by an inseparable felowship & society in al

The priuiledges of them that had children.

A comparison between a good gardiner and a citizen.

The happines, pleasure and contentation in mariage.

The neere conjunction of maried couples.

weathers. If the man abound in téporal goods, the wife wil keep them faithfully for him, and encreaſe them by hir induſtrie and labor If he be poore & perſecuted by fortune, ſhe will comfort him. If through feare, ſicknes, or any other miſhap he be conſtrained to ſhut vp himſelfe in his houſe, his wife will take away that irkeſomnes from him, which otherwiſe would ſeaze vpon him being ſolitarie. If he go abroad, he is glad that he hath left that partie in his houſe which he moſt truſteth. In youth ſhe is a ſweete and amiable companion, & in old age a very conuenient comforter and ſolace. Moreouer, by mariage a man encreaſeth his friends, allies, kinsfolks & neighbours, which is a very great benefit and inuincible ſtrength. Brethren & ſiſters, nephews & nieces are doubled. Peace is many times procured between monarchs & princes by mariages, and infinit quarels & diſſentions appeaſed. But what vnſpeakable pleaſure doth euery father take to ſee his liuely picture ingrauen in the face of his children, and that ſo neere the quick, as neither *Lyſippus, Mentor, Polycletus, Phidias, Praxiteles, Zeuxis, Apelles*, nor *Parrhaſius* had euer the skil to graue or paint ſo wel? Againe, what ioy receiueth he by hoping, that when his children ſhall waxe great, they will be the ſtaffe of his age, the ſtay of his weakenes, the pillar of his houſe, and that ouerliuing him according to the courſe of nature, they ſhall cloſe vp his eies, and cauſe ſuch funerals & ceremonies to be done for him as are requiſite in that caſe? For the concluſion therefore of this preſent matter we ſay, that no man can iuſtly blame mariage, vnto which all lawes both diuine and humane exhort vs, nature prouoketh vs, honeſtie draweth vs, infinite commodities inuite vs, all nations ſhew vs the way thither, and laſtly, neceſſitie of continuing our kind conſtraineth vs. And briefly to anſwere the grounds alleaged to the contrary, they may be ouerthrowen by one onely diſtinction, which is, that moſt of them that diſpraiſed mariage were heathens, and blinded in their vain wiſedom, or to ſpeake better, in their folly, wanting then that knowledge of the truth, which God of his grace hath ſince reuealed vnto vs.

Mariage encreaſeth friends and kinsfolks.

Motiues to mariage.

And

And no maruell if they erred in diſpraiſing Mariage, ſeeing they could neuer attaine to the knowledge of the true and ſoueraigne good of man, as we haue handled already. But yet it can neuer be found that *Socrates*, *Plato*, and ſuch as were moſt excellent amõg the Philoſophers, blamed it, but rather honoured & commended it, the moſt of them alſo being maried, as namely, *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Seneca*, *Plutarke*, and others. As for their ſtrongeſt reaſon that miſlike mariage, namely, the deceiuing of men by women, the fault ought to be imputed rather to the men, than to the women, bicauſe men, according to the perfection of their ſexe, ought to be wiſer than women, who are by nature more changeable by will, and more fraile in counſell, although all are not ſo. So that if there be any imperfection, it ought not to be obiected to them by way of reproch, but rather to nature than to them. And they that vpbraid them therewith, ſhew that they wander out of the path of reaſon, are deſtitute of all good ſence, and are vnworthie that women ſhould haue conceiued them, brought them into the world, giuen them ſucke, and nouriſhed them.

The beſt Philoſophers praiſed and vſed mariage.

Of a houſe and familie, and of the kinds of mariage: of certaine ancient cuſtomes obſerued in mariage. Chap. 46.

ACHITOB. IN the beginning of my preſent ſpeech of mariage, I noted this, that the communion of the husband and wife extendeth it ſelfe vnto all the parts that depend of their houſe. Therefore I ſuppoſe (my Companions) that for the ſequele and vnderſtanding of that matter which we haue propounded to our ſelues to intreate of, I meane Oeconomie or gouernment of a familie, we muſt ſeeke after a more ample and large declaration of a houſe, which conſiſteth not in many ſtones, and long peeces of timber ioined togither with great cunning, but in ſtones that haue life, and are partakers

A houſe conſiſteth in liuing ſtones.

kers of reaſon, tending to the benefite and profite of the houſe, as to their end. Alſo if you thinke it good, and our howre giue vs leaſure, we may enter into the conſideration of the ſundry ſorts of mariages, and of certaine ancient cuſtomes obſerued therein, which I touched not in my diſcourſe, bicauſe I would not be ouer-long.

What aſſēblies are moſt neceſſarie for the inſtitution of a familie.

ASER. Firſt, it is neceſſarye (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) to ioine thoſe togither, which can not be the one without the other, as the male and female for generation. Next, he that is able to execute the commandements of his maiſter by the ſtrength of his bodie, is a ſubiect and ſlaue by nature. And of theſe two aſſemblies a houſe or familie is firſt inſtituted.

The definition of a houſe.

AMANA. A familie or houſe is an aſſemblye framed by nature, to communicate daily togither: and they are called of the Grecians ὁμοσιπύους, ſuch as liue of the ſame prouiſion, or ὁμοκάπνους, ſuch as vſe the ſame Chimney. But we ſhall vnderſtād of thee ARAM the whole diſcourſe of that which is heere propounded vnto vs.

Plato eſtabliſhed a communitie of al things in his Common-wealth.

ARAM. When I conſider of the excellencie & greatnes of *Plato* his skil, who was greatly admired of the Grecians, as he that for vertue & honeſty of life, for eloquence of ſpeech, & perſwaſion by true and learned Philoſophie, went far beyond all other Philoſophers, I cannot ſufficiently wonder, how, amidſt ſo many good lawes & profitable ſtatuts for a common-wealth, which we haue receiued from him, he imagined to eſtabliſh therein the communitie of goods, wiues, & children, amongſt his Citizens, not ſuffring them to haue any thing proper & peculiar: to the end (as he ſaid) to baniſh from his citie theſe two words, *Thine* & *Mine*, which in his opinion were the cauſe of all euils & deſolations that befall Common-wealths. The Nicholaites reuiued the ſame error in the primitiue Church, & many others haue labored by friuolous reaſons to defend & maintaine it, chiefly to roote out (as they ſay) vtterly frō within the ſoule, thoſe humane affections, which commōly cary men rather towards their wiues, children, & goods, than to other things. Which affections ſo long

The Nicholaites reuiued Platoes communitie.

as

as they beare ſway amongſt the Citizens, cauſe them oftentimes to turne aſide from their duty towards the common-wealth, whereby it is made weaker, & of leſſe continuance. Now among many grounds confuting this error, (which being receiued, would fil all with diſorder & confuſion, to the ouerthrow of humane ſocietie) this is moſt certain & cannot be impugned, that foraſmuch as the lawful diſtributiõ of goods, & maner of mariages, are the ordinance of God (as it is manifeſt) & ſeeing the ordinance of God may not be altered by any counſell of man, it followeth, that aſwell the diuiſion of goods, as of wiues and children, are immutable, and conſequently, that the communitie of goods, wiues, & children, is a thing flatly gainſaying the inſtitution of God, & therfore to be reproued. Moreouer, if goods were common, an infinite multitude of do-litles, of idle & negligent perſons, borne (as *Horace* ſaith) onely to deuoure & to conſume the benefits of the earth, being vnwilling to labor, & reſembling waſpes that eate the honie of the Bees, would feede and cloath themſelues with their goods, who get their liuing with great ſweate of their bodies, & vexation of their minds. Which is againſt the expreſſe commandement of God, who will haue vs eate our bread in the ſweat of our face. But what greater ſhame & offẽce, vtterly defacing all honeſty of life, can there be amongſt men, than the community of wiues, whereby all fornications & adulteries would be maintained by authority? This ſheweth plainly, that we are not to looſe time in confuting ſuch an opinion of theirs, who ſeeke to take away from amongſt men all marks of a Cõmon-wealth. For there would not be any publike thing, if nothing were priuate, nor cõmon, if nothing were peculiar. Yea *Plato* afterward did wiſely leaue that opiniõ, & quietly renounced his firſt Cõmon-wealth, to giue place to a ſecond. And the Heralds of Gods word condẽned this error, when it was raiſed vp in the Apoſtles time by an archheretik called *Nicholas* of *Antioch*, who maintained this opiniõ, that goods, wiues, & childrẽ, ought to be cõmon amõg chriſtians, & for example to others, cõmunicated his wife

The confutation of this error.

wife to whoſoeuer would, albeit ſhe was yoong and very beautifull. Thus following the order eſtabliſhed of God, and continued alwaies through ſo many ages, vntill our time, and hauing ſeene the firſt inſtitution of mariage, we muſt alſo containe it within the houſe, which is a ſocietie and communion of life betweene the husband and the wife, the maiſter and the ſeruant, for daily profit. *Heſiodus* putteth the Oxe in ſteede of the ſeruant, ſo farre foorth (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) as the Oxe being fit to labour, is to poore men in the place of a ſlaue. This houſe thus deſcribed is ſimple, but when children are contained therein, it is abſolute and compleate. Therefore a houſe that is perfect and accompliſhed, may be diuided, according to the ſaying of Philoſophers, into theſe foure parts: into Matrimoniall, Parentall, Lordly or Maiſterlie, and Poſſeſſorie part. The Matrimoniall part comprehẽdeth the husband & the wife: the Parentall containeth the father, mother, & children: the Lordlie hath vnder it the maiſter, men-ſeruants, and maid-ſeruants: the Poſſeſſorie part includeth within it mooueables, immooueables, and chattels. Now to follow our matter already begun, and to diſcourſe of things in order, we haue heere to handle and to obſerue diligently this firſt part of a houſe, called the coniugall or wedlocke part, and the ſequele of our diſcourſes ſhall inſtruct vs in the other parts. He that hath taſted of learning, and beene well inſtructed in the ſtudie of wiſedome, ſhall find that there are foure kinds of coniunctions and mariages, namely, the mariage of honour, the mariage of loue, the mariage of labour, and the mariage of griefe. The mariage of honour is diuided into the higheſt, middlemoſt, and loweſt degree. The higheſt is that ſupernaturall mariage, whereby God and mans nature meete togither, euen by a myſterie, which ouerpaſſeth the vnderſtanding of all humane capacitie. We ſaw the effect and truth thereof in the incarnation and natiuitie of the eternall ſonne of God. The middlemoſt mariage of honour is, when God and the ſoule meete, and are ioined togither by grace and glorie. The loweſt degree of the mariage of honour

The definition of a houſe.

The diuiſion thereof.

Foure kinds of mariage.

The mariage of honor is of three ſorts.

nour, is when God and the Church are coupled togither, and are made one mysticall bodie. These three sortes of mariages are supernaturall, and appointed of God after an vnspeakeable manner: but the cause of our assemblie requireth not that we should speake any more of them. Now to come to the other kinds of coniunctions, which respect onely the estate of mankind: the mariage of loue, is that which is betweene an honest man and a vertuous woman, linked togither by God for the preseruation of the linage of man. It may be called a charitable coniunction, vnitie, and societie of them that are good, being made by grace, peace, & concord. Of this mariage spake that wise Iewe, saying: that three things among others, were approoued of God and men, *the concord of brethren, the loue of our neighbour, and the husband and wife that agree well togither.* And to say truth, it is one of the greatest benefits, yea one of the rarest felicities in the world, when a mariage is well and duly kept, when both the husband & wife feare God, and keepe their promise one to another: according to that saying of the wise man: *Blessed is the man that hath a vertuous wife:* the wife also being no lesse happy that hath a good husband. The other kind of mariage, namely of labour, is that which is commonly practised in our daies, wherein many, yea almost all, marie for couetousnes, not for the vertue, chastity, or good report, which they heare of women and maidens. *Plautus* the comicall Poet said, that in mariage a man must take his wife by the eares, and not by the fingers: that is to say, for hir good report, not for hir dowrie, which is told with hands. *Lycurgus* being desirous that his Citizens should put the same in practise, established a law, which forbad all giuing of dowries with maidens in mariage, to the end that euery maide should labour to endow hir selfe with vertue: for loue wherof, and not of riches, they should be demanded in mariage. The same reason mooued *Themistocles*, when two men required his daughter in mariage, to preferre the honest man before the wealthie: saying, that he had rather haue a man to his sonne in lawe without goods, than

2. The mariage of loue.

Eccl. 25. 1.

Eccl. 26. 1.

The mariage of labour.

Plautus would haue a man chuse his wife by the eares, not by the fingers.

Lycurgus forbad all dowries.

Themistocles.

Olympias. than goods without a man. We read that *Olympias* the mother of *Alexander*, hearing of one that had maried a very faire woman, but ſcarce chaſt, being rauiſhed with hir loue, ſaid, that he was a braineles man, otherwiſe he would not haue maried by heare-ſay, nor by the luſt of his eies. We may ſay aſmuch of them that marie by the report of their fingers, counting vpon them howe much their wiues bring to them by mariage, not conſidering before whether they bee ſo qualified, that they may liue with them. But let vs know, that euery mariage made through couetouſnes, eſpecially where there is inequalitie of riches, as namely, when the husband is poore, and the wife rich, will be alwaies riotous, and very hardly will there be any peace betweene them. Which thing *Menander* deſirous to teach vs, ſaid, that when a poore man marieth a rich wife, he giueth himſelfe in mariage to the woman which he weddeth, and not the woman to him. And the Satyricall Poet ſaith, that nothing is more intollerable than a rich wife. This cauſed a yoong man to go to *Pittacus*, one of the Sages of Grecia, and to aske his counſell, ſaying: I haue two wiues offered me, the one is equall to me in goods and parentage, the other goeth farre beyond me, which of them ſhal I take? Marke (ſaid this wiſe man) where children are readie to play at fence, go to them, and they will counſell thee. He did ſo, and as he drew neere, they began to ſet themſelues one againſt another to skirmiſh. And when they ſaw this yoong man comming, who exceeded them in ſtrength and bignes, and ſuppoſed that he would make one amongſt them, they ſaid aloud, let euery one go to his match. Whereby he learned what he was to doe concerning his mariage. *Martia*, a noble widow, being demanded why ſhe maried not againe, ſeeing ſhe was rich, and as yet in the floure of hir youth, made this anſwer. *I can find none* (ſaid ſhe) *that loueth not my goods more than my perſon.* The ſame reaſon moued *Venda* Queene of Ruſcia to throw hir ſelfe into the water, thereby to reuenge hir ſelfe of them that made warre with hir, to haue hir in mariage, ſeeing they could not win hir by gentlenes.

We muſt not marie by the luſt of our eies, nor by the report of our fingers.

Menander.

Pittacus anſwer to a yoong man that asked his aduice in mariage.

Euery one muſt marie his equal.

Martia.

Venda Queene of Ruſcia.

nes. For she knew well, that they desired hir for hir kingdome, and not of any good wil they bare vnto hir: as it is the custome of Princes to respect onely their alliance and profite, marying often-times by substitutes and proxies those whome they neuer saw but by picture. But I finde that *Elizabeth* that wise Queene of England, was of a better iudgement, when she wrote to *Henrie* Prince, and since king of Sweathland, who demanded hir in mariage, *that he was the onelie Prince in the world, whome she ought to loue most, bicause he required hir when she was a prisoner: but she was resolued neuer to marie any man before she had seene him.* The like answere she sent to the Archduke of Austria, which was in part the cause why neither of them would come vnto hir, fearing belike, that if they were not well liked, they should be sent backe againe into their countrie. Of this that hath beene hitherto discoursed, togither with the experience which is daily seene, we may infer, that mariages made through couetousnes, are in deed mariages of labor. And of this number may those be reckoned, wherein bodilie beautie, and other outward graces, are only regarded. For it seldome falleth out, but that the spirite of dissention troubleth all in those houses, and that all loue and liking vanisheth togither with age, which causeth the liuely hue of colour to wither away. Likewise amongst these mariages of labour, we place those wherein there is disparitie of age, & especially of maners. Therfore *Dionysius* the elder said to his mother, who being very old, would needes marie a yoong man, that it was in her power to violate the lawes of Syracusa, but not the lawe of nature. *Aristotle* sayth, that men and women ought to marie togither in such an age, that both of them should leaue of to beget and to conceiue children at the same tyme. According to this rule the husband must be twentie yeeres, or there abouts, elder than his wife: bicause naturally women conceiue and beare children vntil fiftie yeeres, and men may beget children vntil 70. *Lycurgus* also forbad that any man should marie before he were 37. yeeres old, & a woman before 17. Whereof this reason may

Against mariage by substitutes and proxies.

Elizabeth Q. of England.

Of mariages made onely for beautie.

Of the disparitie of age and maners betweene maried couples.

At what age men and women ought to marrie.

may rather be rendred, that the wife may more easily acquaint hir self with hir husbands manners, he being then of ripe iudgement, and she comming into his power from hir tender yeeres. For (as the same *Aristotle* saith) diuersitie of manners and callings hindereth friendship and true loue. But bicause of the shortnes of mans daies, I thinke it were good for him to marie at thirtie yeeres of age, taking a wife of twentie yeeres old, to the ende that hir age may not be too much vnlike his: that so liuing according to the common course of nature, they may leaue their children prouided at the same yeeres, and such as might be well able to liue without them. A maiden also of that age is able to iudge a great deale better what is meete for hir, and what dutie she oweth to hir husband, and of his commandements, than if she were yoonger. Now, seeing we are about this matter, I thinke I shall not digresse from the same, if I speake of the mariage of widowes. It is certaine that those women that haue already learned the disposition of their former husbands, are often-times very hardly altered. Whereupon some alleadge the example of *Timotheus*, the best plaier on the flute of his time, who, when he tooke a scholler, vsed to demand of him whether he had made any entrance in that plaie: Which if he had, he tooke a greater reward by halfe than he did of them that knew nothing: saying, that his paines were greater in taking away from his schollers that which was naught and vnskilfull, than in teaching that which was good to such as vnderstood nothing at all thereof. *Chilon* one of the wise men of Grecia, said, that he accounted him a very foole, who hauing saued himselfe from a perilous shipwracke by painful swimming, would returne to sea againe, as though a tempest had not power ouer all barks. *Platoes Androgyna* teacheth, that second mariages can neuer be fitly made. Concerning this matter, we can haue no better counsell than that of S. *Paule*, whether I referre the solution of this matter. But experience daily teacheth vs what infinite miseries, quarrels, suites, and ouerthrow of houses, proceed from such mariages, through the

Why a man ought to haue ten yeeres moe than his wife.

Of the mariage of widowes.

Timotheus.

Chilons opinion of second mariages.

1. Cor. 7. 39.

The discommodities of second mariage.

the donations and profits which those yoong men craue that marie widowes, who forgetting all naturall dutie, doubt not to inrich strangers with the goods of their owne children. *Valeria* of Rome may serue for a notable example to women, who said, that hir husband died for others, but liued to hir for euer. S. *Hierome* rehearseth a historie quite contrarie to this heere spoken of, auouching that he saw at Rome a woman that had beene maried to 22. husbands, who afterward marying one that had had 20. wiues, died in his life time. Whereupon the Romanes crowned him with Lawrell, in token of victorie, and caused him to carie a branch of Palme in his hand at his wiues funerall. He maketh mention also of another widowe, who of almes brought vp a little child and abused it at the age of ten yeeres, by whome she became great with child, contrarie to the order of nature, God so permitting it, to discouer the vile filthines of that woman. Second mariages were a great deale more honourable for such widowes. The fourth kinde of mariage remaineth yet, which wee called the mariage of griefe, which is nothing else but the assemblie and coniunction of the wicked and reprobate, of whome that common prouerbe is spoken, *that it is better one house be troubled with them than twayne*. Their life can not but be full of wretchednes and miserie, the griefe whereof will abide by them for euer. But to returne to our first speech of the mariage of loue, which is holie and lawfull, guided by good reason, and according to the ordinance of God, mortall men beholding the holines and necessitie of this mysterie, haue inriched and set foorth the same with all kind of ioy and delight, with the assemblie of kinsfolkes, and calling togither of friendes and guests, with bankets, feastes, ornaments, iewels, Tragedies, Comedies, and such like pastimes, vttering ioy, and not to be misliked: so that all dissolutenes and ouer-great superfluitie be set aside, and honestie and comelines obserued. But especially the wedding songs, vsed by the Ancients both Greekes and Latines, and made to beautifie

Valeria.

Of a woman that had beene maried to 22. husbands.

The notorious loosenes of a widow.

Of the mariage of griefe.

Commendable ornaments of mariages.

Wedding songs vsed in old time.

tifie and enrich their weddings, are woorthie of eternall praiſe. Moreouer, they had amongſt them infinite and ſundrie cuſtomes kept at the knitting vp and celebration of mariages, ſome being good, others bad, of which we will heere alleadge certaine, bicauſe we may finde inſtruction in them. The Aſſyrians had certaine Magiſtrats called *Triumuirs*, and Preſidents of weddings, approoued and graue men, whoſe office was once a yeere in euerie Towne and Village to bring all the yoong maidens that were to be maried, into one publike place, and to cauſe them to be proclaimed one after another, beginning with the faireſt, who were giuen to them that offered moſt, and bad laſt. With this monie that came by them, they maried thoſe that were hard-fauoured, as good cheape as they could: and otherwiſe than after this ſort, it was not lawfull for any bodie to contract matrimonie. Wherein they ſhewed a maruellous care in prouiding equally for all their daughters. The ancient Grecians had a cuſtome to burne before the dore of the new maried wife, the Axletree of that chariot wherein ſhe was brought to hir husbands houſe: giuing hir to vnderſtand thereby, that ſhe was to dwell there with him, whether ſhe were willing or no, and neuer to depart from thence. *Lycurgus* would not haue the husband and wife to lye togither in the beginning of their mariage, nor to ſee one another, but by ſtealth and ſecretly: to the ende (ſayde he) that amitie and loue might be the better preſerued betweene them, that they might be healthie, and that their children which ſhoulde come of them, might be ſtronger. The Romanes paſſed all other nations in pompe, ceremonies, and comlines of mariage. They obſerued this inuiolably, that their maidens and widowes ſhould not be conſtrained to marrie. On the wedding daie they vſed that faſhion, which at this daie is verie common. The newe maried wife was richly apparelled, with hir haire hanging about hir ſhoulders, and hir head crowned with a garland of flowers. The mother of the Bride went before hir daughter, bearing a cofer of trinkets,

Diuers cuſtoms vſed at the celebration of mariages.

The Aſſyrians cuſtome.

The cuſtome of the Grecians.

The cuſtomes of the Romanes.

trinkets, iewels, rings, and other little ornaments belonging to women. The maidens that came of wealthie houſes, had a chariot prepared for them, drawne with two white horſes, to declare the puritie of bodie, and innocencie of mind, which the yoong woman ought to haue. The newe maried wife was led from hir fathers houſe to hir husbands houſe, alongſt the broadeſt ſtreetes in the citie, to note thereby, that a wife ought alwaies to paſſe by the greateſt way, and not be found at any time in ſuſpected and ſecret places, whereupon ſome ſuſpition of euill may ariſe. When ſhe was come to the entrie of hir husbands houſe, before ſhe went ouer the threaſhold of the dore, he tooke hir with both his armes by the wings, and lift hir aloft in ſuch ſort, that he ſtroke hir head and the dore poſt togither, and ſo ſet hir within the dore before euer hir feete touched the ground. This was done, that the maried wife ſhould remember through the griefe of the blow, not to go often foorth out of hir husbands houſe, if ſhe would haue the report and name of an honeſt woman. Hir garments, behauiour, geſture and gate, were correſpondent to all modeſtie, honeſtie, & ſhamefaſtnes. She ware a iewell hanging by a riben about hir necke, to ſignifie, that ſhe was bound, and put in ſubiection to hir husband. She preſented alſo to hir husband water in one hand, and fire in the other. Which ſome interprete thus, that as the communication of mans life conſiſteth chiefly in the vſe of theſe two elements, of fire & water, ſo there cannot be any fellowſhip more familiar or neerer linked togither, than that of the husband and the wife. Now, bicauſe fire and water ſignifie communication, others haue thus vnderſtood it, that as fire and water are cleane contraries aſwell in the firſt as in the ſecond qualities, ſo are man and wife, the one being hot and dry, of the nature of fire, and the other cold and moiſt, of the nature of water: which contrarieties being ioined togither, make a harmonie & temperature of loue. Againe, ſome would haue the diſſentions, murmurings, & complaints, that are often in mariages ſignified therby: wherin laughter is not without

The Romane brides vſed to preſent fire and water to their husbands.

weeping, nor reſt without labor, nor ſweete without ſower, according to the nature of all earthly things, in which we cannot taſte honie without gall, nor ſugar without Aloes. Many other ceremonies were vſed of the Ancients, which for breuity ſake, as alſo bicauſe there is ſmal inſtruction in them, I omit for this preſent. Therefore to conclude our diſcourſe, we learne that the name of a houſe doth not onely ſignifie the wals and roofe of a building, but that it ought to be taken for a familie gathered togither to communicate one with another in all neceſſities. We learne alſo that in euery mariage we ought to haue regard to the ordinance and inſtitution of God, and to thoſe politike lawes vnder which we liue, to the ende we trouble not common tranquillitie: that we muſt auoide all diſparitie of goods, of houſes, of age, and eſpecially of nature and manners. Let vs not ſuffer our ſelues to be caried away with any fooliſh paſſion, but looke chiefly to this, that vnder a gratious & honeſt behauiour may ſhine foorth cleare and euident ſteps of an vpright and ſincere ſoule, void of diſſimulation: ſaying with the Wiſe man, *Fauour is deceitfull, and beautie is vanitie, but a woman that feareth the Lord, ſhe ſhall be praiſed*. We muſt alſo rid our wedding aſſemblies of all diſſolutenes, of all kind of allurements to voluptuouſnes and nicenes, that they may rather ſeeme to be ſchooles of honour and chaſtitie, than of intemperancie and looſenes. If we lay ſuch foundations in mariages, no doubt but God will bleſſe them, and make them happie and proſperous, to the glorie of his name, and to the quietnes and contentation of vs all.

What is ſignified by the name of a houſe.

Prou. 31. 30.

Of the particular dutie of a husband towards his wife. Chap. 47.

ARAM. AS Phiſitions ſtand more in feare of feauers engendred of hid cauſes gathered togither by little and little of a long time, than of thoſe which proceed of very apparant cauſes: ſo the ſmal iarres

iarres and daily quarrelings of maried folkes, being vnknowne to ſtrangers, and drawing by litle and little to an incurable hardnes, do more ſeparate them one from another, than any other cauſe whatſoeuer. Therefore it is neceſſary that all the rootes of ſuch naughty ſprigs ſhould be cut off, and all occaſions eſchewed, which might prouoke one another to the leaſt and lighteſt anger that may be. The induſtrie of the man ought to aime eſpecially at this, being called to the honorable eſtate of Head of a familie, looking diligently that he performe ſuch dutie towards hir, who is ſo ſtraightly linked vnto him, that ſuch diſſentions neuer take their beginning through his default. Let vs then (my Companions) take occaſion of this ſubiect to be better inſtructed in the dutie of a husband towards his wife.

Smal iarres muſt be auoided in a houſe.

ACHITOB. *Reioice* (ſayth the Wiſe man) *with the wife of thy youth. Let hir be as the louing Hinde, and pleaſant Roe: let hir breaſtes ſatisfie thee at all times, and delight in hir loue continually. For why ſhouldeſt thou delight in a ſtrange woman, or imbrace the boſome of a ſtranger? For the waies of man are before the eyes of the Lorde, and he pondereth all his pathes.*

Prou.5.18.19.20.21.

Euery man muſt content himſelfe with his owne wife.

ASER. *Husbands* (ſayth S. *Paule*) *loue your wiues, euen as Chriſt loued the Church, and gaue himſelfe for it. So ought men to loue their wiues as their owne bodies: he that loueth his wife, loueth himſelfe.* But it belongeth to thee (AMANA) to handle vs this point at large.

Epheſ.5.25.26.

How husbands ought to loue their wiues.

AMANA. *Gorgias* an excellent Orator, commended of *Cicero* in many places, exhorted the Græcians long ſince to peace and concord, by an oration of woonderfull arte. Which when he had ended, one *Melanthus* ſtoode vp before all the companie that was preſent, and ſayd: My Lordes, behold *Gorgias*, who by his eloquent oration exhorteth vs that are in number infinite to concord, and yet he cannot playe the Oratour ſo well as to cauſe his wife and hir chamber-maide to liue quietly with him in his houſe, wherein there are but they three. For ye ſhall daily ſee them at ſtrife and continuall diſſention.

Therefore, my Lordes, I thinke it great raſhnes in him to exhort vs to concord, when he cannot haue it himſelfe in his priuate houſe. And truly, beſides the vnſpeakeable torment that is ioined with ſuch riots, ianglings, and controuerſies in a houſe, it is a ſhamefull offence when they are knowne to ſtrangers. The Ancients had a priuate and houſhold God, whome they called the God *Lar*, which we may tranſlate into our language, the God of the Harth. He was had in ſuch veneration, that if any man withdrewe himſelfe to the harth and houſe of his deadlie enimie, his enimie durſt not offer him anie violence as long as he was there, the harth being vnto him a ſanctuarie and place of immunitie. For ſo we read of *Themiſtocles*, that being baniſhed from Athens, and purſued by ſome that would haue layed violent handes vpon him, he fled to the Harth of his deadlie enimie, who for that cauſe durſt not ſtrike him, nor offer him anie iniurie. This Harth was dedicated and conſecrated to the Goddeſſe *Veſta*, and was placed where the chiefe fire of the houſe was made. Nowe I pray you, if it were prohibited, and accounted an vniuſt thing for a man to quarrell, to iniurie, or to offer violence, euen to his vtter enimie, beeing fled to his Harth, howe infamous an acte (thinke you) and vnworthie the nature of man, did theſe men iudge it to be, to offer any violence to them that were of the ſame Harth, but chiefly to the wife, who is a principall perſon belonging to the bed, table, Harth, yea to the whole houſe of the husband, and is called by the lawe, a companion both of the diuine and humane houſe? At this daie we commonly obſerue this, not to offend in any ſort thoſe that come to ſee vs: and if we haue any occaſion of quarrelling, it ſhall not be ſhewed as long as they are in our houſe, if we haue any care not to be accounted vnciuill, and void of diſcretion. And how ſhall we not vſe the ſame reaſon towards them that are vnto vs a ſecond ſelfe, with whome we are to liue and die? Let vs then haue regard to thoſe principall points that are to be deſired for the eſtabliſhment and continuance of

Lar the houſhold God of the Heathen.

Themiſtocles ſaued by flying to the harth of his enimie.

What place the wife hath next to the man.

of loue, vpon which euerie holie mariage ought first to be grounded, as we haue already said. Secondly, it must be grounded vpon the conformitie and agreement of good and honest conditions: and lastly, it must hold & depend of prudence, which breedeth a continuall, liuely, and mutuall affection of one towards another, the true testimonie whereof is a reuerent behauiour of each to other. It is a Maxime and principle granted by wise men, that no man is woorthie and meete to command, vnles he be better than they ouer whome he commandeth. Therefore it seemeth that nature commonly giueth more vigour, strength, authoritie, grauitie, and prudence, in deedes and wordes to men than to women. The effects of which graces he cannot better shew foorth, than by gouerning himselfe with reason, and according to duty towards his wife: first, in louing hir, then in gouerning hir gratiously, as being a free person, as *Aristotle* saith, perswading hir more by reason than authoritie. He must not offer hir any iniurie, either in deede or worde, but honour and make much of hir. For the husband that honoureth his wife, honoureth himselfe. The Lawyer saith, that maried women are and ought to be set foorth with the beames of their husbands, and that the husband ought to giue example to others to honour his wife: whereby also he shall prouoke his wife to honour him. But on the other side, by offring hir wrong, he shall incense hir, and giue hir occasion to reply vpon him with bitter speeches, which in the end will prouoke him to wrath, and to behaue himselfe woorse towards his wife, thereby constraining hir, as it falleth out often-times, to inuent some mischiefe against him and his honor. There are a thousand examples heerof in good authors, and experience affoordeth too many proofes of the same. We reade of *Clytemnestra* the wife of *Agamemnon*, that, to reuenge an iniurie receiued from hir husband, she committed adulterie, and afterward consented to his death. It is true that this is but a simple reuenge of women, and such a one as lighteth vpon themselues. But what? This sexe is fraile, spitefull, and giuen

Loue the first foundation of euery holy mariage.

The best must command.

The husband must command ouer his wife as ouer a free person.

The fruits of hard dealing with ones wife.

Clytemnestra.

uen to reuenge: and therefore men are to vse the greater prudence in the gouerning and managing of them. The prouerbe is, that a man is bitten of his dog, by prouoking him ouer-much, and that an Eele is often-times loſt, when it is ſtrained ouer-hard. Therefore let a wiſe husband knowe this, that he muſt neuer deale iniuriouſly with his wife, eſpecially before others: and that he muſt abſtaine moſt of all from laying violent hands vpon hir. If the Ancients would haue their ſlaues corrected, rather with wordes than blowes, much more ought the wife to be ſo dealt withall, whome God calleth a helpe like to vs. To this effect *Marcus Aurelius* ſayd, that a wiſe husband and one that mindeth to liue peaceably with his wife, ought aboue all things to obſerue this rule, namely: *to admoniſh hir often, to reprehend hir ſeldome, but neuer to lay hands vpon hir. Homer* bringeth in *Iupiter* reprooving his wife, and threatning hir when ſhe is rebellious, but neuer maketh him goe farther. We read in the life of *Cato*, of whome it was giuen out that he was a ſworne enimie to women, that he neuer ſtrake his wife, accounting that ſacriledge: and yet he knewe well howe to vſe the place and dignitie of a husband, which keepeth his wife in obedience. But aboue all that hath beene hitherto ſpoken, a husband muſt obſerue this as an inuiolable lawe, that he abſtaine from touching any other woman but his owne, aſwell in reſpect of the feare of God, who excludeth all whoremongers & adulterers from his heauenlie manſion, as alſo bicauſe his wife ſhould haue no knowledge or ſuſpition thereof. For otherwiſe he will caſt himſelfe into a more dangerous Labyrinth, than was that of king *Perſenna* or of *Dedalus*: yea, he ſhall hardly haue a good countenance of his wife at any time, except ſhe diſſemble the matter, that ſhe may the better be renenged of him, either by rendring like for like, thinking that ſhe hath iuſt occaſion to breake hir faith made to hir husband, ſeeing he hath broken his to hir, or elſe by ſome other meane vpon his perſon. Of this ſuſpition which the wife hath of hir husbands incontinencie, or the husband

A husband muſt neuer beate his wife.

Marcus Aurelius precept to husbands.

Iupiter.

Cato,

A husband muſt eſpecially auoid adulterie.

of

of the wiues, is bred a great paſſion, or to ſpeake better, fury and rage, which we call iealouſie. *Chryſippus* calleth it a diſeaſe of the minde, proceeding from a feare which a man hath, that that thing is communicated to another, which he would not haue common but priuate to himſelfe. Or otherwiſe we may ſay, that iealouſie is bred of that loue, which will not ſuffer a partner in the thing beloued. Some write (ſaith *Plutarke*) that Cats are troubled with the ſmell of perfumes and ſweet ſauours, in ſo much that they waxe mad withall. Likewiſe if it ſhould ſo fal out that a woman ſhould be offended and haue hir braine troubled with the perfumes of hir husband, he were of a very ſtrange nature if he would not abſtaine from it, but for the enioying of a little pleaſure would ſuffer hir to fall into ſo great an inconuenience. Now ſeeing it is ſo that ſuch accidents come vpō them, not when their husbands are perfumed, but when they giue ouer themſelues to the loue of harlots, it is great iniuſtice in them to grieue, offend and trouble their wiues in ſuch hainous ſort. At leaſt wiſe they ſhould behaue themſelues as they do that draw neere to Bees, who abſtaine frō touching euen their owne wiues. For it is reported of Bees, that they hate and make warre more againſt them than againſt others, bicauſe they haue ſuch falſe harts, as to lie neere their wiues, being defiled and polluted with the company of any other womē. The wilde bore (ſaith one of the Poets) purſued of dogs, the Lioneſſe bitten with hunger, the Tyger robbed of hir yong ones, or the Viper whoſe taile is troad vpon, are not more terrible than a woman that is offēded: but nothing wil ſooner caſt hir into a phrenſie & fury, than ielouſy. *Ariadna* buried aliue *Zenon Iſauricus* the emperour, that ſhe might be reuenged on him. He that taketh to himſelfe thoſe pleaſures which he forbiddeth his wife, doth as much as if he commanded hir to fight againſt enimies, to whom he had alreadie yeelded himſelf. And if vice, whoredom, curioſitie, ſuperfluitie, choler and other imperfections raigne among men, how ſhould they driue them away from women? So a husband muſt correct himſelfe firſt, and

What iealouſie is.

Whoredom is great iniuſtice.

The cruel reuenge of Ariadna.

and after vſe learned inſtructions towards his wife. Let him (as Bees do) gather togither and cary to his wife, ſo much of his ſtudies as may ſerue for hir profit. For ſeeing women (as *Plato* ſaith) haue a ſoule as well as we, and as quicke a ſpirite, yea oftentimes a more excellent ſpirite than we, we muſt not think them vncapable of the goodly reaſons of Philoſophie, wherein many of them haue gone beyond many Philoſophers. Knowledge and skill wil keepe a woman from other vnmeete exerciſes, and being rauiſhed with hir husbands braue diſcourſes, ſhe will contemne the loſſe of time in vnprofitable matters. She will neuer fall into that daunger which oftentimes befalleth women, who conceiue and bring foorth by themſelues ſtrange counſels, and extrauagant paſſions, when they receiue not from elſe-where the ſeedes of good ſpeeches, and when their husbands impart not vnto them any ſound doctrine. The fame (as fables faine) preuailed more than the Northerne winde. For the more the wind laboured to get away a mans gowne, and to that ende blew more violently, the harder did he girde vp and reſtraine his garment. But when the Sunne waxed hote after the winde, the man feeling himſelfe heated, caſt off his gowne, and afterward burning with heate, he put off his coate and all. So if husbands go about to order their wiues with their bare authoritie and by force, they will ſtriue againſt it, and be offended: but contrarywiſe, being admoniſhed with reaſon they yeeld of themſelues and take it patiently. The fooles of this world commonly gird and mocke that man, who peraduenture ſeemeth to be led a litle too much by his lawfull wife & loyall ſpouſe, vſing more gentleneſſe and curteſie towards hir, than rigor and commaunding: and yet you ſhall ſee themſelues ſo ſtrangely bewitched by ſome ſtrumpet, that they feare not to hazard their life and honour in hir ſeruice. But it beſeemeth a man a great deale better to be well liking, gentle and acceptable to an honeſt and vertuous wife, than to abaſe himſelfe to a common harlot. And thoſe men deceiue themſelues, who, hauing maried rich wiues

Women are capable of Philoſophie.

A tale of the ſunne and the wind.

Women muſt be led more by reaſon and gentleneſs, than by force.

and

and of noble houſes, ſtudie not to make them more honeſt and better qualified, but to pull them downe, perſwading themſelues that they will come to better order when they haue abaſed & brought them lowe. Whereas euery one ought to maintain the dignitie of his wife as he would do the iuſt height of a horſe, and be skilful both in the one and the other to vſe the bridle well as it becommeth him. Beſides, a husband is not to rule his wife as a lord or maſter doth his ſlaue, but as the ſoule doth a wiſe mans bodie, through a mutuall loue and ioint affection, whereby he is bound vnto hir. And as the ſoule may well be carefull ouer the body, although it become not a ſlaue to the pleaſures & inordinate affections thereof: ſo a wiſe husband will behaue himſelfe by pleaſing and gratifiyng his wife in honeſt things, and by ſhewing that he loueth honor and vertue aboue all things. This will be a mean to make hir as wiſe, vertuous and honeſt, as otherwiſe: if himſelfe be giuen to voluptuouſneſſe, he ſhall cauſe hir to like of curtiſans conditions, and to become ſlipperie and laſciuious. No man (ſaith *Cleobulus*) ought to chide or to fawne vpō his wife before others: for the one is the point of a foole, the other of a mad man. *Socrates* practiſed one of theſe points very well, when *Xantippa* his wife reuiling and chiding him, in the ende being caried headlong with wrath, ouerthrew table and all. Whereupon *Euthydemus* whom he had brought home to ſuppe with him, roſe vp to depart. But *Socrates* not ſhewing himſelfe greatly mooued or angry with his wife, ſtaied him, and ſayde: What? do you not remember my friend, that as we were at dinner with you the other day, a henne lept vpon the table and did as much to vs, and yet we were not angrie therefore? *Solon* ordained that the husband ſhould goe ſee his wife thriſe a moneth at the leaſt, not for pleaſure, but to yeeld vnto hir, as it were by obligation, the pledges and gages of friendſhip through honor, grace and loialtie, which ought to increaſe daily. And as cities at ſundry times renew theſe alliaunces, which they haue one with another: ſo this lawe-maker would haue the alliaunce of

The beſt way to bring an vnruly wife into good order is to make hir more honeſt.

No man muſt chide or fawne vpon his wife before others.

Socrates patience in ſuſtaining the infirmities of his wife.

of mariage, that I may ſo ſpeake, renued by the ſpeeches vſed at ſuch greetings and viſitations. We ſee daily what miſeries and offences light vpon houſes, when the head of the familie hath no care to rule and guide it: whereupon alſo the women thinke that they are deſpiſed and ſmally beloued. And in truth they haue occaſion giuen them ſo to thinke, when their husbands ſeldome keep them company. The Pilote that giueth ouer his ſhip to the mercy of the waues, declareth euidently that he careth not for looſing that which is in it. A wife without hir husband is expoſed to many ambuſhes and aſſaultes that are hardly ſuſtained. To this purpoſe I remember a notable hiſtorie written in the chronicles of Ruſſia, namely, that the inhabitants of Nouogradum, which at this day is the chiefe & principall ſeate of that countrey, being gone into Græcia to beſiege the towne of Corſun, where they continued for the ſpace of ſeuen yeeres, their wiues in the meane while wearied with their long abode there, maried their ſeruants. The husbands afterward returning conquerours, found their ſlaues in the field, who gaue them battell, and had the better of them. Neuertheles in the end the ſlaues were vanquiſhed, and the moſt part of the women moued with indignation for that ouerthrow, hung themſelues. Now as touching that other point mentioned by that wiſe man *Cleobulus*, namely, that a mã muſt not dally with his wife in the preſence of others, *Cato* depriued a Senator of Rome from the Senatoriall dignitie, bicauſe he kiſſed his wife in his daughters preſence. This was ſomwhat too extreme. But howſoeuer it be, as *Plato* admoniſheth men growen in yeeres to ſhew themſelues ſhamefaſt before the yonger ſort, to the end that they alſo ſhould learne to behaue themſelues reuerently and warily, ſo ſurely this precept is eſpecially to be kept betweene man and wife, that they may be an example of honor and chaſtitie vnto all. Likewiſe the man muſt diuide the offices and affaires of the houſe with his wife, giuing hir authoritie ouer all things in his abſence: and in his preſence alſo ouer houſhold matters, & ſuch things as are more proper & agree-

able

Husbands muſt be carefull in looking to their families.

Women maried their ſeruants in the abſence of their husbands.

Men muſt not dally with their wiues in the preſence of others.

What houſhold affaires are to be diuided betweene the man and the wife.

able to that ſexe: cauſing hir to be feared, reuerenced, and obeied of the children, men-ſeruants and maid-ſeruants, as himſelfe. But as if one take two ſounds that agree well, the baſe is always more heard: ſo in a well ruled and ordered houſe, all things are done by the conſent of both parties, but yet ſo, that it is alwaies apparant, that things are done by the direction, counſell, and inuention of the husband. For a familie will ſuffer but one head, one maſter & one lord: otherwiſe if there were many heads, the commandements would be contrary, and the familie in continuall trouble. Now the foundation of all dueties here mentioned by vs of the husband towards the wife, and of all others which daily communication may require, is that true and vnfained loue that ought to be the vnſeparable bond of euery good mariage. We haue handled heretofore the great effects of friendſhip: which if they be required among common friends, no doubt but they are much more between thoſe, whom God, nature, the lawes, and loue, haue ſo ſtraightly ioined togither. Alſo let huſbandes know, that they ought to reuerence their wiues more than any other perſon: and perceiuing them to be wiſe and vertuous, (as they may make them if they be not altogither forlorne and corrupted) let them neuer ſeeme to diſtruſt them in any reſpect. The Romanes when they returned from a voiage, or from a farre countrey, or onely out of the countrey into the citie, if their wiues were at home, they ſent word before to giue them intelligence of their comming, to the end they ſhould not conceiue this opinion, that they meant to deale craftily or maliciouſly with them. Foraſmuch therfore as loue and friendſhip is the fountain of euery good dutie of the husband towards his wife, and that which as it were ſtealeth away, and maketh the will of his half-partner to be wholy his owne, let vs conſider for the concluſion of our ſpeech, of ſome notable examples of great loue in the behalfe of men, to the end we may be drawen on to loue and to honor them that are in the ſame place towards vs that the church is towards God: which he ſo loued, that he ſent his only ſonne to

There muſt be but one head in a familie.

Loue the band of mariage.

A husband muſt not diſtruſt his wife.

Examples of the loue of huſbands towards their wiues.

T. Gracchus. to die for the redemption thereof. *Tiberius Gracchus*, a noble man of Rome, finding two serpents in the chamber wherein he slept, inquired for the meaning thereof by sooth-saying, wherunto he gaue absolute credite. Answer was made him, that if he slue the male first, he should die before his wife, but if the female, his wife before him. As soone as he vnderstood therof he slue the male, and within a litle while after he died. Whereupon Historiographers doubt whether his wife *Cornelia* were more happy in finding a husband that loued hir so well, than miserable in loosing him. *Baptista Fregosa* maketh mention of a Neapolitane, whose wife being taken on the sea coast by the Moores, he presently cast himself after hir into the sea, and following their foist besought thē to take him also. Which they did, so that both of them were brought before the king of Thunis to whom the vessail belonged: who hearing the discourse of the fact, and being moued with compassion ouer such perfect friendship, deliuered them both.

The great loue of a Neapolitane towards his wife.

Orpheus. *Orpheus* (as the Poets write) loued his wife so entirely, that she dying on the wedding day, he kept his loue inuiolable and would neuer set it vpon any other. *Ninus* king of the Assyrians, falling in loue with *Semiramis* the wife of *Menon* a vassaile of his, besought him to let him haue hir to wife, in recompence wherof he offred him his daughter in mariage. But *Menon* bare such great loue towards hir, that he would not yeeld therunto. Wherupon the king being mooued with wrath, and threatning to plucke out his eies and to take hir away by force, as he did in deed, *Menon* for very griefe & sorow hung himselfe. *Periander* king of Corinth loued his wife so tenderly, that after she was dead, he caused hir to be laid by him certaine daies. *Marcus Lepidus* being driuen into banishment, heard that his wife was maried to another, whereupon he died for sorow. When word was brought to *Plautius Numidius* a Romane Senator, that his wife, whom he loued as himselfe, was dead: he thrust himself into the bosome with a dagger, whereof he died. *Sylanus* a Romane slue himselfe after his wife, whom he singularly loued, was taken from him, and giuen to

Menon.

Periander.

M. Lepidus.

P. Numidius.

Sylanus.

Nero

Nero the Emperor. *Dominicus Catalusius* prince of Lesbos loued his wife so wel, that although she grew very leprous, yet he neuer depriued hir therefore of his boord or bed. *Dominicus Catalusius.*

We read of a great lord of Spaine, called *Roderigo Sarmiento*, that through griefe which he receiued for the losse of his wife, he slept for a yeeres space in his clothes, did neuer eate vpon a table cloth, nor sate him downe in any chaire, but afflicted himselfe diuersly. Therefore let vs learne by our present discourse to loue our wiues perfectly, yeelding due beneuolence vnto them and behauing our selues discretly towards thē, without offending them, or going beyond the boundes of our duetie. And as nature mingleth vs togither by our bodies, to the ende that taking part of the one and part of the other, and putting all togither, she may make that which commeth thereof common to both, and that in such sort, that neither partie can discerne or distinguish that which is proper to it selfe from that which belongeth to the other: so let vs haue all things common togither, euen our will, affection and authoritie. Neuertheleſſe this must be done in such sort, that as in one cup, although there be as much or more water than wine, yet we call it wine, so in the authoritie of the wife the husbands name must be written, as he that directeth the same. But in the meane while let these wordes *Mine* and *Thine* be banished far from them, vnlesse it be in this respect, that, according to the opinion of the Phisitians, as blowes giuen on the left side are felt on the right, so the wife must through compassion feele the harmes of hir husband, and the husband much more those of his wife: to the ende that as knots haue their strēgth by interlacing the ends one within another, so the societie of mariage is preserued and strengthened when both parties affoord a mutuall affection of good will, being assured, that both togither shall be made heires of grace and life. *Roderigo Sarmiento.*

All things must be common between the husband and the wife.

Of

Of the dutie of a Wife towards hir Husband. Chap. 48.

AMANA. NAture hauing honored woman with a gracious alluring of the eyes, with a sweete speech, with a beautifull countenance and modest behauior, hath giuen hir great means to win the good liking and loue of hir husband, if she be honest and shamefast: as likewise she may easily deceiue man by offring him pleasure, if she be wickedly minded. This did *Olympias* wife to king *Philip*, know full well, when she tooke the Thessalonian woman by the hand whom hir husband loued so well, and by whom (as they said) he was charmed and bewitched. But the Queene seeing hir so faire, and of so good a grace, and as hir speech declared, a woman of a good house and well brought vp: Away (quoth she) with all slander, for I see wel that your charms are in your selfe. And let vs not thinke that the power of a lawfull wedded wife is lesse, if, by taking all things vnto hir, hir wealth, hir nobilitie, hir charmes, and the whole web of *Venus*, she studie by meeknes, good behauiour and vertue to obtaine hir husbands loue. Goe to then, let vs see if we can giue the wife some instructions touching this matter how she may keep hir self within the limites of hir dutie towards hir husband.

The naturall gifts of women.

ARAM. *As the Church is in subiection to Christ, euen so* (saith the Scripture) *let the wiues be to their husbands in euery thing. For the husband is the wiues head, euen as Christ is the head of the Church.*

Eph. 5. 22. 24. Wiues must be subiect to their husbands.

ACHITOB. Wiues must be modest, wise, chaste, keepers at home, louers of their husbands, and subiect vnto them. But it belongeth to thee ASER to be now vnto them in stead of a schoole-master.

ASER. When kings and princes honor Philosophers and learned men, it is certaine that they honor thēselues: but philosophers that court it, and become seruants to riches, are not thereby honoured. We may say as much of wiues.

wiues. For whē they ſubmit themſelues to their husbands, they are praiſed: but if they will become miſtreſſes ouer them, it beſeemeth them as ill, as it doth ſuch as yeeld to that ſubiection: and both of them reape more ſhame thā honor thereby. Therefore thoſe women that make choice of effeminate husbands, & delight in commanding them, are like to ſuch as had rather guide the blind, than follow the wiſe and cleare-ſighted. So that if a wife loue, eſteeme, and honor hir husband, I thinke that all honeſt dutie will flow from thence, to their common contentation & comfort, & to the benefit, quietnes, and honour of the whole familie: I meane, if ſhe loue him as hir ſelf, and eſteem and honour him, as hir neereſt lord. A wiſe woman ought to thinke that hir husbands maners are the lawes of hir life, which (if they be good) ſhe is wholy to folow: but if they be bad, ſhe muſt patiently beare with them. For as a looking glaſſe ſerueth to no purpoſe, although it be gilt and decked with precious ſtones, if it doth not liuely repreſent his face that looketh into it: ſo a woman is not to be liked albeit ſhe haue ſtore of goods, if hir life be not thereafter, and hir behauiour & conditions be not conformable to hir husbands. If a looking glaſſe repreſent a ſadde and mourning countenance to one that is ioyful and mery, or contrarywiſe a ſmiling face to him that is ſorowfull, it is a falſe glaſſe and worth nothing. So is ſhe a bad wife and vnreaſonable, which frowneth when hir husband is deſirous to be mery with hir, & to take ſome honeſt recreation: or contrarywiſe, which laugheth and ſporteth hir ſelfe when ſhe ſeeth him full of buſines and greatly troubled. For the one is a token of hir froward diſpoſition: & the other, that ſhe deſpiſeth the affections of hir husband. And as lines and ſuperficiall partes, as the Geometricians ſay, mooue not of themſelues, but as the bodies mooue wherein they are: ſo a wife muſt haue no proper and peculiar paſſion or affection to hir ſelf, but muſt be partaker of the paſtimes, affaires, thoughts & laughters of hir husband. The farther the Moone is from the Sun, the cleerer it is, and ſhineth ſo much the more: and contrarywiſe, it hath leſſe light, & is

It is an honor to a woman to obey hir husband

A wife compared to a looking glaſſe.

Notable ſimilitudes.

Euil wiues resembled to the moone.

obscured the more, as it commeth neerer thereunto: so euil women deale with their husbands when they loue not their presence. For in their absence you shall see them as iocund and frolick as may be, but when they are with their husbands and at home, then are they sorowful & pensiue. Moreouer, a wife must not trust too much either to hir wealth, or to the nobilitie of hir race, or to hir beautie, but to that which setteth neerest hir husbands hart, that is, to hir behauior, maners and conuersation, taking order that these things be not hard, troublesom, or irksom to hir husband euery day, but such as please him and agree with his conditions. For the troublesome conuersation of a wife that alwais iarreth, in the end maketh euen hir honest behauior odious, as hir ouer-great pinching & niggardlines causeth hir sparing & good huswiferie to become hateful. As this custom was obserued amongst the Persians, that when their enimies came rushing vpon thē with great clamors, they receiued them with silence, & contrarywise, if they were set vpon with silence, they made head against them with opē mouth: so discreet womē hold their peace when their husbands cry out with choler, & contrarywise if they vtter not a word, they labor to appease and pacifie them with their comfortable speeches. A wise womā that loueth hir husband as becōmeth hir, somtime tollerateth & dissembleth an euil intreatie, trusting so much to hir cōstancie & vertue, that by continuing in hir dutie she is able to bring him back again to his. She must gouerne hir selfe so discreetly, that neither hir neighbours, nor other of hir familiar friends be made acquainted in any sort with hir complaints & grieuances. For by discouering them, either she shal make hir self a laughing stock to others, or els giue occasion to the enimies of hir honor, to prouoke & sollicit hir to naughtines. And if any one knowing the imperfections of hir husband, vnder this pretence of seeing hir hardly delt withal, perswade hir to decline frō hir duty, she must answer him after the example of king *Phillip*, who being wronged by the Grecians intreated them curteously, what then would my husband do vnto me, if I begin to hate

An ouerthwarting wife maketh hir selfe odious.

How a wife must deale with hir cholerike husband.

A woman must not disclose hir husbands imperfections to any body.

hate him, & to offer him iniury? If she perceiue that any womā of hir acquaintance laboreth by hir talke either to sow or to increase some domestical dissentiō, she may wisely say with hir self: *In what case would this woman that seketh to make me iealous, desire rather to see me, thā maliciously to play the ill huswife with my husband, & to forsake my house & mariage bed, whereupon it may be she would gladly take my place?* Thus a discreet woman wil giue smal care, & much lesse giue place to the light speeches & fained promises of such disturbers of domestical peace. Neither will she admit & nourish those vain & sottish opinions, which commonly busie the minds of such womē as are ruled & gouerned onely by passions, but containing hir desires through reason within a cōuenient compasse, the confidence which she hath in hir husbands vertue wil breed perfect ease to hir soule, by taking frō hir all doubting & occasion of complaining. Now vpō this discourse we giue this note by the way, that whē any displeasure falleth out betweene maried folks, they must haue a special regard then that they make not two beds. For by this mean their anger will indure the lesser while. Also they must shun al occasions of quarelling in bed. For as a great bellied woman redy to lie down, & euen feeling the pangs of hir trauell, said to those that willed hir to lie down vpon the bed, *How can the bed cure me of this euil which came vnto me vpon the bed:* so those quarels, iniuries, wrath, & choler that are bred within the bed, can hardly be appeased & healed at any other time or place. But to cōtinue our matter of the duty of a wife, she must neuer suffer any to enter into hir husbands house without his expres commandement or licēce. For euery honest wife ought to fear that which is cōmonly spoken of the losenes of women, & labor as much as may be to cōuince those slanderers of lying, who know no other song than to speak of their incōtinencie. *Cæsar* said, *That a womā must not only be free frō that fault, but also frō al suspicion therof, which was the cause why he put away his own wife.* And seing it is the duty of an honest womā to take vpon hir the care & ouersight of houshold affaires, she must keep at home, and not loue to gad abroad, or be

Maried couples must not make two beds for any iarre between them.

When is the best time and place to pacifie strife betweene man and wife.

A woman must be free from all suspicion of incontinencie.

She must not loue to gad abroad or to be seene.

desirous of meetings, but so farre foorth as hir husband would haue hir do so. The greatest vertue of a woman (said *Euboïdes*) is not to be known but of hir husband: and hir praise (said *Argeus*) in a strange mouth is nothing else but a secret blame. A wife ought to be modest in hir garmẽts and ornaments of hir body, and not vse such sumptuous apparel as the law or custom of the countrey permitteth: bicause neither rich works of gold, nor precious attire, nor bodily beautie make not a woman so praise-woorthy as hir modestie doth, which consisteth in deeds, words, coũtenance & apparel. That is an ornament (said the Philosopher *Crates*) that adorneth, & that thing adorneth a woman, which maketh hir more honourable. And this is not done by iewels of gold, emeralds, precious stones, or purple garments, but by euery thing that causeth hir to be accounted honest, wise, humble & chaste. Those womẽ that curiously prick vp themselues, & inrich their bodies with ornaments ful of pompe, make men more dissolute & inclined to loosenes, especially when they make great window-works before their dugs, & giue licence to their eyes to wander & gaze about. Wheras contrarywise a wise womã through hir honest behauior, togither with hir lowly & setled look, leadeth so many as cast their eies vpõ hir to continencie and chastitie. But a discouered dug, a naked brest, frisled locks, paintings, perfumes, & especially a rouling eie, & a lasciuious & vnchast look, are the fore-rũners of adultery. He that wil not credit me, let him read *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, & *Ouid*, who are of the same opinion. It may well be sayd of such women, whose number is too great amongst vs, that they haue lost all shame: albeit the best dowrie, the best inheritaunce and most precious iewell which a woman can haue, is to be shamefast. Yea the fortresse and defence that nature hath giuen to a woman for the preseruation of hir reputation, chastitie, and honour, is shame, whereof whensoeuer she maketh no account, she is vndone for euer. *Socrates* vsed to counsell those young men that behelde them-selues in looking glasses, if they were harde fauoured to correct their

She must be modest in hir attire.

The true ornaments of a woman.

Certain tokens of an adulterous hart.

Shamefastnes is the best dowrie of a woman.

their deformitie with vertue, by making themselues vertuous: and if they were faire, not to blot their beautie with vice. In like maner it were very good, that when the maried wife holdeth hir looking glasse in hir hand, she would speake thus to hir selfe if she be foule: what then should become of me if I were also wicked? And if she be faire, how shall this be accounted of, if I continue honest and wise? For if a hard fauoured woman be loued for hir good behauiour and honest conditions, it is greater honour vnto hir than if it were for beautie. Moreouer a woman must haue a speciall care to be silent, and to speake as seldome as she may, vnlesse it be to hir husband, or at his bidding: reseruing household wantes and affaires secret to hir selfe, and not publish them abroad. Thus doing, if any euill, any reproch or dishonour come to the house through any of them that are within it, the fault will be hir husbands and not hirs. Likewise a woman that respecteth hir honour, ought to be ashamed to vtter any dishonest speeches, floutes & iests, and no lesse ashamed to giue eare vnto them. For if she once giue hir self to gibing, they that laughed at some litle word of hirs, wil afterward mock the author therof: seeing the honor of womē is such a nice & charie thing, that it is not lawful for thē so much as to thinke, much lesse to speake of many things, which men may freely both talke of & put in practise. Therfore those dames that mind to preserue their grauitie, must be silent not only in vnlawful, but euen in necessary matters, vnles it be very requisite that they should speake of them. To be short, that woman that is borne to vertue, and purposeth to performe hir dutie towards hir husband, must please him in all honest things, and in such as draw neerest to his inclination, she must loue him intirely, and esteeme of him aboue all others, she must be patient and know how to winke at, and to beare with many things done by him, she must be prudent to gouerne hir house, skilful in huswifrie to preserue hir goods, careful to bring vp hir children, faire-spoken and curteous to hir neighbors, plētiful in honorable works, a friend to honest com-

An excellent vse of looking glasses.

A woman must be silent and secret.

A woman must auoid filthie speeches and iestes.

A short summe of the duetie of a wife.

A woman muſt be deſirous of knowledge.

pany, and a very great enimie to the lightneſſe of youth. Moreouer ſhe muſt beſtow as much time as ſhe can ſteale from domeſticall affaires, in the ſtudie of notable ſayings, and of the morall ſentences of auncient Sages and good men. And it were a ſeemely and honorable thing to heare a woman ſpeake to hir husband in this ſort: Husband, you are my teacher, my gouernour and maſter in Philoſophie, and in the knowledge of moſt excellent and heauenly ſciences. For by ſuch honeſt occupations, women are withdrawen and turned aſide from other vnworthy exerciſes, whereunto we ſee them ſo apt and inclined now a daies, which maketh them very offenſiue, as plaies, dancing, maſking, hunting, and diſcharging of harquebuzes, with ſuch other dealings very vnmeete for their ſexe. Whereas if in lieu of all theſe things a wife would embrace the loue of knowledge, ſo far foorth as hir wit and leaſure require, & as hir husband ſhall like of, ſhe ſhould be partaker not only of the floures and ſongs, but alſo of the fruits, which the Muſes bring foorth and beſtow vpon them that loue letters and Philoſophie: which will greatly helpe hir towards the leading of a happy life with hir husband. Now conſidering that loue is alwayes the wel-ſpring of euery good dutie, eſpecially between thoſe that are linked togither by mariage, (which ought to be ſo great in regard of the wife, that the ciuill law and law of nations, will haue a woman folow hir husband, although he haue neither fire nor place to reſort vnto, or be baniſhed and driuen from place to place) let vs here call to remembrance ſome notable examples of the great loue that hath been in vertuous women towards their husbandes, as well when they were aliue, as after their death, by refuſing to ouer-liue them. Queene *Hipſicrates* the wife of king *Mithridates* cōmeth firſt to mind, who bare ſuch loue towards hir husband, that polling hir ſelfe for his ſake (although ſhe was yong and very faire) ſhe acquainted hir ſelfe with the wearing of armour, and rode with him to the war. And when he was ouercome by *Pompey*, ſhe accompanied him in his flight through all Aſia, whereby ſhe mollified the griefe and

Exerciſes vnſeemly for women.

What great loue the law of nations requireth in a wife towards hir husband.

Examples of the great loue of women towards their husbands. *Hipſicrates.*

and sorow which he receiued by his losse. *Triaria*, wife to *Lucius Vitellius* brother to the emperour *Vitellius*, seeyng hir husband in a daungerous battell, thrust hir selfe amongst the souldiours to beare him company, and to helpe him both in death and life, and fought as well as the valiauntest amongst them. When king *Admetus* his wife sawe hir husband very sicke, and heard the answere of the oracle, which was, *That he could not recouer except one of his best friendes died for him, she slew hir selfe*. When the wife of *Ferdinando Gonçales* a prince of Italy, knewe that hir husband was prisoner, and in daunger of death, she went to visite him, and putting on his apparell, abode in his place, whilest he beyng clothed in hir garmentes saued him-selfe. *Zenobia* Queene of Armenia, seeing hir husband *Radamistus* flie from a battell, and not beyng able to follow him bicause she was great with childe, besought him to kill hir. Which when he thought to haue done, she was striken downe with the blowe of a sworde: but being taken of the enimie and throughly healed, *Tyridates* the king, who had vanquished hir husband, maried hir afterward for the great loue that was in hir. The princesse *Panthea* loued hir husband *Abradatus* so well, that when he died in *Cyrus* campe, she slue hir selfe vpon his bodie. *Artemisia* Queene of Caria, for the great loue she bare to hir husband that was dead, dranke all the ashes of his bodie, meanyng thereby to be his sepulchre. When *Iulia* the wife of *Pompey* sawe a gowne of hir husbandes all bloodie wherewith he had offered some sacrifice, she imagined that he was slayne, and so died presently after. When *Porcia* the wife of *Brutus* heard of hir husbandes death, and perceiued that hir kinsfolkes tooke away all meanes of killing hir self, she drew hote burning coles out of the fire, and threw them into hir mouth, which she closed so fast, that shee was choked thereby. *Sulpitia* beyng carefully restrained by hir mother *Iulia* from seeking hir husband *Lentulus* in Sicilia, whither hee was banished, shee went thither beyng apparelled like a slaue, banishing hir selfe

Triaria.

The wife of Ferdinando Goncales.

Zenobia.

Panthea.

Artemisia.

Iulia.

Porcia.

Sulpitia.

voluntarily rather than she would forsake hir husband.

Octauia. *Octauia* sister to *Augustus*, and wife to *Antonius*, notwithstanding the iniurie that hir husband offered vnto hir in preferring before hir a Queene that was nothing so yong or faire as she, bare such great loue towards him, that setting aside al intreatie of hir brother, she would neuer leaue hir husbands house, but stil brought vp his children by his first mariage as carefully as if they had been hir owne. Moreouer she sought by all means to reconcile those two emperors, saying, that it was an vnworthy thing, that two so mightie princes, the one for the euil intreatie of his sister, the other bicause he was bewitched by a wicked woman, should warre one against another. As this vertuous princes had taken hir iourney as far as Athens, where she ment to take shipping, & to seeke out hir husband being then in war with the Parthians, bringing with hir souldiers, mony, furniture, & other munitions, he sent hir word that she should passe no farther, but stay for him at Rome. This she performed, and sent him all the aboue named things, not seeming at all to be offended with him. Whereas he in the mean while skorned hir, sporting himself with *Cleopatra* in the sight and knowledge of all men, and afterward delt worse with hir when the warre was begunne between him and *Augustus*. For he sent a commandement to *Octauia* at Rome to go out of his house, which she presently obeied, albeit she would not therefore forsake any of hir husbands children, but wept and bewailed hir mishap which had brought hir to be a principal cause of that ciuill warre.

Aria. *Aria*, the wife of *Cecinna*, followed in a little boate vnto Rome hir husband, who was taken prisoner bicause he had borne armes against the emperour *Claudius*. Being there condemned to die, she would haue borne him companie, but that hir sonne in lawe and hir daughter stayed hir. When she sawe that, she strake hir head so hard agaynst the wall, that she fell downe amazed: and beyng come to hir selfe agayne, sayde vnto them: You see that you can not hinder me from dying cruelly, if ye stay mee from a more gentle death.

They

They being astonished at the fact, and at hir words, suffered hir to do what she would: who then ran to the place where hir husband was, and shewe hir selfe first, after she had spoken thus courageously vnto him. I am not, *Cecinna*, sorie for that which is done, but bicause the race of thy life must end. When *Seneca* was condemned to die by *Nero*, and had libertie to chuse what kind of death he would, he caused his veines to be opened in a bath. His wife *Paulina* of hir owne accord did the like to hir self in the same bath, mingling togither their blood for a greater vnion and coronation of their long and perfect loue. Whereof *Nero* being aduertised, presently commanded that hir veines should be stopt, constraining hir thereby to liue a little longer in continuall griefe. *Hipparchia*, a very faire & rich woman, was so farre in loue with the Philosopher *Crates*, who was hard-fauoured and poore, that she maried him against all hir kinsfolks minde, and followed him throughout all the countrie, being poorely apparelled & barefoote, after the Cynick fashion. *Pisca* seeing hir husband pine away daily through a great and strange disease, which he had concealed from hir of long time, hauing at the length knowledge thereof, and perceiuing it to be incurable, she was mooued with pitie for the euill which he suffered, whom she loued better than hir selfe: and thereupon counselled him with great courage to assuage his griefe by death, and the better to stirre him vp thereunto, she offered to beare him companie. Whereunto hir husband agreeing, they imbraced each other, and cast themselues headlong into the sea from the top of a rocke. The king of Persia taking prisoner the wife of *Pandoërus*, whom he had vanquished and slaine, would haue maried hir. But she slew hir selfe after she had vttered these words: God forbid, that to be a Queene, I should euer wed him that hath beene the murderer of my deere husband *Pandoërus*. *Camma*, a Greekish woman, of the countrie of Galatia, bare such loue to hir husband, euen after his death, that to be reuenged of a great Lorde called *Synorix*, who had put hir husband to death, that he might marrie hir, she

The manner of Seneca his death.

Paulina.

Hipparchia.

Pisca.

Pandoërus wife.

Camma.

ſhe gently denied him at the firſt when he became a ſuter vnto hir, but after, in proceſſe of time, ſhe conſented thervnto. When they were come to the Temple of *Diana* to ſolemnize the mariage, before the aultar ſhe powred forth a little of that drinke, which ſhe had prepared in a cup, and drinking part thereof, ſhe gaue the reſidue to *Synorix* to drinke. The liquor was made of water, honie, and poiſon, mingled togither. When ſhe ſaw that he had drunke all, ſhe fetched a great and loud grone, and vſing reuerence towards the Goddeſſe, ſayd vnto hir: I call thee to witnes, that I haue not ouer-liued *Sinatus* my husband, for any other intent than to ſee this daie: neither haue I enioyed any good or pleaſure in all this time, wherein I haue ſince liued, but only in hope, that one daie I ſhould be able to reuenge his death, which being nowe perfourmed by me, I goe cheerefully and with ioy vnto my husband. But as for thee moſt wicked man (quoth ſhe to *Synorix*) take order now, that thy friends and kinsfolkes, in ſteede of a wedding bed, prepare a buriall for thee. And ſo within a little while after, both of them ended their daies. *Macrina*, the wife of *Torquatus*, loued hir husband ſo feruently, and was ſo ſorowfull for his abſence, that for one yeeres ſpace, wherein he was gone vpon a voyage, ſhe neuer went out of hir houſe, nor looked out of hir windowe. We read that many women of Lacedemonia, when their husbands were condemned to die for conſpiring againſt their countrie, came one euening clothed in blacke to the priſon, vnder colour to take their finall farewell of them: and changing their apparell, they couered their husbands with their vailes, who went out and left their wiues in their place, which ſuſtaining the puniſhment due to others, were beheaded, contrarie to humanitie, not without great patience ſhewed on their behalfe. Hiſtories are plentifull in ſhewing the great loue of women towards their husbands. Yea, I will not be afraid to ſpeake it, men are farre inferior vnto them in perfection of loue. Wherefore we will conclude that it is eaſier for them to be dutifull to their husbands, whome,

Macrina.

Men are inferior to women in perfection of loue.

as we haue alreadie ſayd, if they loue, eſteeme, and honour, no doubt but they are the chiefe cauſe of all peace and concord in their families, and of the proſperous ſucceſſe of their houſhold affaires, to the quietnes and contentation of their happie life, and to the immortall praiſe and honour of their good name.

The ende of the twelfth dates worke.

THE THIRTEENTH DAIES WORKE.

Of the dutie of the Head of a familie in other parts of the houſe, namely, in the Parentall, Maiſterlie, and Poſſeſſorie part. Chap. 49.

ASER. IT is not without great ſhew of reaſon which many Philoſophers maintaine, that the Oeconomicall ſcience, that is to ſay, the art of ruling a houſe well, is one of the chiefeſt partes of policie, which is the art of skilfull gouerning a great multitude of men. The reaſon is, bicauſe a Towne or Citie is nothing elſe but an aſſemblie of manie families and houſes togither, which will be verie harde for one onelie man to order well and iuſtlie, if he knowe not howe to ſet that order in his familie, which is neceſſarie, and to guide it with ſound reaſon and true prudence. Moreouer, when families are well gouerned, no doubt but it goeth well with the Common-wealth, as we ſee, that

The definition of Oeconomie and of Policie.

that the whole bodie is in good helth, when euery seueral member doth his dutie. Nowe that we haue considered particularly of that which concerneth the first and principall part of a house, and of the mutuall dutie of the husband and wife, I thinke (my Companions) we are to beginne this daies worke with instructing our selues in that which the head of a familie ought to keepe and obserue in other parts of his house, mẽtioned before by vs, namely, his children, seruants, and possessions, seeing we are taught by the Apostle, that he which prouideth not for his owne, and namely for them of his houshold, denieth the faith, and is woorse than an Infidell.

Euery head of a familie must prouide for his houshold. 1. Tim. 5. 8.

AMANA. Euery house must be ruled by the eldest, as by a king, who by nature commandeth ouer euery part of the house, and they obey him for the good preseruation thereof.

ARAM. Euery man by right (saith *Homer*) hath rule ouer his wife and children, and he is not woorthy to haue any, that wanteth sufficient vertue and prudence to gouerne them well. Go to then (ACHITOB) let vs learne of thee what belongeth to the parts of a house now mentioned by vs.

ACHITOB. *Anacharsis*, one of the wise men of Grecia, said, that a house is not to be called good, bicause it is well built, and of good stuffe, but men must iudge thereof by that which is within, & which belongeth to the house, as namely, by the children, wife, & seruants: with whome, being wise and well qualified, if the father of a familie communicateth, and imparteth of that which he hath, whether it be in the bottome of a caue, or vnder the shade of a bough, he may be said to dwell in a good and happie house. Therefore it is no small happines and felicitie for them that are called to the gouernment of a familie, when they see it wise and well nurtured in euery part. But as nerues and sinewes, being the instruments of sence and motion, proceede and are deriued from the head, which by them infuseth into all parts of the bodie, the *Animal* spirite, without which the bodie could not exercise any

What maketh a house to be called good.

naturall

naturall function of ſence and moouing: ſo the parts of a houſe commonly receiue the habite of manners and conditions from the father of a family, as from the head thereof: but then eſpecially, when he is prudent and wiſe, and imploieth his care, diligence, and induſtrie thereupon. Therefore a good houſholder muſt beginne the right gouernment of his houſe at himſelf, by letting his houſhold ſee, that he is prudent, chaſt, ſober, peaceable, but chiefly religious and godly: as alſo by bringing foorth plentifull fruits of his dutie towards thoſe that are vnder his charge. For as the anger and threatnings of the head of a familie aſtoniſheth his children and ſeruants, ſo his good workes harteneth them on to do well. Now, bicauſe there is varietie of houſes, whoſe difference is commonly taken from the goods and abilitie of men, which abound to ſome, and are wanting to others, I will propound heere, as my purpoſe and meaning was before, a meane houſe, in all pointes perfect, and as we vſe to ſay, neither poore nor rich, from which notwithſtanding both great and ſmall may draw inſtruction for their gouernment. We haue alreadie ſeene, that a houſe is diuided into foure partes, whereof the coniugall or wedlocke part hath beene alreadie handled by vs. Now we muſt conſider of the other three, I meane of the Parentall, Maiſterlie, and Poſſeſſorie parts. And I thinke it will be beſt to follow that order which is moſt vſuall in the perfection and progreſſe of mariage, and in the accompliſhment of a houſe, which, both before and after the conſummation of mariage, is firſt compounded of the goods and wealth of men: next of men-ſeruants and maid-ſeruants: and laſtly, it is made abſolute and perfect by thoſe children which God ſendeth. The Poſſeſſorie part then is that which we call mooueable goods, immooueables, and ſuch goods as mooue of themſelues. This part of a houſe (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) belongeth ſo to Oeconomie, that it ſhould go before it, and ſerue it, to the end that victuals, and other neceſſarie goods, might not be wanting in the houſe: wherin otherwiſe (ſaith the ſame Philoſopher) a man can not liue

All good order in a houſe proceedeth from the head of the familie.

Where a houſholder muſt begin to rule his houſe well.

The progreſſe of a familie before it come to perfection.

What a houſholder muſt firſt looke vnto.

liue, much leſſe liue well. For as in arts that haue their limits determined, it is neceſſary that conuenient and proper inſtruments be had to finiſh their woorke: ſo muſt it be in Oeconomie, in which goods are inſtruments ſeruing to maintaine life: and to poſſeſſe goods, is nothing elſe but to haue a multitude of inſtruments ſeruing that action wherein life conſiſteth. We may diuide all theſe goods into two principall kindes: namely, into thoſe that come from the father to the ſon by ſucceſſion, which we call Patrimonie, and thoſe that are gotten by induſtrie and labor. It is the dutie of the father of a familie to preſerue that for his, which his predeceſſors left him, to haue the vſe thereof onely as they had, and to vſe them well, as a faithful gardian and diſpoſer of thoſe goods which God giueth for the ſuccour & profit of his creatures. Yea, from that day wherin he taketh a wife, & much more when he hath children, he muſt thinke that he is no more Lord of his goods, but onely a Tutor: & that if they ſhould be waſted or loſt through his negligence, he were no leſſe faulty than he that ſhould ſteale them. Secondly, he muſt encreaſe his patrimonie by trauel, care, & good husbandry: he muſt get goods for his familie, by iuſt & ciuill meanes, obſeruing decencie and honeſtie in all things. After the firſt functions of a holy & chriſtian dutie, which are to go before, & to be ioined inſeparably to al the actions of life, as elſe-where we haue handled, & ſhal ſee more heerafter: we find two ſorts of getting, the one natural, the other artificiall. The naturall way conſiſteth in paſturing, or feeding of cattell, in tillage, in hunting & fiſhing, vnto which we may ſay, that an honeſt praie and bootie, agreeable to nature, is ioined, if it be practiſed in iuſt and lawfull wars. Heerunto alſo is referred the vent and ſale of his increaſe, that thoſe things which are ſold, and whereof we haue abundance, may procure vs from elſe-where ſuch other things as we want. The artificiall kind of getting, conſiſteth in workes, artes, handicrafts, trafficke, and marchandize, exerciſed for gaine. The end of which kind of getting ought to be aſwell publike profite as priuate:

Therefore

Goods are inſtruments tending to the maintenance of life.

Two ſorts of goods.

What intereſt a father of a familie hath in his goods.

Two ſorts of getting goods.

The end of arts, ſciences, and trafficke.

Therefore whatsoeuer is grounded vpon domestical profite onely in this second sort of acquisition, is to be auoided and misliked. For whereas it was first brought in of necessitie to helpe men to liue, this were craftily to turne it to another ende, and to applie it onely to one priuate mans gaine, not without the oppressing and detriment of our neighbour, for whose benefite a man must labour no lesse than for his owne. Amongst filthie gaines, Vsurie is most to be misliked and most detestable, which the Hebrewes call biting, and which doth not onelye gnaw the debtor to the bones, but also sucketh out all the blood and marrow from the bones, engendring monie of monie, contrarie to nature, and to that intent for which monie was first brought in: namely, that exchange might be made of such things as are vneasie to be transported, and that the commoditie of trafficke might be continued for publike profite. Nowe a daies there is no trade so common, as that of vsurie: although it be altogither reprooued by the lawes of God & men. And surely we haue a goodlie cloake to couer the shame thereof, I meane the name of * intereſt, or profite of monie, when as it hath beene alwaies vnpleasant in the sight of God, who forbiddeth all kinde of vsurie whatsoeuer it be, and therefore it ought not to haue any place amongst men that liue vprightly. There was a lawe amongst the ancient Grecians and Romanes, which forbadde all vsurie surmounting one pennie for a hundred by the yeere, and they called it Vnciarie Vsurie. If any Vsurer tooke greater profite, hee was condemned to restore foure-fold: bicause (as *Cato* sayth) they iudged, that a Vsurer was a more wicked and vile man than a theefe, who was condemned but in double as much. Againe, this lawe was since that brought to a halfe-penie a yeere among the Romanes, and not longe after, Vsurie was cleane taken awaie by the lawe Genutia, bicause of vsuall seditions which arose through the contempt of lawes concerning Vsurie. Whereupon, we may note, that what moderation soeuer is appoynted in Vsurie, if men

Biting vsurie a detestable gain.

Why monie was first inuented and vsed.

* The question of intereſt hath waightie reasons on both sides.

An ancient law against vsurie.

The law Genutia forbad all vsurie.

men be ſuffered to take neuer ſo little, they will aſcend to the higheſt degree of all. Therefore we muſt conforme our ſelues to the law of God, which taketh away all libertie heerein ſo plainly from vs, that it cannot be called into queſtion. Concerning arts exerciſed for gaine, although there are ſome of them very vile and contemptible, yet thoſe alſo after a ſort reſpect publike profite. But thoſe arts wherein there is more prudence, or no ſmall commoditie, as Phiſicke, Architecture, and other points of knowledge in liberall arts and ſciences, are honeſt and ſeemely for them that exerciſe them according to their eſtate. Now in all theſe diuers ſorts of getting, and in many others about which men are but too diligent, husbandrie is very commendable, yea, nothing is more fruitfull, nothing more pleaſant, nothing more woorthie and beſeeming a free man, and nothing more agreeable to nature. We will note therfore touching this part of a houſe, called Poſſeſſorie, that it belongeth to the dutie of the father of a familie to attend diligently to his houſe, carefully to prouide for his familie whatſoeuer is needfull & neceſſarie for it, and to preſerue for the ſame that which is already gotten, onely by well vſing the poſſeſſion therof. This is that which is ſignified by the Greeke worde οἰκονομία, or good husbandrie: which is as much to ſay, as induſtrie in getting goods, and diſcreete gouernment in ſpending them to good purpoſe. And truly he that hath no care ouer his goods and houſhold, will be eaſily perſwaded to liue vniuſtly, and to take that which belongeth to another. For ſloth and vnwillingnes to do any thing, is the beginning and wel-ſpring of all iniuſtice. And ſo, whileſt a good father of a family laboreth to profit euery one, he muſt alſo be carefull for himſelfe and his. Let vs now come to the ſecond part of a houſe, called the Maiſterlie part, which comprehendeth vnder it men-ſeruants and maid-ſeruants. If prudence and reaſon are moſt neceſſary in all parts of houſe-keeping, their effects are well woorth the noting, and to be deſired in this part, of which we will now intreate. For power and authoritie are of themſelues too

Exod. 22. 25. Deut. 23. 19.

The praiſe of husbandrie.

What good husbandrie is.

Of the Maiſterlie part of a houſe.

too surlie and imperious in him that knoweth not how to represse them wisely: yea, they are easily turned into intollerable arrogancie, if the bridle of reason restraine them not. Therfore seeing we liue in a free countrie, wherin the ancient absolute power of life & death ouer slaues hath no place, they, to whome God hath granted this fauour to excell, and to goe before others, whether it be in gifts of nature, or in graces of the soule, or otherwise in the goods of Fortune, they, I say, must in no wise contemn those that seeme to haue beene forgotten and stripped of all these good things. Besides, a father of a familie must consider, that he ruleth not slaues, but free persons. Therfore he must vse their seruice, although not franckly for nothing, yet as that which commeth from a willing and free mind, not dealing roughly with them vpon euery occasion, but rather handling them gently, as the creatures of God made after his image: seeing the poorest man is created for the selfe same principall ende that the mightiest and richest is. *Aristotle* granteth this, that although a Maister is not bound in anie respect to his Vassaile, so farre foorth as he is a Vassaile, yet, bicause slaues are men, he is of opinion, that all lawes of humanitie ought to be kept with them. What then ought we to doe to such as submit themselues freely vnto vs, to whome also we are vnited and linked by christian charitie, as to brethren and inheritours of the same goods and promises? And yet we see that maisters fall into bitter anger, crie out, offer outrage, vse violence, and lay handes of their seruants vpon small or no occasion at all, as if they were vnreasonable creatures, yea handling them woorse than they doe their brute beastes. That this is true, we see not one of them but he hath great care that his horses be well fed, dailie looked vnto, harnessed and decked. Besides, he taketh great heede that they be not tyred, nor ouer-laboured: but as for their seruants, they neither spare nor comfort them one whit, nor haue any respect to their ease and rest. For mine owne part, I thinke that such maisters deserue rather to be seazed vpon, as

Instructions touching the dutie of a maister towards his seruants.

The poore and rich are both created to one end.

Against rigorous maisters.

mad men, than admonished as sociable persons. I wish therefore, that euery maister of a house had these two properties in him: namely, that with all clemencie and meekenes he would vse the seruice & obedience of them that are vnder him, by considering of them with reason, and by looking rather to the good affection and desert of his seruant, than to the great and profitable seruice, which he draweth from him. The other point is, that the maister vsing the sweate and seruice of his, should not seeme to be displeased, teastie, or hard to content, but rather alwaies shewe foorth a gentle kinde of fauour and curtesie, or at least a seuere familiaritie, seasoned with a cheerefull and merrie countenance. Whosoeuer shewe themselues to be such men, besides the glorie which they shall obtaine by being taken generally for gentle and curteous men, their houshold seruants will loue them the more, and will reuerence them as their fathers, not standing in such awe and feare of them, as men commonly doe of intollerable tyrants. Moreouer, as this assembly of a maister and of seruants tendeth, as euery other societie also, vnto some good end, the maister hauing regard to that which concerneth him and his house, and his seruants to the hope of profite and commoditie; order must be taken, that they, which haue with all carefulnes discharged their dutie, and yeelded that fidelitie and diligence that is requisite to their superiour, be not defrauded of the price, reward, hire, and desert of their trauels. For if we thinke it great villanie to rob another man, let vs esteeme it nothing lesse to keepe backe the fruite of life, and to defraud the labours, perils, watchings, and excessiue cares of our seruants, in not recompencing them. Therefore concerning this part of a house, called the Maisterlie part, we will note this, that as the Ancients made their slaues free, thereby to drawe from them voluntarie and vnconstrained seruice, and to deliuer themselues of that feare and distrust, which they alwaies had of their slaues, accounting that prouerbe true: *As many enimies as slaues:* so ought we to bring vp and to nourish our

Two properties requisite in a maister.

Seruants must not be defrauded of their pay.

our hired and mercenary seruants, which serue vs in these daies with a free and liberall kind of loue, by dealing graciously with them, by perswading them with reason, and by rewarding them liberally: and this will induce them to serue, honour, and esteeme vs, as if our weale and woe were wholy common with them. The last part of the house remaineth nowe to be intreated of, which is the perfection thereof, and is called the Parentall part, comprehending vnder it, the Father and Mother, or one of them, with the children. The head of a familie (saith *Aristotle*) commandeth ouer wife and children, but ouer both, as free persons, and yet not after one and the same manner of commanding, but ouer the wife, according to gouernment vsed in a popular state, and ouer the children, royally or Prince-like. This commandement ouer children, is called royall, bicause he that begetteth, commandeth by loue, and by the prerogatiue of age, which is a kind of kinglie commanding. Therefore *Homer* calleth *Iupiter* the father of Men and of the Gods, that is king of all. For a king must excell by nature, and must be of the same kind, as it is with the aged in respect of the yoonger sort, and with him that begetteth, in regard of his child, ouer whome he ought to be as carefull, as a king is ouer his subiectes. Vnto this part of the house a Father of a familie must haue a carefull eye, bicause heereuppon chiefly dependeth the honour and quietnes of his house, and the discharge of his dutie towardes God and his countrie: namely, by making his children honest and of good conditions. As the desire and pricke of nature (sayth *Dion*) driueth vs forward to beget children: so is it a testimonie of true loue and charitie, to bring them vppe, and to intreate them after a free manner, and to instruct them well. Therefore a Father of a familie shall satisfie his dutie concerning this parte of a house, by the good education and instruction of his children, and by exercising them in vertue. For manners and conditions are qualities imprinted in vs by longe tracte of tyme, and vertues are gotten by custome

Of the Parentall part of a house.

The difference betweene commanding ouer a wife and ouer children.

The word Father is a kingly and sacred title

ſtome, care, and diligence. Heereafter we are to conſider more amply and particularly of the inſtruction of youth, and therefore at this time we will content our ſelues with the giuing of certaine generall precepts, woorthie to be diligently obſerued of euery good father of a familie towards his children. For in vaine (ſayth *Plato*) doth he hope for a harueſt, that hath beene negligent in ſowing. I ſay, he muſt be paſſing carefull, and imploie all poſſible labour, that his children and youth may be well inſtructed, bicauſe they are the ſeede-corne of the citie: inſomuch that carefull heed is to be had euen of their words, geſtures, ſportes, and other actions, that nothing may leade them vnto vice. For otherwiſe if no reckoning be made of this age, a man ſhall labour no leſſe in vaine to preſcribe good lawes for them afterward, than the Phiſition doth that miniſtreth plentie of medicines to a diſeaſed partie that keepeth no diet at all. The beſt giftes of nature, if they be not well trimmed and looked vnto, become naught at the firſt, and afterward paſſing euill. Therefore a father of a familie ought not to be more carefull of anie thing than of the bringing vp of his children, according to whoſe good or euill education, the whole houſe will be gouerned. This firſt inſtitution of their life from the firſt age, is called diſcipline, which by little and little leadeth the ſpirite of the childe to the loue of vertue, euen of that vertue, whereby, beeing come to mans eſtate, he knoweth both howe to command, and howe to obeie, and to followe after nothing but that which the lawe commandeth and affirmeth to be good. The vices of children are ſwordes which paſſe through the hartes of their Fathers, who are for the moſte parte the cauſe of them through their negligence in correcting them, and ouer-great libertie which they graunt to this age that needeth a ſtaye and bridle, yea ſpurres, whereby to bee broken and made tractable, as men vſe to deale with yoonge Coltes. Therefore *PLATO* ſayde, that it is not in our owne power to cauſe our children to bee borne ſuche as wee woulde haue

Youth is the ſeede-corne of the Commonwealth.

The giftes of nature are ſoone corrupted.

haue them, but yet that it lieth in vs to make them good. Whereunto this will be a good meane, if from their yong yeeres we imprint in their harts a loue, feare, & reuerence of vs. For if these thinges concurre not togither in the childes hart, he will neuer yeeld due obedience to his father. *Pythagoras* said, that a prudent father was better to be liked than a cholerike, bicause prudence serueth to procure loue and good will in those that ought to obey: whereas choler maketh them odious that command, and causeth their admonitions to profite but little. For this cause *Aristotle* requireth perfection of Morall vertue in a father of a familie, saying: that his office is a kind of building, & that reason is as it were the builder, by whome he guideth & bringeth that Oeconomical worke to his perfection. And in deede the Ancients tooke great paines in teaching their children themselues, not suffering them to be farre from their presence during their youth: bicause they iudged (and that vpon good reason) that son-like respect & loue were good pricks to driue them forward to the studie of vertue. And no doubt but if a skilfull father would execute this dutie of instructing his child in knowledge and learning, he would conceiue and take it a great deale better of him than of any other. Therefore *Marcus Portius Cato* would needs be schoole-maister to his owne children, which institution did greatly auaile them, not so much bicause he was *Cato*, as bicause he was their father, whose vertue they imitated. *Iulius Caesar* adopted his nephew *Octauian*, & brought him vp himselfe. Which did him so much good, that being come to the empire, he was called *Augustus* for his goodnes. He also performed as much afterward to his nephews *Lucius* & *Caius*, whome in like maner he had adopted. *Noah*, *Lot*, *Iacob*, and all the fathers, instructed their children themselues: and God commanded the Israelites in the wildernes to teach their children the lawe, which themselues had receiued from their fathers. To this purpose an ancient man said, that it was the greatest sloth that could be, for a man to be negligent towards his children, & to teach them nothing. Great

A father must be loued, feared, & reuerenced of his children.

The office of a father resembled to building.

A child will learne better of his father than of any other.

M. Cato.

I. Caesar.

Augustus.

Noah, *Lot*, *Iacob*, &c.

God commandeth fathers to instruct their children.

heede therefore must be taken, that they be not left to the gouernment of their owne fantasie, considering that youth is very tender to resist vice, and of it selfe vncapable of counsell. *With-hold not* (saith the Wise man) *correction from the child: for in smiting with the rod, thou shalt deliuer his soule from hell. He that spareth his rod, hateth his sonne, but he that loueth him, chasteneth him betime.* As an vntamed horse becommeth fierce: so a child suffred to do what he list, waxeth rebellious. If thou bring vp thy son delicately, he shall make thee afraid: & if thou play with him, he shall bring thee to heauines. Giue him no libertie in his youth, and winke not at his follie. Bow downe his necke while he is yoong, and beate him on the sides while he is a child, least he waxe stubborn, & be disobedient vnto thee, & so bring sorowe to thine hart. And yet I would not that fathers should be ouer-sharpe & hard to their children, not bearing with any fault in them. But as Phisitions mingling & steeping their bitter drugs with some sweete iuice, haue found the meanes to make a passage for profite through the middest of pleasure: so must fathers intermingle the sharpnes of their reprehensions & corrections with the facilitie of clemencie, & somtime let loose a little the bridle to the desires of their children, so that they wander not far from that which becommeth them. Againe, they must by & by let downe the button, & hold them hard in with the bridle, but yet supporting gently and patiently their faults committed through youth, & not of malice. And if it be so that they cannot but be angry, at the least let their anger be presently appeased. For it is better that a father should be quickly angry (although that be an imperfection) so that he be soone pacified, than slowe to anger, and hardly brought to forgiue. But if a father be so seuere that he wil forget nothing, & be neuer reconciled, it is a great argument, that he hateth his children. And then he maketh himselfe vnworthy of so excellent & diuine a name, shewing foorth effects cleane contrary therunto: wheras parents commonly loue their children too much, & vse towards them rather too much lenitie, than iust seueritie.

Prou. 23. 13. 14. & 13. 24. Correction necessarie for children. Eccl. 30. 8. 9. 11. 12.

Seueritie must be mingled with clemencie in the correcting of children.

Oh

Oh how the father (saith *Seneca*, speaking of one that thrust his son out of his house) *cutteth off his limbs with great griefe, how many sighes he fetcheth in cutting them off, & how earnestly he wisheth to haue thē againe in their place?* Moreouer, fathers must haue a special care, that they commit no fault, nor omit any thing appertaining to their dutie, to the end they may be liuely examples to their children, that looking into their life, as into a cleare glasse, they may abstaine after their example frō speking any thing that bringeth shame. Againe we know, that all those fathers which lead an euill life, leaue not to themselues any courage so much as to reprooue their slaues onely, so far off are they, that they can frankly chide their children. And, which is woorst of al, by their naughty life they are vnto them in steed of maisters & counsellors of il-doing. For where old men are shameles, there it must needs be, that yoong men become impudent & graceles. Fathers therfore must striue to do whatsoeuer their dutie requireth, that their children may waxe wise and well qualified. This we may comprehend in fewe words: namely, if they bring them vp wel in their infancy, & let them haue due correction in their youth. Which two things being neglected of fathers, the faults of their children are for the most part iustly imputed vnto them. *Hely* the Priest was not punished for any sin which himselfe had committed, but bicause he winked at the sins of his children. *We read in the storie of the Heluetians or Switzers, of the iudgement of a tyrant condemned to death, where order was taken that the execution thereof should be done by the father, who was the cause of his euill education: that he might come to his death by the author of his life, and that the father might in some sort be punished for his negligence vsed towards his child.* Moreouer, they that haue many children, must be passing careful to bring them vp in mutuall friendship, causing them to giue each to other that honor and duty, vnto which nature bindeth them, and sharpely chastising those that in any respect offend therin. The Ephoryes of Lacedemonia long since cōdēned a notable citizen in a very great sum, when they vnderstood that he suffred two of his childrē to quarel togither.

The fathers life must be a mirrour of vertue to the child.

When fathers may be iustly charged with their childrens faults. 1. Sam. 3. 13.

The storie of a father appointed to execute his owne child.

A father must bring vp his children in mutuall loue.

ther. The best meane, which I find to auoid so great an euill, is to loue and intreat them all alike, and to accustom them to giue honour, dutie, and obedience one to another according to their degrees of age. They must remoue from them al partialities, and not suffer them to haue any thing seueral or diuided one from another, that as it were in one hart and will all things may be common amongst them. Example heerof was that good father of a familie *Ælius Tubero*, who had sixteene children of his owne bodie, all of them maried, and dwelling all in one house with their children, and liuing with him in all peace and concord. For the conclusion therefore of our present discourse, we learne, that a father of a familie must begin the gouernment of his house with himselfe, and become an example to his of all honestie & vertue. That he must not neglect the care of prouiding goods, & necessarie meanes for the maintenance of his familie, remembring alwaies that in nothing he go beyond the bounds of that seemelines and decencie, which dutie hath limited & prescribed vnto him. That he ought to loue & to intreat his seruants curteously, putting away threatnings (as it is said in the Scripture) and knowing that both their and his maister is in heauen, with whom there is no respect of persons. And for the last point, that it belongeth to his dutie to bring vp his children in the holie instruction and information of the Lord, not prouoking them to wrath, that God may be glorified, and he their father may reioice in the presence of his friends, and that his countrie generally may receiue benefit, profit, and commoditie.

Ælius Tubero.

Eph. 6. 9.

Of the dutie of children towards their parents: of the mutuall loue that ought to be among brethren: of the dutie of seruants towards their maisters. Chap. 50.

ACHITOB. VPon a day when one said in the hearing of *Theopompus* king of Sparta, that the estate of that citie was preserued in such flourishing manner,

maner, bicauſe the kings knew how to command wel, the prince replied that it was not ſo much for that cauſe, as bicauſe the citizens knew how to obey well. And to ſpeake the truth, to obey wel (as alſo the vertue of commanding) is a great vertue, and proceedeth from a nature, which being noble of it ſelfe, is holpen by good education. Therefore *Ariſtotle* ſaid, that it was neceſſarie that he which obeieth ſhould be vertuous as wel as he that commandeth. Now ſeeing we haue intreated of the dutie of a father and head of a familie, exerciſing his office vpon all the parts of his houſe, let vs now conſider of the dutie and obedience that is requiſite in ſeruaunts and children, and of the mutuall and reciprocall amitie which ought to be betweene brethren, deſirous to preſerue the bond of Oeconomical ſocietie in a happie eſtate. Obed great.

ASER. *Children* (ſaith the Scripture) *obey your parents in all things: for that is well pleaſing vnto the Lord. Honor thy father and mother* (which is the firſt commaundement with promiſe) *that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayeſt liue long on earth.* Col. 3. Eph. 6. 2. Obedience to parents commanded of God

AMANA. *Who ſo honoreth his father, his ſinnes ſhall be forgiuen him, and he ſhall abſtaine from them, and ſhall haue his daily deſires. And he that honoureth his mother, is like one that gathereth treaſure. And you ſeruaunts be ſubiect to your maſters with all feare, not onely to the good and curteous, but alſo to the froward.* Eccluſ. 3. 4. 5. 1. Pet. 2. 18. Obedience to maſters cõmanded of God.

Let vs then heare ARAM diſcourſe more at large of that which is here propounded vnto vs.

ARAM. Nature (ſaith *Plutark*) and the law which preſerueth nature, haue giuen the firſt place of reuerence and honor after *God*, vnto the father and mother: and men can not do any ſeruice more acceptable to God, than graciouſly and louingly to pay to their parents that begot thẽ, and to them that brought them vp, the vſurie of new and olde graces which they haue lent them: as contrarywiſe, there is no ſigne of an Atheiſt more certaine, than for a man to ſet light by, and to offend his parents. The father is the true image of the great and ſouereigne God, the vniuerſall father of all things, as *Proclus* the Academike ſaid. Reuerence to parents placed next to the honor due to God. A token of an Atheiſt. A father is the image of God.

ſaid. Yea the child holdeth his life of the father next after God, and whatſoeuer elſe he hath in this world. Therfore a man is forbidden to hurt others, but it is accounted great impietie and ſacriledge for a man not to ſhew himſelfe ready to doe and to ſpeake all things, I will not ſay, whereby they can receiue no diſpleaſure, but wherby they may not receiue pleaſure. And in deed one of the greateſt good turnes that we can do to thoſe of whom we are deſcended, is not to make them ſad. Which cannot poſſibly be done, if God the leader and guide to all knowledge diſpoſeth not the mind to all honeſt things. *The children of wiſdome are the Church of the righteous, and their offſpring is obedience and loue. Children, heare the iudgement of your father, and do thereafter, that you may be ſafe. For the Lord will haue the father honored of the children, and hath confirmed the authoritie of the mother ouer the children. He that honoureth his father ſhall haue ioy of his owne children, and when he maketh his prayer he ſhall be heard. He that honoureth his father ſhall haue a long life, and he that is obedient to the Lord, ſhall comfort his mother. He that feareth the Lord, honoreth his parents, and doth ſeruice vnto his parents, as vnto Lordes. Honor thy father and mother in deede and in word, and in all patience, that thou mayeſt haue the bleſſing of God, and that his bleſſing may abide with thee in the ende. For the bleſſing of the father eſtabliſheth the houſes of the children, & the mothers curſe rooteth out the foundations. Helpe thy father in his age, and griene him not as long as he liueth. And if his vnderſtanding faile, haue patience with him, and deſpiſe him not when thou art in thy full ſtrength. For the good intreatie of thy father ſhall not be forgotten, but it ſhall be a fortreſſe for thee againſt ſinnes. In the day of trouble thou ſhalt be remembred, thy ſinnes alſo ſhall melt away, as the ice in faire weather. He that forſaketh his father ſhall come to ſhame, and he that angreth his mother is curſed of God.* By theſe holy ſpeeches we ſee how we ought to loue, honor, reuerence, and feare our parents. This is comprehended vnder the firſt commandement of the ſecond table, and this only of all the ten articles of the Decalogue beareth his reward with him: albeit no recompence is due to him that is bound to do any thing, namely by

Ecclus. 3. 1. 2. &c.

The fift commandement only hath a ſpeciall promiſe annexed vnto it. Eph. 6. 2.

by ſo ſtraight a bond as this, whereof all lawes both diuine and humane are full, and the law of nature alſo doth plentifully inſtruct vs therein, as it hath been diligently obſerued of very Infidels, Ethnikes, and Pagans. Amongſt the Lacedemonians this cuſtome tooke place, that the younger ſort roſe vp from their ſeates before the aged. Whereof when one asked the cauſe of *Teleucrius*, It is (quoth hee) to the ende that in dooing this honour to whom it belongeth not, they ſhould learne to yeeld greater honour to their parents. The arrogancie of a childe was the cauſe, that one of the Ephories publiſhed the law of Teſtaments, whereby it was permitted to euery one from that time forward to appoint whom he would his heire. This lawe ſerued well to make children obedient and ſeruiceable to their parents, and to cauſe them to be afraid of diſpleaſing them. Among the Romanes the child was not admitted to plead his fathers will after his death by way of action, but onely by way of requeſt, vſing very humble, honourable, and reuerent ſpeech of his dead father, and leauing the whole matter to the diſcretion and religion of the Iudges. Contend not with thy father (ſaid *Pittacus* the wiſe) although thou haſt iuſt cauſe of complaint. And therefore *Teleucrius* aunſwered aptly to one, who complained vnto him, that his father alwayes ſpake ill of him: If (quoth he) there were no cauſe to ſpeake ill of thee he would not do it. So that it belongeth to the duetie of a childe to beleeue that his father hath alwayes right, and that age and experience hath indued him with greater knowledge of that which is good, than they haue that are of yoonger yeeres. *Philelphus* ſaid, that although we could not poſſibly render the like good turnes to our parents, nor ſatiſfie thoſe obligations by which we ſtand bound vnto them, yet we muſt doe the beſt we can vnto them: we muſt intreate them curteouſly and louingly, and not go farre from them: we muſt harken vnto their inſtructions, and be obedient to their commaundementes: wee muſt not gaine-ſay their deliberations and wiſs, no more than the will of God,

The law of Teſtaments to keep children in awe.

Children might not ſue out their liueries by way of action but of requeſt.

The dutie of children towards their parents.

God, whether it be that we are to depart from them, or to tary ſtill, or to enter into ſome calling agreeable to the will of God: we muſt not ſtand in contention with them whē they are angry, but ſuffer and beare patiently, if they threaten or correct vs. And if they be offended with vs when we thinke there is no cauſe why, yet we muſt not lay vs down to reſt before we haue by all kind of honeſt ſubmiſſions appeaſed them. Humilitie is always commendable, but eſpecially towards our parents. The more we abaſe our ſelues before them, the more we encreaſe in glory and honor before God and men. This is very badly put in vre at this day, when the ſonne doth not onely not honor his father, but euen diſhonoreth him, and is aſhamed of him. He is ſo farre from louing him, that he rather hateth him, ſo farre from fearing him, that contrarywiſe he mocketh and contemneth him: and in ſtead of ſeruing and obeying him, he riſeth vp and conſpireth againſt him. If he be angry, he laboureth to anger him more: brieflie, ſcarce any dutie of a child towards his father is ſeene now a daies. And if ſome point therof be found in any towards his father, yet is it cleane put out in regard of the mother: as if he that commanded vs to honour our father did not preſently ſay, *and thy mother*, vnto whō in truth we owe no leſſe honor, reſpect, and obedience, than to our father, as well in regard of the commaundement of God, as of the vnſpeakable paines and trauell which ſhe ſuffered in bearing and bringing vs into the world, in giuing vs ſucke, & in nouriſhing vs. But alas, what ſhall we ſay of thoſe that ſpoile their parents of their goods, houſes and commodities, and deſire nothing more than their death, that they may freely enioy, euen that which oftentimes their parents haue purchaſed for them? O execrable impietie! It is vnworthy to be once thought vpon amongſt vs, & the iudgement of God doth of it ſelfe ſufficiently appeere vpon ſuch curſed children. Whoſe behauiour that it may be more ōdious vnto vs, let vs learn of *Pittacus*, that our children will be ſuch towards vs as we haue been towards our parents. But let vs be more afraid to prouoke our fathers in

Humilitie towards parents moſt commendable.

The deſcription of a diſobedient childe.

The mother is no leſſe to be honoured than the father.

in such sort through our default vnto wrath, that in stead of blessing vs, they fall to curse vs. For (as *Plato* saith) there is no prayer which God heareth more willingly than that of the father for the children. And therfore special regard is to be had vnto the cursings and blessings, which fathers lay vpon their childrē. Which was the cause (as the scripture teacheth vs) that children in old time were so iealous one of another, who should carry away the fathers blessing, and that they stoode in greater feare of their curse, than of death it selfe. *Torquatus* the yonger being banished from his fathers house, slue himselfe for grief thereof. And to alleage another example out of the writings of auncient men, of the loue which they bare to their fathers, that of *Antigonus* the second sonne of *Demetrius*, is most woorthy to be noted. For when his father beyng prisoner sent him worde by one of his acquaintaunce to giue no credite, nor to make account of any letters from him, if it so fell out that *Seleucus*, whose prisoner he was, should compell him thereunto, and therefore that he should not deliuer vp any of those townes which he held, *Antigonus* contrarywise wrote to *Seleucus*, that he would yeeld vp vnto him all the landes he had vnder his obedience, and would also himselfe become his pledge, if he would deliuer his father. We may not here passe ouer with silence the rare example of daughter-like pietie, with which all the painters in the world haue set foorth their science, I meane of the daughter that gaue sucke to hir father who was condemned to die of that auncient and vsuall punishment of famine, which neuer suffereth a sound man to passe the seuenth day. The iailour espying this acte of pietie gaue notice thereof to the magistrates, which beyng knowen to the people, the daughter obtained pardon for hir fathers life. Moreouer, seeyng we must labour to obey and to please our parentes in all things, it is certaine that no action, gift or disposition in vs is more acceptable, or contenteth them better than to see good-will, and an assured and certaine friendship among brethren. Which may easily be knowen by these contrary

The blessings and cursings of parents towards their children is of great waight.

Torquatus.

An example of great loue in a child towards his father.

An other of a daughter towards hir father.

Children can not please their parents better than to loue one another.

contrary signes. For if parents are offended when their children offer wrong to a seruant whom they loue, and if hartie old men are grieued when no account is made of a dog or horse bred in their house, and are vexed whē they see their children mocke & despise those pastimes, stories, and other such like things which they sometime loued, is it likely that they could patiently abide to see their children whom they loue best of all, to hate one another, to be alwayes quarelling one with another, to speake ill one of an other, and in all their enterprises & actions to be diuided, and set one against another, and to seeke to supplant and defeat each other? I think no man will affirme it. Therefore contrarywise we may iudge, that those brethrē which loue and cherish one another, which ioine togither in one bond of self-same wils, studies & affections, that which nature had disioined & separated in bodies, & lastly, which haue all their talke, exercises, playes & pastimes common amongst them, they I say vndoubtedly giue occasion to their parents of a sweete and happy contentation in their old-age for this brotherly loue & friendship. For no father (saith *Plutarke*) euer loued learning, honour or siluer so much as he did his children. And therefore they neuer took so great pleasure to see their children good orators, rich, or placed in great offices and dignities, as to see thē loue one another. To this purpose one rehearseth that *Apollonida* mother to king *Eumenes* and to three other of his brethren, accounted hir selfe happy as she said, and gaue great thanks to God, not for hir riches or principalitie, but bicause she saw hir three yonger sons, as it were a gard to their elder brother, who liued freely and most safelie in the middest of them with their swordes by their sides, and their iauelins in their handes. Contrarywise, when king *Xerxes* perceiued, that his sonne *Ochus* lay in waite for his brethren to put them to death, he died for displeasure thereof. Therefore *Euripides* sayd, that warres betweene brethren are grieuous, but most of all to their parents: bicause he that hateth his brother and cannot abide to looke vpon him, must needes also be offended with

Apollonida.

Xerxes.

He that hateth his brother, hateth his parents.

with him that begate him, and hir that bare him. Whereas good children that loue one another for the loue of their parents, are so much the more prouoked to loue and honour them, saying and thinking alwayes with themselues, that they are bound vnto them for manie causes, but chiefly in regard of their brethren, who are vnto them as precious, pleasaunt and gracious an inheritaunce as any they could receiue from them. This ment *Homer* to teache vs when he brought in *Telemachus* reckoning this amongst his calamities, that *Iupiter* had ended the race of his father in him, and had not giuen him a brother. Let vs not then doubt, but that this is a certaine demonstration to the parents that their childe loueth them, when he loueth his brethren. And this also serueth for as great an example and instruction to his children to loue one an other, as any can be. Therefore let vs vtterly banish awaye all hatred of our brethren, which is both condemned by God who commendeth aboue all things concord vnto vs, and also a naughtie nurse for the olde age of fathers and mothers, and a worse for the yong yeeres of children. And seeing we are about this matter of brotherly loue, so precious and excellent, whereunto now adayes men haue so small regard, I thinke we ought to insist and stand longer vpon it, and alleage some precepts and examples of auncient men, whereby to confirme vs in it more and more. First, nature hath bred from our birth in regard of vs the beginning and occasion of this amitie, and hath taken away from our iudgement all former motions to procure loue. Therefore we must bevare that we seeke not too exactly after the faults and imperfections one of another, but couer & beare with them, bicause they are of our own blood: knowing that no mans life can be sincere & clean frō all vice, so that we were better to support the domestical imperfectiōs of our brethrē, thā to make trial of those that are in strangers. That brother (saith *Plutark*) that warreth with his brother, & seeketh to procure a stranger to friend, seemeth to me to cut off voluntarily a mēber of his owne

Telemachus.

The beginning of brotherly loue is in our natiuitie.

The benefite that commeth to brethren by hauing common friends.

owne flesh belonging to him, that he may apply and fasten to that place one taken from another mans body. We note also, that nothing more preserueth the loue of brethren, than to haue the same common friends. For seueral familiaritie, conuersation & company keeping turneth aside & alienateth them one from another, bicause thereby they acquaint themselues with diuers natures, and take pleasure in things that are contrary. But there is a further matter in it. For as tinne doth soder & ioine togither broken copper, by touching both ends of the broken pieces, bicause it agreeth as well with the one as with the other: so a common friend serueth to confirm, to preserue, to encrease & to reunite their mutual friendship and good-wil, when vpon light occasion somtimes it is as it were in danger of breaking. Which is so much the more to be feared, as it is certain, that all enmitie breedeth within our soules a thousand passions that torment vs, but especially that enmitie which a man beareth towards his brother, as that which is most prodigious and against nature. And as bodies that were once ioined togither, if the glew or bande waxe loose, may be reioined and glewed againe; but if a naturall bodie breake or rent asunder, it is hard to find any soder that is able to reunite and knit them well togither againe: so those mutual friendships, which we contract voluntarily with such as are not of kinne or allied vnto vs, if peraduenture they fall asunder sometimes, may easily be vndertaken againe, but when brethren are once estranged and fallen from that loue whereby nature doth necessarily linke them one with another, they are hardly reconciled againe togither. And if they be friendes againe, yet it is alwayes with some distrust and suspicion. Questionles it is impossible but that affaires should breed in these times wherein we liue many occasions of dissention and debate betweene brethren, namely, for goods and successions, as this worde of *Parting* importeth, and bringeth with it diuision, euery one being desirous to haue his owne. But herein also they must suffer their matters to fight by themselues, without adding any head-

Enmitie between brethren is prodigious & vnnaturall.

It is a hard matter to reconcile brethren once fallen at variance.

How brethren must behaue themselues in the partition of lands & goods.

strong

ſtrong paſſion, couetouſneſſe, or choler, which are as a hooke that taketh hold of them, and ſeeketh to ſet them togither by the eares. They muſt, as it were in a balance, conſider iointly togither on which ſide right and equitie declineth, and as ſoone as they can poſſible, let them remit the iudgement and deciding of their controuerſies to the arbitrement of ſome good men. Yea, a good brother ought rather to reioyce and to boaſt that he hath ouercome and gone beyond his brother, in gracious behauior, in curteſie, in voluntarily giuing of place, & in euery good dutie towards him, than in the diuiſion of ſome goods. Now let vs conſider of ſome notable examples amongſt the ancients, of great brotherly loue. Although we had ſearched all hiſtories, yet could we not finde a more memorable act, or woorthier to be ſet foorth at this day, and to be rather followed, eſpecially of the greater ſort, who quarell for their poſſeſſions and reuenues, than that which fell out betweene the children of *Darius* monarch of the Perſians. *Ariamenes* the eldeſt, and *Xerxes* the younger, being in great ſtrife togither for the ſucceſſion of the empire, the eldeſt alleaged his birth-right, the yonger, that he was the ſonne of *Atoſſa*, daughter to *Cyrus* the great, and that he was borne ſince his father was crowned king, and ſo next inheritour of the kingdome now that *Cambiſes* was dead. Each of them had great confederates, and many Perſian lordes were diuided into factions about this matter. But *Ariamenes* came out of Media, not in armes to make warre, although hee had greate meanes thereunto, but onely with his ordinarie traine, as one that purpoſed to purſue his right by way of iuſtice. *Xerxes* before his brothers comming, exerciſed in Perſia all duties belonging to a king: but as ſoone as his brother was arriued, he willingly put off his kingly diademe and hat, and went out to meete him and to imbrace him. After that he ſent preſents vnto him, with commaundement giuen to thoſe that bare them, to ſay vnto him in this maner: *Xerxes* thy brother honoreth thee now with theſe preſents, but if by the ſentence and iudgement of the

Examples of brotherly loue.

Ariamenes.

Xerxes.

princes and lordes of Perſia he be declared king, his will is that thou ſhouldeſt bee the ſecond perſon in Perſia after him. *Ariamenes* returned this aunſwere: I receyue my brothers giftes with all my harte, and thinke that the kingdome of Perſia belongeth to me: but as concerning my brethren, I will giue them that dignitie and honour that is due vnto them next to my ſelfe, and to *Xerxes* firſt of all. Nowe after that by their common conſent *Artabanus* their vncle had decided and brought to an ende their controuerſie, and adiudged the kingdome to *Xerxes*; *Ariamenes* preſently aroſe from his ſeate and went to doe homage to his brother, and takyng him by the right hande, ledde him to his royall and kingly throne. From that tyme forward he was always the greateſt next vnto him, and ſhewed him-ſelfe ſo well affected towards his right, that in the Salamine battell by Sea he died, fighting valiaunt*Antiochus.*lie in his ſeruice. *Antiochus* ſurnamed the Holie, makyng warre with his Elder brother for his part in the kingdome of Macedonia, declared euen in his ambition, that all brotherly loue was not quite extinguiſhed and cleane put out in him. For in the hotteſt tyme of their warre, when his brother *Seleucus* had loſt the battell with great deſtruction of his men, and was ſuppoſed to haue been dead bicauſe no newes was heard of him: *Antiochus* put off his purple robe, and clothed him-ſelfe in blacke, and ſhuttyng vp his pallace royall, mourned and lamented verie much for his brother. But beyng afterward aduertiſed that hee was ſafe and ſound, and preparing an other armie, hee went in open ſhewe from his lodging, and ſacrificed to the gods by way of thankeſ-giuing, commaunding the Townes that were vnder his iuriſdiction to offer the lyke ſacrifices, and to weare Hattes of flowers in token of publique*Athenodorus.* ioye. *Athenodorus* the Græcian hauyng a brother elder than him-ſelfe, called *Zeno*, who beyng conuicted of a certayne crime, had loſt all his goodes by confiſcation, parted agayne with him all his owne goodes,

and

and gaue vnto him the iuſt halfe. When the king of Lydia demaunded of *Pittacus* whether hee had anye goodes, yea (quoth hee) twiſe ſo much more than I woulde I had, beyng heire to my brother that is dead. *Pittacus.*

The loue of that Perſian woman, of whome *Plutarke* maketh mention, was verie great, who beeyng asked why ſhee had rather ſaue the lyfe of hir brother than of hir owne ſonne: biçauſe (quoth ſhe) I may well haue mo children, but not more brethren, ſeeyng my Father and Mother are bothe deade. Howe much more then ought we to preferre our brethren before all other our friendes and acquaintaunce. For many may bee gotten of this kinde, and others if theſe fayle: but it is no more poſſible to get a newe brother, than to get an hande agayne that is cutte off, or an eye that is plucked out. *Agrippa*, brother in lawe to the Emperour *Auguſtus*, vſed to ſaye, that hee was greatlie beholding to that ſentence of Saluſt, Small thinges encreaſe by concorde, but periſh through diſcorde: biçauſe it procured vnto him all his wealth, by ſeekyng to liue in peace and friendſhip with his brother, and with euerie one. This is that which *Sciluras* leauyng behind him foure-ſcore male-children, meant to teach them, and how they ſhould bee inuincible beyng ioyned and vnited togither, by offering to each of them a bundle of dartes to breake, which when they could not doe, he brake them one after another before their eyes. I woulde further enlarge this diſcourſe with examples of the loue of brethren, ſhinyng greatly in ages paſt, were it not that we muſt here ſpeake ſome-what of the duetie and obedience of ſeruauntes towards their maſters, according to that order which was propounded vnto vs. This wee will brieflie comprehend into foure generall poyntes. The firſt is, that they muſte be preſt and alwayes readie to put in execution their maſters will and commaundement, and to doe their buſineſſe moſt diligently, not beyng ſlouthfull, ſlacke and negligent, nor doyng any thing grutchingly. The

Agrippa.

Great loue of a Perſian woman towards hir brother.

Sciluras left 80. ſonnes behind him.

The dutie of ſeruaants comprehended in foure points.

second point is, that they must be faithfull vnto them, not beguiling nor defrauding them of any thing, nor affirming that before their faces to flatter them, which they will vnsay behind their backes. The third thing is, that they must seeke their masters profite and commoditie more than their owne, and take good heede that no harme, losse, or trouble come vnto them. And if any goe about to procure any such thing, they must vndertake the defence thereof diligently, euen to the hazarding of their liues if neede bee. The last point which good seruauntes are to keepe, is to vse a double silence: the first, that they replie not againe to their masters commaundementes, although sometymes they suppose that they know better what is to be done than they that commaund them. The second, that they reueale not to others their masters secretes, nor sowe them out of his house. To be short, we cannot giue them better instruction than that of Saint Paule, saying: *Seruauntes be obedient vnto them that are your masters according to the flesh in all things, not with eye-seruice as men-pleasers, but in singlenes of hart, fearing GOD. And whatsoeuer ye doe, doe it hartilie, as to the Lorde, and not vnto men, knowyng that of the Lord yee shall receiue the reward of the inheritaunce: for yee serue the Lorde Christ.* And else-where he exhorteth them againe, *to be subiect to their masters, and to please them in all thinges not aunswering agayne, neyther pickers, but that they shewe all good faithfulnesse, that they may adorne the doctrine of GOD our Sauiour in all thinges.* Nowe for examples to all seruauntes that are desirous to effect their dutie towards their masters, we will propound two, the one olde, the other of late yeeres, which giue sufficient testimonie of a sonne-like rather than of a seruile affection. *Antonius* beyng ouercome of *Augustus*, and dispairing of his safetie, vrged the promise of *Eros* his seruant in whom he trusted, bicause he had giuen his faith long before that hee would kill him when he required the same at his hands. But the seruaunt drawyng his sword, and holding it out as though hee would haue killed him, turned his

Col.3.22.23.24.

Tit.2.9.10.

Examples of the loue of seruants towards their masters.

Eros the seruant of Antonius.

his face on the one side, and thrust it into himselfe cleane through his bodie. *Maurice* duke of Saxonie beyng in Hungarie against the Turke, and walking out of the campe onely with his seruaunt, was set vpon by certaine Turkes, and his horse being slaine, he was throwen to the ground. But his seruaunt cast himselfe vpon him, couered and defended him with his bodie, sustained and kept backe the enimies vntil certaine horsemen came and saued the Prince, but died himselfe not long after beyng wounded on euery side. Therefore to ende our present discourse, let vs learne, that it is a great and commendable vertue, and beseeming euery good and gentle nature, to know how to obey well, and to giue honour and seruice to those that occupie the degree of fathers, lordes, and masters ouer vs: as also to loue our brethren with an indissoluble loue, to reuerence one an other, the younger honouring the elder, and the elder yeelding all dueties of sincere loue to the younger. Let vs not be lesse afrayd of the curse repeated so often in the Scripture against disobedient children, than the auncients were of that lawe which condemned them to be stoned to death when they would not obey the voyce of their Parents, nor harken vnto them when they instructed them: but let vs much more feare that punishment, which will continue for euer, where there will be weepyng and gnashing of teeth.

The seruant of Mauritius duke of Saxonie.

Of the education and instruction of Children. Chap. 51.

ARAM. WHen we intreated of the duetie of a father of a familie towards his children, we sayd, that the chief marke whereat he ought to aime, was to make them honest and good of condition, which was to be performed by instruction and good bringing vp in the knowledge and exercise of vertue. Now bicause the chiefe foundation of a

The chief foundation of a happy life.

happy life, is good inſtruction begun in youth, ſo that if the infancie of any bee well brought vp (as *Plato* ſaith) the reſt of his life cannot but be good, we ought as I thinke (my Companions) to take this matter againe in hand to follow and handle it more at large, to the ende to prouoke Fathers and all ſuch as haue authoritie ouer the younger ſort, to bee carefull and diligent in the well ordering of the ſeede of youth, which is the ſpring and roote of all proſperitie both publike and priuate.

A father of a familie muſt be moſt carefull to bring vp his youth.

ACHITOB. We muſt not (ſaith *Plato*) be more carefull of any thing whatſoeuer, than of the good education of children. For if vpon their good bringing vp they become moderate and ſtayed men, they will eaſily diſcerne euerie thing that is good. And if good wits haue like education, they will growe from better to better euerie day.

ASER. The beginning, middle, and ending of a happie life (ſaith *Plutarke*) conſiſteth in good education and bringing vp. But it belongeth to thee AMANA to inſtruct vs in this ſo excellent a matter.

A fit compariſon.

AMANA. As a man cannot reape good wheate if he hath not ſowen good ſeede, nor gather good fruit of his trees, if he had no care at the beginning to dreſſe them well, nor to graft them with good ſciences afterward: ſo the corruption of mans nature, which of it ſelfe is more enclined to euill than to good, hindreth vertue from taking ſure footing and roote in the ſoules of men, if they be not from their very youth well and diligently inſtructed, ſtirred vp, and pricked forward to that which is honeſt and decent. And truely that common-wealth is moſt miſerable, wherein this tillage of infancie is neglected. For from this fountaine proceede rebellions, ſeditions, open murders, contempt of lawes and commandements of princes, pollings, briberies, hereſies, and Atheiſme. Therefore nothing was more eſteemed from time to time among the auncients, than the inſtitution of youth, which *Plato* calleth *Diſcipline*, whereby children

The ſpring of corruptions in common-welths

are

are led to this reason, not to follow any thing but that which the lawe commaundeth and alloweth for good. The monarchie of the Persians, the common-wealth of the Lacedemonians, and since, that also of the Romans had certaine lawes compelling fathers to prouide that their children might be instructed, not suffering them to be cast away and corrupted to the detriment of the common-wealth. Amongst other lawes there was one called *Falcidia*, whereby it was enacted, that the child should be admonished for the first offence, chastised for the second, and for the third hanged, and his father banished, as if he had been partaker in the fault, for want of good education and instruction of his sonne. Heretofore we heard many testimonies of the care and trauell which famous and woorthie men tooke to instruct their children themselues. *Traian* the emperour, and after him *Adrian* at their owne costes and charges caused fiue thousand noble mens children of Rome to be brought vp in learning, vertue and feates of armes. Our auncient kings, knowyng how necessarie this education of youth was, builded long agoe and caused to bee framed so many goodly Colledges as we see in the Vniuersities of France: yea, the monasteries were partly founded to this ende. But how carefull are we at this day to imitate those auncients in this earnestnesse of good bringing vp of children in the studie of sciences and good discipline? Haue we not very good occasion to say with *Crates* the Philosopher, that it is most necessarie that one should ascend vp into the highest place of this kingdome, and cry aloude: Oh ye men, whither doe ye throwe your selues headlong in taking all the paynes that may be to heape vp goodes and treasures that perish, and in the meane while make no reckoning of your children, but suffer them to continue long, and to grow old in ignorance which destroyeth them both body and soule, and turneth to the confusion and ouerthrow of your country? For it is most certaine, that a good nature ill brought vp, waxeth very pernitious, and that the mindes and hartes of men

Lawes that constrained fathers to see to their children instructed.

The law *Falcidia*

A woorthy act of Traian and Adrian.

Crates proclamation most necessary for these times.

Euil education corrupteth a good nature.

Euil education corrupteth a good nature.

that are corruptly inſtructed, become moſt wicked. Doe you thinke (ſaith *Plato*) that execrable villanies and horrible vices proceede rather of a naughtie nature, than of a noble nature corrupted with euill education? In like maner a good nature well tilled will attaine to the toppe of vertue, but if it be negligently looked vnto, it will be nothing but vice. But let vs ſee what goodly inſtructions the auncients haue giuen concerning this matter. The ſame *Plato* was ſo carefull, and ſearched out ſo exactly the good education of children, as that which is as precious and neceſſarie a thing as any can be in the life of man, that hee taketh them euen from their mothers wombe, yea before they are begotten. Firſt, hee willeth that the husband and wife that are deſirous of children ſhould keepe them-ſelues from drunkenneſſe, and from entring into the bedde when they are cholerike and full of trouble, bicauſe that many times is the cauſe of vices in children. Next he requireth that great bellied women ſhould giue themſelues to walking, and beware of liuing either too delicately, or too ſparingly: that they ſhould haue quiet mindes, with many other things, which he alleageth to that purpoſe. He ſaith alſo, that children being in their mothers wombe, receiue good and ill, as the fruites of the earth doe. After they are borne, he carefully recommendeth their education. Wee will not here ſtande vpon many pointes to be obſerued therein, as namelie vpon the choice of Nurſes, whereof fewe are ignoraunt, ſeeing it belongeth to the true and naturall office of euerie mother to nouriſh that with hir teate, which ſhe hath brought into the world, except there be ſome great and lawfull impediment. But let vs go on with the ſayings of *Plato*. He chargeth nurſes to lead their children oftentimes on their feete vntil they be 3. yeeres old, bicauſe this moouing is very profitable for them. He forbiddeth much crying in children, bicauſe it breedeth in them a habite and cuſtome of ſadneſſe. From 3. yeeres to ſix, he would haue them moderately corrected when they commit a fault, & forbiddeth aboue all things

Of the excellent education of children required by Plato.

Women with child muſt walk much.

Euery mother ought to nurſe hir own child.

Of the bringing vp of infants.

From 3. yeeres.

to

to accuſtome them from that time forward vnto daintines, or to ouer-great ſeueritie, ſaying, that deficatenes maketh them froward, hard to pleaſe, cholerike, & ſoone mooued: and that ſeueritie maketh them hard-harted, cruell, abiect, baſe-minded, very blocks and fooles, and haters of men. At ſixe yeeres of age he would haue them put apart from the daughters, and begin to learne to ride a horſe, to ſhoote, to practiſe all kind of feates of Armes, both with the right hand and with the left: to put in vre all other exerciſes of moderate labor, that they may waxe ſtrong, and be acquainted with labour, and therefore to vſe ſuch laborious paſtimes. But he expreſly forbiddeth to change euery day for new, this age being very apt thervnto: ſaying, that nothing is more pernitious than to acquaint youth to deſpiſe antiquitie. But aboue all things, he commandeth that children ſhould be ſo brought vp, that they be not conſtrained to any thing whatſoeuer they ſhall take in hand, but as it were in ſport, that ſo euery ones nature may be knowne. Neither would he haue them beaten without great diſcretion, bicauſe it is not ſeemely that a free man ſhould learne liberall ſciences by ſeruitude and compulſion. And in truth no ſcience forced vpon a man, will continue ſtedfaſt with him. Moreouer, he would haue them apply themſelues to Muſicke, both to ſing hymnes and ſongs to the praiſe of God, to laud and magnifie him, and to hope for all good ſucceſſe from him, as alſo to recreate their ſpirits. He greatly miſliketh in them ſlouth and too much ſleepe, ſaying, that much ſound ſleepe is good neither for the bodie nor for the ſoule: that it is nothing profitable for him that deſireth to bring any good thing to paſſe, bicauſe as long as a man ſleepeth, he doth nothing more than if he liued not. Therefore whoſoeuer deſireth to liue, and to come to knowledge, let him watch as much as he may, hauing regard notwithſtanding to his health, which is contented with a little, when a man is once acquainted therewith. Now, bicauſe a child (as he ſaith) is more vnruly than a ſauage beaſt, he would neuer haue him left without a wiſe and

From ſix yeeres.

Youth muſt be taught as it were in ſport, and not by compulſion.

A commendable end of Muſicke.

and vertuous maister. It is no lesse necessarie (saith he) to consider what teachers a man hath, than what parents. For as children doe in a manner carie away the spirits of their forefathers: so the vices of teachers are deriued vnto their schollers. Therefore let such be chosen as teach vs their vertue by their workes, and not such as onely vtter and speake many goodly words studied out of it. At ten yeeres, this diuine Philosopher would haue children to learne letters vntill fifteene. But bicause we are to learne languages that differ from ours, it were good to beginne sooner, and to end a little after. I thinke it were very profitable for youth to begin at the aboue named age of sixe yeeres, to teach him his moother toong perfectly, that he may read, pronounce, and write it well. After, at eight yeeres, to teach him the rudiments of the Latine toong, and to let him follow that vntil it be as familiar vnto him, or little lesse, than his natural speech. At fourteene yeeres, the same *Plato* would haue children learne Arithmetike, saying, that it is very necessary both for a souldior, and for a Philosopher: next, Geometrie, and that part of Astronomie that is necessarie for Cosmographie, which he would haue likewise learned. He commandeth also that youth should practise hunting, bicause it is as it were an image of warre, and an exercise that maketh men apt to sustaine all labour and trauell. This institution of youth is surely woorthie of that diuine spirite of *Plato*, and that partie were very vnhappie, and of a froward and corrupt nature, who being thus diligently brought vp, would not growe to be a vertuous and good man. He putteth small difference betweene the education and bringing vp of daughters, and that of sonnes, not depriuing women from publike administrations & charges, but onely that he would haue them imploied about such things as require least labour, and not to beginne to meddle with publike affaires, before they be fortie yeeres of age. He alleadgeth these reasons, bicause often-times many women haue beene more excellent than all the men of their countrie, and such are dailie to be seene. And seeing they haue

Great care is to be taken in the choice of schole-maisters.

From the tenth yeere.

From the foureteenth yeere.

Hunting an image of warre.

Of the education of daughters.

Reasons why women may intermeddle with publike affaires.

haue a soule aswell as we, as quicke a spirite, and oftentimes more quicke than we, (whereof those women are witnesses, who hauing giuen themselues wholy to any thing whatsoeuer, were not inferiour, but rather went beyond many men) it were great follie in men, seeing God hath created man and woman with the like spirite, to cut off as it were the one halfe of their strength, and to helpe themselues but with a part thereof. Nowe, albeit these reasons are of great waight, yet sure it is that men and women, both by diuine and humane policie, haue their distinct and seuerall offices. It is very true, that I like not the opinion of many, who say, that women ought to knowe nothing, but to spinne and sowe: which saying commeth neere to that of the Emperour, who would not haue a woman to haue more witte than is needefull for hir to discerne hir husbandes shirt from his doublet. Such opinions are fit for ignorant persons, and proceede from a darke braine. For it cannot but be very seemely and profitable for a woman to be able to render a reason of hir being, aswell by the knowledge of the holie Scriptures, as by the precepts of good life, which we haue from the Ancients. This ought parents to teach their daughters, that they may be withdrawne from all other foolish loue, through the loue of vertue, and be desirous of all honestie and chastitie: as also, that when they are moothers in good and holie mariage, they may be a principall cause of the good bringing vp of their children. Yea histories reckon vp vnto vs a great many, that haue beene in steede of Schoole-maisters in excellent sciences. *Aretia* taught hir sonne *Aristippus* Philosophie. *Zenobia* Queene of the Palmyrians, being very well learned in the Greeke, Latine, and Aegyptian toongs, taught them to hir two sonnes, and wrote an Epitomie of the Easterne Histories. *Cornelia* taught the Gracchyes hir two sonnes, the Latine eloquence. But let vs followe our discourse of the generall instruction of children. *Aristotle* seemeth vnto mee to bee a good teacher and Maister, where hee sayeth, that there are two ages, in which

Against ignorance in women

Women must be able to giue a reason of their being.

Example of learned women.

Aretia.

Zenobia.

Cornelia.

Of the institution of youth according to Aristotle.

which it is neceſſarie to diuide the inſtitution of thoſe diſciplines, which we would haue our children learne: namely, from ſeuen yeeres vntill foureteene, which he calleth the age of pubertie: and againe from this age vntill the one & twentieth yeere. He ſaith, that in the inſtitution of youth, two things muſt be looked vnto: the one, wherin children are to be inſtructed, the other, how they ought to be inſtructed. For all men are not agreed of this, what things children are to learne, neither yet is it decided, or reſolued vpon, to what end their inſtitution ought to be directed, whether to profite, or to manners, or to vnderſtanding and contemplation, which proceedeth from the variable opinions of men, who place their end in diuers things. But howſoeuer it is, we muſt, as we ſaid before, referre all our ſtudies to the glorie of God, and to the ſeruice of our neighbours, in liuing well according to thoſe charges and vocations whereunto we may be called. We haue already ſeene the diuiſion of ſciences and arts, and ſpoken of thoſe that are moſt neceſſarie for a happie life. *Ariſtotle* following the cuſtome then vſed in Grecia, appointed that children ſhould learne foure things, Grammer, bodilie exerciſe, Muſicke, and painting: for certaine commodities meete for the life of a man. Grammer is the entrie to all ſciences, whereby we learne to ſpeake exactly, alſo to read and to write. And this is neceſſarie for all eſtates of life, whether publike or priuate, in peace or in warre, in a quiet life, or in multitude of buſines, for marchandice, for the guiding of a houſe, for the obtaining of knowledge, for the continuance and perpetuitie of the memorie of man. Briefly, as nature is the cauſe of our being, ſo the knowledge of letters, which Grammar teacheth vs, worketh in vs the knowledge how to liue well. For this cauſe *Charondas* the law-maker, as *Diodorus* the Sicilian writeth, preferred Grammer before all other ſciences, as that which is moſt neceſſarie for mans life, appointing that all the children of his citie ſhould learne their letters at the charges of the common-wealth, which was to maintaine publike maiſters to teach both poore and

Two things to be reſpected in the inſtitution of youth.

The end of all ſtudies.

Ariſtotle appointed that children ſhould learne foure things.

Of Grammer.

The commoditie thereof.

A notable law for the common inſtruction of children.

and rich. Truly this law ought to be put in practise in all the townes of this kingdome, to resist that pernitious Hydra of ignorance, which the richer sort defend, making no account of knowledge, to the treading downe and oppression of the poore, who would gladly haue the meanes whereby they might be instructed. The Gymnastical part was that arte, which, as the Ancients affirmed, did serue for health and strength, preparing the bodies of children by honest and moderate exercises, as fencing, shooting, throwing of a stone, riding, wrastling, running, leaping, swimming, and such like. These according to *Aristotles* opinion, are to be moderately practiced by children, vntill they be foureteene yeeres old, exercising them lightly, & not with forced labors, that their growth be not hindred thereby. This age being past, after they haue bestowed three yeeres in other Morall disciplines, and followed their studies in deeper sciences, vntill the one and twentieth yeere, then may they be exercised with more sharpe and hard labors of the body. They must also be taught Musicke, for the solacing and recreation of their mindes after trauels: and painting, that they may the better consider of the beautie of the bodie, and vnderstand the symmetry and apt composition of all things, to the ende that they may be the better aduised either in buying or selling them. Let them also knowe howe to drawe platformes of publike and priuate buildings, to set foorth countries, townes, and castels, their height, breadth, and length for the warre: liuing creatures of all sortes, with their parts, herbs, trees, rootes, leaues, flowres, fruits for medicine, & for the knowledge of simples. In this institution of children, *Aristotle* had respect to that which was conuenient, & drew neerest to the forme of a happie Commonwealth established by him, and to that which was necessary for the preseruation and maintenance thereof. Nowe, let vs apply to our vse that which we may learne both of him, and of the rest of the Ancients, for the framing of yoong men to honesty and vertue: seauing to the libertie of Fathers to make choice of those arts and sciences wherein they

Of Gymnastick, or bodilie exercise.

The end of Musicke.

The vse of painting.

they purpoſe to bring vp their children, hauing regard to that whereunto nature maketh them moſt apt and pliable. We ſhall take a good way in the inſtitution of youth, if we obſerue and vſe theſe fower things, *Inſtruction, Admonition, Promiſe, Praiſes, and Threatnings*. We will comprehend all *Inſtruction* vnder ſixe precepts. The firſt ſhall be to ſhewe vnto children, that they muſt worſhip God, and honour him chiefly and aboue all things, referring all their thoughts and deedes to the glorie of his name: that it is he that hath created and preſerueth all things, that he ſuffereth no wickednes to paſſe vnpuniſhed, nor good worke vnrewarded, but giueth eternall happines to good men, and euerlaſting paine and puniſhment to them that are euill. Let them knowe that without his grace and fauour they can doe nothing, no not ſo much as liue one moment: and therefore that they muſt continually and before euery worke call vpon him, and beware that they offend him not by neglecting his commandemẽts, which for this cauſe they muſt diligently learne. The ſecond inſtruction which I finde moſt neceſſarie for youth, is to teach them not to glorie in earthlie and worldlie goods, but to learne rather to deſpiſe them, and to tranſport the loue of the bodie and of carnall goods, which it deſireth, to the loue of the ſoule and of eternal goods, which properly belong vnto them. They muſt not make great account of the beautie of the bodie, which hauing incloſed within it the ſoule that is defiled with vice and ſinne, is nothing elſe but a pretious and proud ſepulcher, vnder which is contained a ſtinking and putrified carrion. They muſt not put their hope and confidence in riches, but be perſwaded that they are rich and happie, if they be wiſe, learned, and vertuous. And whileſt their vnderſtanding is good and in vigour, and themſelues haue time, they muſt put all their ſtrength to the obtaining of that which will be profitable vnto them in their olde age: namely of knowledge and vertue, which will procure vnto them, honour, ſafetie, praiſe, happines, reſt, and tranquillitie in their life time, and will in the ende guide them to eternall

Fower things to be vſed in the inſtitution of youth.

Inſtruction, which conſiſteth in ſix precepts.

1. The firſt precept.

The firſt thing that youth muſt learne, is to worſhip God.

We can do nothing without the grace of God.

2. The ſecond precept.

Youth muſt not glorie in tranſitorie goods.

Nor in bodilie beautie.

The fruits of true knowledge and vertue.

eternall life, to be made coheires of the kingdome of heauen with Iesus Christ. Thirdly, they must be taught to eschewe and flie from all such thinges which they see are hurtfull to others, and learne to be wise by their dangers and perils. Nowe, that which marreth and hurteth others, is disobedience, lying, pride, infidelitie, naughtines, hazarding games, whoredome, drunkennes, prodigalitie, idlenes, and euill companie. Against the contagion of which vices, no better preseruatiue can be had, than to ingraue modestie in their hartes, by the rule and measure whereof they may easily be directed to behaue themselues vertuously. For this cause *Plutarke* sayth very elegantly, that the foolish opinion and presumption, which yoong men commonly conceiue of themselues, ought rather to be emptied, than the ayre wherewith bottles and Kiddes skinnes are puffed vp when any good thing is to be put into them. Otherwise, being full of the winde of ouer-weening, they receiue none of that good instruction which men thinke to powre into them.

3. The third precept.

The common diseases of youth.

Modestie is the best remedie for them.

For the fourth precept of their instruction, we will set downe these fower thinges, which will stande them in great steede towardes the attayning of a happie life. *Let them not be delicate or superfluous in anye thinge: Let them bridle their toong, and not be full of wordes, nor vtter filthie and dishonest talke at anie tyme, but be gratious and curteous in speaking to all men, saluting euery one gladly, and willingly giuing place in those things wherein the truth is not hurt. Let them maister their choler by cutting off impatience as much as may be, which is a singular vertue. Lastly, let them haue pure hands, seeing manie great men by taking monie vniustly, haue spilled all that honour which they had gathered together all the former time of their life.*

4. The fourth precept hath fower branches.

1.

2.

3.

4.

Fiftly, the examples of good and bad men, are to be laid before their eies through the reading and vnderstanding of histories, that they may knowe that vertuous men haue beene well rewarded, and the vitious receiued an euill and miserable ende. For this cause we reade that the olde men of Rome vsed at feastes to singe the famous actes of their Ancestours before

5. The fift precept.

their

6. The sixt precepte.

their youth. For the sixt and last precept, we say, that it is needfull for youth to be vsed to labour and wearisomnes, to keep them from idlenes, and from falling into any dishonest pleasure. We haue seene what exercises and pastimes are meete for them, according to the opinion of the Ancients: and at this daye we knowe howe to make choice of them, as shall be meetest for the nobilitie. Now, to speake briefly of the other three generall precepts giuen by vs for the institution of youth: *Admonition* is very necessarie for that age. For although youth be well borne and brought vp, yet hath it such actiue and vehement prouocations, that it is easily brought to stumble. Wherfore yoong men must be often admonished of their dutie, and spoken vnto of honestie, and of vertuous men, bicause words mooue their minds. The steps of their honest predecessors are to be laid before their eies, to induce them to follow their paths. And aboue all things, the promise of that life, which is eternally happie for those that persеuere in vprightnes and iustice, is to be propounded vnto them. O man well affected (saith *Horace*) go ioifully whither thy vertue leadeth thee, and thou shalt reape great rewards for thy deserts. O ye yoong men (saith *Plautus*) walke on in that way wherein vertue will direct you, and ye shall be very well recompenced. For he that hath vertue, hath all thinges necessarie for him, and wanteth nothing. These are the promises which ought to be beaten into the harts of children: adding further to them that are very yoong a promise to giue them what they will, so that they learne well that which is taught them. Last of all, praises and threatnings must be added, by commending children when we see them profit in vertue and honestie, to encourage them to go forward, and to do better & better. Glorie (saith *Ouid*) giueth no small strength to the mind, and the desire and loue of praise, causeth the hart to be resolute and readye to vndertake all things. *Quintilian* would haue yong men praised, when they profitte, and are willing to learne, as likewise they are to be threatned, if they be slothfull and negligent in the obtaining

Of admonition.

Of promises. Youth is to be drawne on with the promises of eternall life.

Of praises and threatnings.

ning of vertue and honeſtie, and wil neither heare nor vnderſtand, nor yet put in practiſe thoſe good admonitions that are giuen them. And if they amend not with threatnings, they muſt haue good diſcipline and correction vſed towards them, and be chaſticed with diſcretion. To this purpoſe *Plutark* ſaith, that the hope of reward, and feare of puniſhment, are as it were the two elements and foundation of vertue. For hope maketh yoong men prompt and readie to vndertake all good and commendable things, & feare maketh them ſlowe in preſuming to commit ſuch things as are vile and full of reproch. So that if we practice diligently theſe precepts in the education & inſtruction of our children: there is no doubt, but as ſeales and ſignets doe eaſily make a print in ſoft waxe, ſo we may quickly caſt in the mindes of little children, as it were in a mould, whatſoeuer we would haue them learne for the leading of a good and happie life, to the glorie of God, the profit of their neighbours, and diſcharge of our conſciences which are bound thereunto.

Hope and feare are the foundation of vertue.

Of the diuiſion of the ages of man, and of the offices and duties that are to be obſerued in them. Chap. 52.

AMANA. AMongſt the moſt common and notorious faults, which fathers now a daies commit in the education and bringing vp of their children, this deſerueth great blame and reprehenſion, that in their firſt age they vſually prouide teachers for them, ſending them to Colledges, where they are kept in awe, when they cannot commit any greater euill than that which commeth from the yoong yeeres of their infancie, not very hurtfull to any, being light faults, and ſoone amended: but when the vehemencie of adoleſcencie beginneth to tickle them with foule and infamous deſires, and when they haue greateſt neede of a bridle, then they let looſe the raines, and withdraw them from the ſubiecti-

Adoleſcencie is the age betweene 14. & 28

on of their guides, giuing them libertie to make choice of their eſtate of life, when their perturbations are moſt violent, & in danger to bring foorth moſt peruitious effects. Whereas on the contrary ſide then ought they moſt diligently to looke vnto them, and to ſet a moſt careful watch ouer them, that their firſt diſcipline and inſtruction may be framed in vertue, and in the perfection of a moſt happie life. For this cauſe (my Companions) I thinke that by continuing our former diſcourſe (ſeeing all men enioye not commonly this benefite of the forenamed education & inſtruction, from their infancie vnto the end) we ought to ſearch out ſome way whereby to amend the firſt faults, by handling the diuiſion of the ages of man, according to the ancient writers, and by ſetting downe a briefe inſtruction of that which is moſt neceſſarily required, and to be obſerued in euery of them, eſpecially in adoleſcencie, for the obtaining of true felicitie through good behauiour and inſtructions, which are the meanes thereof.

ARAM. It is true (as *Plato* ſaith) that vertue muſt be learned from the firſt infancie. Yea, there is no part of our age, which ought to be imploied in any other ſtudie. But adoleſcencie eſpecially muſt not onely inquire and ſeeke after the decrees of honeſty & vertue, but alſo haue them already imprinted and ingrauen in his hart.

ACHITOB. As no man euer ſaw a Bee become a Beetle through age: ſo no part of our life ought to leaue the firſt election grounded vpon vertue, if the ende thereof be to liue well. But let vs heare ASER diſcourſe of this preſent matter.

ASER. It cannot be denied, that place and time are a great helpe to honeſtie and vertue: inſomuch, that if we conſider not of them the knowledge and practiſe of that which belongeth to our dutie, cannot greatly profit vs. For all things are to be applied in time & place, and ſome thinges are decent and lawfull vpon one occaſion, which would be very vnſeemely in another. The prouerbe ſaith, *that the way to handle a ſound man is diuers from the guiding of him, to whome the diet is inioined.* Euen ſo, although vertue & honeſty

Place and time are to be conſidered in all things.

honesty are alwaies requisite in a man, bicause it is the only ornament of his life: yet in diuers ages diuersity of honest behauior is required, & the selfe same things are not decent in them, but some kind of behauiour is proper to the age of childhood, some to youth, and another to old age, bicause as nature altereth with age, so it behooueth that maners should chang. Now, among them that haue most diligently obserued the secrets of mans nature, there hath beene two sundry opinions concerning the diuision of the ages of man. Some haue made 7. parts, adding decrepite or bed red-age after old age: & they would groũd their principal reason of this diuision vpon this, that the number of 7. is an vniuersall & absolute number. So we reckon 7. planets, whose motion worketh all generations & corruptions in the earth. By a stronger reason therfore this number of seuen wil be applied to the continuance of time. Moreouer, the growth of men according to age, increaseth at the seuenth number. For teeth are bred in the seuenth moneth, & in the seuenth yeere they change & alter. Besides, in the same yeere doubled, that is in the fourteenth yeere, man receiueth abilitie of seede, that is to say, of engendring. True it is, that the number of six worketh alteration in females. Yet the number of 7. in other things worketh augmentation, or else the rest and quietnes of men, and sheweth the difference or iudgement of diseases. The whole time of the creation of the world is comprehended therein, & likewise the rest and ceasing of the worke-maister thereof. All the ancient writers haue also noted, that the number of 63. which is the multiplication of seuen by nine, carieth with it commonly the end of old men: bicause that in the whole course of our life we liue vnder one onely climate, which is either from seuen, or from nine yeeres, except in the yeere of 63. wherein two terminations or climates ende, that is to say, nine seuen times seuen, or seuen nine times nine: and therefore this yeere is called climacterical, wherein we may note out of histories the death of many great men, and the change of estates and kingdomes. As touching the other diuision

All kind of behauior not conuenient in all ages.

Of the diuision of the ages of man.

The number of seuen accounted a perfect number.

Of the climacterical yeere of 63.

The whole age of man diuided into ſix parts. Of Infancie.

of the age of man into ſixe parts onely, of which opinion *Iſidorus* is, we will now enter into the particular handling therof. The parts are theſe: Infancie, Childhood, Youth, Adoleſcencie, Virilitie, & old age. Infancie is the firſt age of man, beginning after his natiuitie: & it is ſo called, bicauſe at that time he hath no vſe of ſpeech, and therefore cannot then learne manners and vertue, hauing no ſence or vnderſtanding to comprehend them. Childhood is, when children beginne to ſpeake; albeit as yet they haue not the full vſe of reaſon: in which eſtate a man may ſay they are vntill the age of ſeuen yeeres, during which time fathers and mothers ought to nouriſh and bring them vp in the feare of God, & reuerence of their parents, & frame them gently vnto all good maners, as we haue already declared. This age is called of the Latines *Pueritia*, as it were pure and neate from * ſinne: foraſmuch as children haue then no vſe of diſcretion, ſo that iudgement cannot be attributed to their works, wherby they may be called good or euill. Youth is reckoned from ſeuen yeeres of age vntill foureteene, at which time children ought to be deliuered vnto skilfull and honeſt maiſters & teachers, to be inſtructed. Then muſt parents looke well whether thoſe two things are in them, to whoſe direction they commit the keeping of ſuch a pretious pledge: leaſt that befall them, which *Hyperides* an Orator of Grecia ſaid to one who told him that he had ſent a ſlaue with his ſon to gouerne him, *you haue* (quoth he) *done very wel: for in ſteede of one ſlaue, you ſhall receiue twaine.* Therefore it is very neceſſarie that ſuch maiſters ſhould be choſen for them, as are learned and of good life & conuerſation, that, as good Gardiners ſticke downe certain props hard by yong plants to keepe them vpright: ſo wiſe teachers may plant good inſtructions & precepts about yoong men, that their maners may be according to vertue. Let fathers beware leaſt being mooued with couetouſnes, they make choice of maiſters vnworthy their charge, that they may pay the leſſe ſtipēd, ſeking for good cheape ignorance: ſeeing that (as *Plato* ſaith) as childrē beare away as it were the minds of their progenitors, ſo

Of Childhood.

* He meaneth not common & naturall infirmities, but malitious offences.

Two things requiſite in a Schoolemaiſter, skill, and honeſtie of life.

The benefit that commeth by good Schoolemaiſters.

ſo the vices of the Schole-maiſters flow vpon their ſcholers. At this age of youth the children of Rome did hange in the Temple a little coller or iewell which they ware about their necks, during the time of their infancie, declaring therby that they renounced all childiſhnes, and that they were to chang their maners for the time to come. In token wherof one gaue them a white robe, and a purple coate, to teach them by the white colour to ſhunne vices, which made the ſoule blacke, and by the purple, to ſtriue to make their life gliſter and ſhine with good manners and vertue. And it ſeemeth that the Latines called this age *Iuuentus*, bicauſe of the aide and helpe which men promiſed to themſelues through the vertuous inclination that appeered in yoong children. We ſaw before ſufficiently what is further required of this age, in regard of their inſtruction. Adoleſcencie is the fourth age of man, beginning at the foureteenth yeere, and continuing vntil the 28. and it is deriued of this verbe *Adoleſco*, which ſignifieth to growe. For then doe men growe in bodie, in ſtrength, and reaſon, in vice, and vertue. And at that age the nature of a man is knowne, and whereunto he bendeth his minde, which before could not be diſcerned by reaſon of the ignorance of his age. This is that which *Cicero* ſaith, that the ſtudies vnto which we addict our ſelues in the time of our adoleſcencie, like to herbes and fruites that are come to their faſhion, declare what vertue there will be in time of ripenes, and what manner of harueſt wil follow. Therefore yoong men (ſaith this Father of eloquence) muſt make choice of one certaine kind of life, whereunto they are to giue themſelues all their life time without any manner of contradiction, and being conſtant therein, they muſt draw all their actions to that onely end, as an arrow is drawne towards a white. But foraſmuch as in the corruption of our time we ſee poore fruits of this age when it is left to it ſelfe, we may well ſay, that in this ſeaſon of adoleſcencie, children haue greateſt neede to be gouerned, ruled, and kept in great awe. For the inclination to pleaſures, and the eſchewing of labour, which

A ſtrang cuſtom vſed by the children of Rome.

The reaſon of this word *Iuuentus*.

Of adoleſcencie

The fruits of adoleſcencie being left to it ſelf.

are naturall in man, commonly begin then to aſſault him with ſuch violence, that if yoong men be not well followed, they quickly turne to vice, hate thoſe that giue them good inſtruction, become preſumptuous, and ready to leaue that which before they loued: and taking no care for the time to come, like beaſts ſeeke for nothing but to ſatisfie their luſtfull defires. For this cauſe that good Emperour *Marcus Aurelius* ſaid to thoſe vnto whome he recommended his ſon after his death. Beware that he bathe not himſelfe in ſlipperie pleaſures and deſires, ſeeing it is a hard matter to moderate and to ſtay the burning affections of a yoong man, eſpecially when he ſeeth in his own hand a licence not limited, which offereth vnto him all kind of contentation. And truly this vnbrideled licence of not being in ſubiection to any, which yoong men deſire and ſeeke after ſo earneſtly, and for want of right vnderſtanding, falſly call and imagine it to be libertie, bringeth them in bondage to ſeuerer and ſharper maiſters, than were thoſe teachers & Schoole-maiſters which they had in their infancie: namely, to their luſts and diſordred deſires, which are then as it were vnchained and let looſe. But he which knoweth, that to follow God, and to obey right reaſon, are reciprocall and neceſſarily following ech other, muſt thinke that to leaue his infancie & firſt youth, and to enter into the ranke of men, is no freedome from ſubiection, but only a chang of commandement: bicauſe our life in lieu of a hired maiſter, who gouerned vs before, hath then a heauenly guide, that is, reaſon, to whome they onely that obey, are to be reputed & taken for free men. For after they haue learned to will that which they ought, they liue as they will, whereas the freedome of the will in diſordred actions and affections is ſmall, feeble, & weake, and mingled with much repentance. Theſe are thoſe good reaſons, which ought to ſound often in the eares of yoong men, and be ſupplied by little & litle through the ſtudy of good letters, & Morall Philoſophie of ancient men, vntill they haue wholy in poſſeſſion that place of maners, which is ſooneſt mooued, and moſt eaſily led, & are lodged ther-

Aurelius exhortation to his ſonnes gouernours.

Concupiſcence raigneth moſt in Adoleſcencie.

Who are to be accounted free.

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in by knowledge and iudgement, which will be as a gard to preſerue and defend that age from corruption. Vnto which things the Ancients looked very diligently, both to repreſſe boldnes, which commonly is the companion of adoleſcencie, and alſo to chaſtice their faults ſeuerely. We read that one of *Cato* his ſons of the age of 15. yeeres, was baniſhed for breaking a pot of earth in a maids hand that went for water: ſo was *Cinna* his ſonne, bicauſe he entred into a garden, and gathered fruite without leaue. Therefore if a yoong man be well guided with reaſon, he will chuſe & propound to himſelfe that kind of life, which he purpoſeth to keepe vntill death, and begin ſome commendable life that is had in recommendation among vertuous men. The ancient Romanes minding to make declaration heereof, when their children were come to that age, they brought them to the common market place clothed with a mans gowne, and cauſed them to ſcatter nuts heere and there, & after that to forſake all play: ſignifieng therby, that they muſt leaue the follies of their firſt age, to imbrace more graue and ſerious matters. It belongeth to their duty (ſaith *Cicero*) to honor their Elders, & to marke who are the honeſteſt men, & of beſt report, that by their coũſel they may learn to liue according to vertue & good maners, & haue honor alwaies before their eies. And as in calme weather whẽ a man is vpon the ſea, he muſt prouide ſuch things as are neceſſary againſt a ſtorme: ſo in time of adoleſcencie, men muſt furniſh themſelues with temperance, ſobriety, & continency, laying vp ſtore of prouiſion in due time, wherby to ſuſtaine old age the better. This is that which *Plato* ſaith, that a moderate youth maketh an eaſie olde age: but that which is immoderate maketh it greeuous & irkeſom. *The defect of our ſtrength* (ſaith *Cicero*) *commeth rather of the vices of our youth, than of olde age*. Now, bicauſe youth is at this day more than euer, giuen ouer to all kind of diſſolutenes, ſo that their greateſt glorie conſiſteth in going one beyond an other in vice, let vs here propound to thoſe that wil make their profit therof, ſome exãples drawen from the ancients, of rare vertue that ſhined

Knowledge and iudgement are the gard of adoleſcencie.

Catoes ſonne baniſhed for breaking an earthen pot. And Cinnaes ſonne for gathering fruite without leaue.

How the Romanes taught their yoong men to forſake the follies of their firſt age.

The dutie of yoong men.

A moderate youth maketh a happie old age

Examples of vertuous young men.

in yong men. *Ioſeph*, *Daniel*, *Salomon*, deſerue the firſt place, who being very yoong men, executed deeds of woonderfull prudence. The holie Scriptures affoord vs a ſufficient number of teſtimonies, but we haue ſome alſo amongſt the Heathens and Pagans, that ought to ſtirre vp youth vnto vertue. That great Monarch *Alexander* in his youth deſpiſed all kind of pleaſure and delight, eſchewed women, contemned monie, and all plaies and paſtimes that were vnprofitable, and to no good vſe, louing nothing but vertue and glorie gotten thereby. This was the cauſe why, being demanded whether he would not be preſent at the feaſt of the Olympian games, to try if he could win the price of running, ſeeing he was well made, and woonderfull light of foote, he anſwered: yes, if they were kings that ran. Whenſoeuer he heard newes that his father had taken any famous Towne, or wonne ſome great battell, he ſhewed no token of ioye, but ſaide to his equals in yeeres: My Father, Sirs, will take all, and leaue no goodlie and great matter for me to doe, and to conquere with you. Among other his commendable giftes of nature, which men admired in him at that age, he was greatly praiſed for a good horſe-man, which he ſhewed full well when *Bucephalus* the horſe was brought to his father, and was to be ſold for thirteene Talents, that is in value 7800. crownes: which the yeomen of the kings horſe perceiued to be ſo skittiſh and wild, that they durſt not vndertake to breake him. But *Alexander* mounted on him, and handled him ſo cunningly, that all thoſe that were preſent, cried out by way of admiration: and *Phillip* kiſſing him, ſaid: Oh my ſonne, thou muſt ſeeke out a kingdome that is meete for thee, for Macedonia is not able to containe thee. This horſe alwaies ſerued *Alexander* after that, and died in a battell againſt the Barbarians, when he was thirtie yeeres olde. *Pompey* from his very youth ſhewed in his countenance (as Hiſtoriographers write) a pleaſant mildnes, ioined with a manlie grauitie, and in his conditions and behauiour, a reuerent excellencie of kinglie maieſtie. When he was yet verie yoong, he committed an act

Alexander a paterne of vertue in his youth.

Bucephalus Alexanders horſe.

Pompey.

act of a wise and aduised captaine, being in the Romane armie whereof *Strabo* his father was captaine against *Cinna*. For when the souldiers began to rebel and to conspire the death of their captaine, *Pompey* discouered the same, and tooke order for his fathers safetie. After, perceiuing that the souldiers trussed vp bag and baggage to go yeeld themselues to *Cinna*, he thrust himselfe into the middest of them, beseeching them most humbly with teares in his eies, not to deale so grosely with their captain. In the end when he saw that they persisted in their opinion, he threw himselfe prostrate all along ouerthwart the gate of the campe, saying vnto thē, that if they were so desirous to depart, both they and their horses should go ouer his body. Whereupon they were so ashamed, that chaunging their mindes, euery one betooke him againe to his quarter, and reconciled themselues vnto their generall. The prudence of *Papyrius* deserueth to be alleaged here, who according to the custome of the young gentlemen of Rome, was brought into the Senate, after he had put on the gowne wouen about with purple which they vsed to giue to yong men, to the end to frame them by litle and litle to the managing of affaires. In his returne from the Senate, which was longer in breaking vp than vsually they were woont to do, his mother asked him the cause thereof. And after many threatnings and compulsions, *Papyrius* not willing to reueale the secret of the councell, as it had been expresly forbidden him, bethought himselfe of a subtill lie, saying, that the Senators were in great contention whether it were more expedient to agree that one man should haue two wiues, or one woman two husbands: which (quoth he) shalbe determined to morow. His mother beleeuing it, told the same to the Romane ladies hir companions, who met all the next day at the entrie of the Senate, beseeching the iudges to giue a fauourable sentence for them. The matter being knowen, procured great laughter, and made the prudence of this yong man to be greatly esteemed. But let vs speak of the other two ages of man. Mans estate beginneth when a man is euen now ripe and setled, and

Papyrius.

Of virilitie, or mans estate.

and groweth no more in body. This onely age is moſt apt and fit to attaine to vertue and honeſtie. For then is reaſon ſtrong and power-full in him, then is his iudgement ſound, & his bodily vigor of force and ſtrength to labour and trauel. Of the name of this age, I mean of this Latine word *Vir*, did vertue firſt take hir name, which in Latine is *Virtus*: bicauſe this worde *Vir*, ſignifieth him that is in the age of virilitie, or mans eſtate, as if you would ſay, apt to be a miniſter and practitioner of vertue. It is true that *Iſidorus* confoundeth *Youth*, (which he placeth after Adoleſcencie) and *virilitie togither*; ſaying, that this word *vir* is a word of ſexe and not of age. But herein he agreeth with vs, that the perfection of mans ſtrength beginneth at 29. yeeres, where we ſaid that adoleſcencie ended. In this ſtrength a man continueth vntil 50. yeeres, and then beginneth to grow weake, and to decline continually vntill death. The whole age of virilitie ought to be full of honeſtie and vertue, & to bring foorth the effects of prudence, temperance, fortitude and iuſtice, whereof we haue diſcourſed at large. And if any man before he came to this age, had not that education and inſtructiō which was neceſſary for him (whereof we haue alreadie diſcourſed) by reaſon of his fathers negligēce, or through the licentiouſnes of adoleſcencie, then eſpecially is he to take the bridle between his teeth in good earneſt, bicauſe yet there is good time & ſeaſon, yea oportunitie of great fruit, to profit in learning and vertue, ſo that he cannot alleage this excuſe, that he was not inſtructed in youth. *Clitomachus* of Carthage, when he was aboue 40. yeeres of age, came to Athens to learne vnder *Carneades*, with whom he profited ſo well, that after his death he ſucceeded in his place and taught others. *Lucius* being at Rome, and meeting with the emperor *Marcus Aurelius* in the ſtreete with one man after him, demanded of him whether he went. It becommeth euen an old man (quoth he) to learne. I am goyng (ſaid he) to *Sextus* the Philoſopher, to learne that which I know not. Than *Lucius* lifting vp his hands towards heauen, cried out, *O good God, I ſee an emperour euen gray-headed*

The dutie of a man at the perfection of his age.

Clitomachus.

M. Aurelius.

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carying his booke as if he were a child to heare a lecture and to be instructed thereby: and yet most kings of the earth will not vouchsafe to looke vpon a booke at eighteene yeeres of age. *Solon* had this sentence commonly in his mouth, that he waxed old as he learned. The same day and houre that he died, being aboue 80. yeeres olde, and hearing some of his friends disputing of a certain point of Philosophy, he lift vp himself vpon his bed after his maner as wel as he could. And being asked why he did so, *To the end* (quoth he) *that when I haue learned that whereof you dispute, I might end my dayes:* & so in deed he did. For the disputation was no sooner ended but he died. *Socrates* learned musick when he was very olde. *Terentius Varro*, and *Marcus Portius Cato* learned Greek when they were old. *Iulianus* the great lawyer vsed to say whē he was very old, that although he had one foot in the graue, yet he was desirous to learne. *Alphonsus* king of Arragon, when he was 50. yeeres old, learned the Latin toong, and translated *Titus Liuius* out of Latine into Spanish. The sixt and last age of man is called Old-age, which according to *Marcus Varro*, and other authors, beginneth at 50. yeeres, bicause at this age the naturall power and strength of man beginneth to decline and fade away. *Isidorus* calleth this time *Grauitie*, which he maketh to last vntill 70. yeeres, and termeth the ouer-plus of age beyond that, old-age. But as neither the diuision of ages here set downe, nor the termes wherein we haue enclosed them, could agree to the ages of our first fathers, either in the first or second age, wherin they liued commonly as manie yeeres as we do moneths, so considering the shortnesse of our days, which the Psalmist limiteth within 80. yeeres at the most, I think we are to folow the opinió of *Varro*, who calleth old-age whatsoeuer is aboue 50. yeeres. In which age prudence is a very meet & necessary ornament, which those ancient men might attain vnto through long vse of life, through knowledge, and through experience. Therfore it is their office to succour and helpe the yonger sort, their friendes, and the common-wealth by their prudence and counsell. For this cause *Romulus* the first founder

Solon learned to the hower of his death.

Socrates learned musick being old.

T. Varro, and M. Cato learned Greeke when they were old.

Iulianus.

Alphonsus.

Of old-age.

Psal. 90. 10.

Prudence is the ornament of old age.

founder of the citie of Rome, choſe an hundred of the eldeſt in the citie, by whoſe counſell he willed that it ſhould be gouerned. And of theſe old men called in Latin *Senes*, came that word *Senatus*, which is as much to ſay, as an aſſembly or gathering togither of olde men, whom we now call counſailors or Senators. And albeit that men now a dayes greatly abuſe thoſe charges, yet ſurely they properly belong to olde men, to whome it appertaineth to gouerne townes, to adminiſter iuſtice, and to be a paterne and example of honeſtie to the younger ſort. For then haue they no time to take their eaſe, but (as *Cicero* ſaith) they muſt encreaſe the exerciſes of the ſoule, as they diminiſh the labours of the bodie. Let them remember that ſaying of the Lacedemonian, who being asked why he ſuffred his beard to grow ſo long: to the end (quoth he) that by looking vpon my white haire, I ſhould be put in mind not to do any act vnbeſeeming this hoarie whiteneſſe. In this age that ſentence of *Plato* ought eſpecially to be well thought vpon, *That yong men die very ſoone, but that olde men cannot liue long*. To which effect *Epaminondas* ſayd, that vntil 30. yeeres it may be thus ſaid to men, *Ye are welcome*: for vntill that time they ſeeme ſtill to be comming into the world. From 30. vntill 50. yeeres, they muſt be ſaluted in this maner, *Ye are in a good hower*, bicauſe they are then to know what the world is. And from 50. to the end a man muſt ſay vnto them, *Go in a good hower*, bicauſe then they go faire and ſoftly, taking their leaue of the world. Olde age (ſaid *Cato* to an olde man that liued ill) hath ſufficient deformities of it ſelf, do not thou adde ſuch as proceed from vice. For it is not griſled haire, nor a wrinckled viſage that bringeth authoritie, but a life that is honeſtly led and guided according to the beſt end of our being whereunto euery age is to be referred. To ſuch olde men (ſaith *Sophocles*) as haue their ſoules nouriſhed with heauenly light, old age is not grieuous, and in ſuch the deſire of contemplation and knowledge encreaſeth as much as the pleaſures of their bodie decreaſe. Therfore when we haue paſſed ouer the greateſt part of our days to the profite of many,

What Senate is, and fró whence it came.

What vſe is to be made of a white beard.

Epaminondas ſalutation vſed to men according to their ages.

Cato.

What breedeth authoritie in a man.

Sophocles.

To whom old age is not grieuous.

ny, if than through weaknes of extreme age we are conſtrained to leaue the managing of publike affaires, it will be very great honour, comfort and contentation of mind vnto vs, to run the reſt of our race quietly and peaceably in the ſtudie of letters, wherein delight is ioyned with honeſt contemplation.

The ende of the thirteenth daies worke.

THE FOVRTEENTH DAIES WORKE.

Of Policie, and of ſundry ſortes of Gouernments. Chap. 53.

ASER. IF we are able to diſcern betweene the bodie & the ſoul, betweene this preſent tranſitorie life and the life to come, which is eternall, we will not thinke it ſtrange, that one part of mans building ſhould be created to remaine free for euer, and to be exempted frō the yoke of humane power, acknowledging onely the ſpiritual iuriſdiction, and the other part to be in ſeruitude, and to receiue commaundement from thoſe humane and ciuill offices, which are to be kept amongſt men. *In the kingdome of God* (ſaith *Paul*) *there is neither Iew nor Grecian, neither bond nor free, neither Barbarian nor Scythian, but Ieſus Chriſt is all in all. Stand faſt in the libertie wherewith you are made free.* And by and by after he addeth: *Onely vſe not your libertie as an occaſion to the fleſh, but by loue ſerue*

The ſoule is not ſubiect to mans iuriſdiction.

Gal.3.18.

Col.3.11.

Gal.5.1.13.

serue one another. And elſe-where he ſaith, *Let euery ſoule be ſubiect to the higher powers: for there is no power but of God. Whoſoeuer therfore reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God.* Wherby it appeereth that they which thinke that the maintenance of ciuil policies are the worke of man only, are greatly deceiued. For we muſt of neceſſitie beleeue, that it proceedeth from the counſel of God, and from his eternall prouidence, without which neither the round frame of the world, nor cities & townes could in any ſort abide ſtedfaſt: & ſo that it is very neceſſary for their preſeruation, that certain lawes ſhould be appointed, according vnto which men may liue honeſtly & iuſtly one with another. As there are then two chief regiments & gouernments in man, of which one reſpecteth the ſoule, and acknowledgeth no temporal king or maſter, but holdeth of one only Ieſus Chriſt according to the miniſterie of his word, & the other is to ordaine a ciuil iuſtice only, and to reforme outward maners, wherunto the body during this life is wholy ſubiect, reſeruing the firſt eſtate of man in his freedom according to the diuine rule of pietie, we are diligently to looke to this ſecond eſtate of ſubiection & ſeruitude, which is moſt neceſſary for the maintenance of common peace & tranquillitie amongſt men. Now foraſmuch (my companions) as we haue hitherto according to our weak iudgement noted the moral vertues of the ſoul, for the better framing of mens actions to that which is decent & honeſt in this life, and folowing the ſame order haue alſo giuen rules & inſtructions for the gouernment of a family, we are now to enter into this large field of humane policie, & to conſider of the parts that belong vnto it, referring the chiefe ſcope of the handling of this matter, which otherwiſe would be infinite, to the ruling & preſeruing of our French monarchie, for the inſtruction of al eſtates that are therein. And firſt we wil ſee what ciuil policie is, and intreat briefly of the diuers kinds of gouernments amõg the ancients, that we may ſo much the better attaine to the knowledge of that vnder which we liue.

Rom. 13. 1. 2. All power is of God.

The beginning and preſeruation of policies is from God.

AMANA. To command and to obey (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) are

are not only neceſſary but alſo profitable: yea ſome things are borne to obey, and others to command, whoſe common end is publike benefit & ciuil iuſtice, which are preſerued by a wel eſtabliſhed policie, and right gouernment according to the lawes of nature. Of commanding and obeying.

ARAM. Euery ciuil ſocietie muſt be kept in order by ſome policie, which is a neceſſary helpe to cauſe a man to walke in his vocation. But as the elements cannot be intermingled one with another, except it be by an vnequall proportion and temperature: ſo I thinke that ciuil policies cannot wel be preſerued but by a certaine inequalitie which is to be ſeene in all countries by diuers ſorts of Gouernments. But let vs heare ACHITOB diſcourſe to this effect. Policie is the bond of all ſocietie.

ACHITOB. In all things compounded of matter and forme, commanding & obeying are ſo naturall, that there is ſome ſhew therof euen in things without life: as we ſee in that harmonie which conſiſteth in voyce, & in ſounds, wherein the contra-tenor ſeemeth to command ouer the baſe. This whole inferiour world obeyeth the ſuperiour, and is gouerned thereby, through a certain vertue accompanied with light and heate, called of many Philoſophers the ſpirit of the world, or as *Plato* ſaith, the ſoule of the world, which deſcending from the celeſtiall nature, and intermingling it ſelfe throughout the whole maſſe of this great body, penetrateth, quickneth, nouriſheth and moderateth all chaungeable things vnder the Moone. The chiefe miniſter and diſpoſer of this vertue is the Sunne, whom we acknowledge as king among the ſtarres, lightning the vniuerſall frame with his beames. The Moone is as it were the Queene, ruling ouer all moiſtures, and among other maruails, ſhewing hir manifeſt power ouer the flowyng and ebbing of the Ocean ſeas. We ſee among the Elementes that the Fire and Aire through their firſt qualities are Actiue, and that the water and earth are Paſſiue, as beeyng more materiall. Amongſt all kinds of birdes the Eagle is preſident, amongſt beaſts the Lion. In freſh and ſalte waters the mightieſt fiſhes rule, There is ſhew of commanding and obeying in all things. As in harmonie. The ſuperior part of the world ruleth the inferior. The Sunne is king and the Moone Queene among the ſtarres. The Moone ruleth ouer all moiſtures. The Fire and Aire chiefe among the elements. The Eagle, Lion

whale and pike ouer their kinds

rule, as the Whale in the ſea, and the Pike in pooles. Man ruleth ouer all liuing creatures, and in man compounded of body, ſoule, and vnderſtanding, the ſoule commaundeth ouer the body, and the vnderſtanding ouer the deſire. We haue alſo ſeene by proceeding from one particular man to a familie made of many perſons, how the head commandeth diuerſly ouer the partes of his houſe. Euen ſo it is neceſſary, that euery ciuill ſocietie, which is made one of many families tending to a generall good, ſhould be kept in by ſome policie conſiſting in commanding and obeying. In many places of the world there are countries where the cities are not incloſed, where there is no vſe of learning, and where there are no kinges. Other people there are that dwell in no houſes, that vſe no money, that liue with rawe fleſh: in a worde, that ſeeme to hold more of the nature of beaſts than of men. And yet there are none that haue no kind of policie eſtabliſhed amongſt them, or that vſe no lawes or cuſtomes, whereunto they willingly ſubmit themſelues. Neither are they without ſome apprehenſion and reuerence of the diuine nature, vſing prayers & ſacrifices, although damnable: ſo ſtraightly are theſe two things, *diuine Iuſtice and humane Policie* ioined togither, that the one cannot in any ſort remaine amongſt men without the other. Therefore *Plutarke* ſaith, that a citie will ſooner ſtand without a foundation, than ciuil policie can be framed and eſtabliſhed without any religion and opinion of God, or without the preſeruation thereof after it is once receiued. Moreouer, the firſt agreement of people forſaking their barbarous and ruſticall life, to ioine in ciuil ſocietie, was to this ende, that they might haue a place of religion to keepe them togither. Religion ſurely is the foundation of all common-wealths, of the execution of lawes, of the obedience of ſubiects towards their magiſtrates, of their feare towards princes, of mutual loue among themſelues, and of iuſtice towards others. *Lycurgus* reformed the eſtate of the Lacademonians, *Numa Pompilius* of the Romanes, *Solon* of the Athenians, and *Deucalion* of all the Græcians generally, by making

No people without all policie.

Diuine iuſtice & humane policie always linked togither.

Religion is the foundation of all eſtates.

king them deuout and affectionate towardes the gods in prayers, othes, oracles, and propheſies, through the meanes of feare and hope of the diuine nature, which they imprinted in them. *Polybius* gouernour and lieutenant to *Scipio Africanus*, and taken for the wiſeſt Politician in his time, ſaith, That the Romans had neuer any greater meanes than religion, to extend the borders of their empire, and the glory of their famous acts ouer all the earth. Deſiring therfore that religion, the truth, and the law of God, all which are one, and publiſhed by the mouth of God, may continue and dwel amongſt vs, let vs ſee what Policie is, wherunto it ought chiefly to tend, and what ſundry ſorts there are of eſtabliſhing it, by the contrary kindes of gouernment vſed among the auncients. Policie is a worde deriued of this Greeke word πολιτεία, which ſignifieth the regiment of a citie or common-wealth: and that which the Græcians call Political gouernment, the Latines call the gouerment of a common-wealth, or of a ciuil ſocietie. This word *Policie* hath been taken in many ſignifications amongſt the auncients: ſometime it ſignified a Burgeſie, that is to ſay, the participation and enioying of the rights and priuiledges of a towne: ſometime the maner of life vſed by ſome politicall perſon: as when one commendeth the policie of *Pericles*, or of *Bias*, that is, their kind of gouernment: ſometime alſo when they would note ſome woorthy deed in the gouernment of the common-wealth, they ſayd, *That man hath wrought an act of policie this day*. But the chiefe ſignification of this worde, and that which aunſwereth to our preſent diſcourſe, is *the order and eſtate whereby one or many townes are gouerned, and publike affaires well managed and adminiſtred*. But before we beginne to ſpeak of the diuers ſortes of Policies, that is to ſay, of gouernments of townes, of which all Common-wealthes and Monarchies are compounded, let vs ſpeake a word of the end of policy, and of that marke whereat it ought eſpecially to aime. As all Cities and ciuill ſocieties are appointed for the obtaining of ſome *Good*, ſo all policie reſpecteth the ſame, and tendeth to no other thing, than

The auncient law-makers eſtabliſhed their ordinances through the meanes of religion.

Religion the greateſt meanes of inlarging the Roman empire.

What Policie is, and from whence the word is deriued.

The diuers ſignifications of this word Policy

Of the end of Policie.

to vnite and frame vs to the companie of men so long as we liue amongst them: to conforme our maners to a ciuill iustice, to set vs at agreement one with another, and to maintaine and preserue common peace and tranquillitie, by procuring that euery one may haue his owne. It is the cause that men to communicate togither without fraud or hurt, that the insolencie of the wicked is brideled and punished: briefly, that not onely all duties of humanitie are vsed amongst men, but also that some publique forme of religion appeereth, and that blasphemies against the diuine nature, and other offences which trouble common quietnesse are not openly broched. For although it falleth not within the compasse of mans power, as we said, to prescribe and appoint by their authoritie any regiment and gouernment ouer soules, yet euery one is not to bee suffred to forge at his pleasure lawes concerning religion, and the maner of seruing God. But ciuil ordinance must carefully prouide, that the true seruice of God be not publikely violated and polluted through an vncontrouled libertie, especially considering that the conseruation of euery well ordered policie dependeth thereupon. But we shal vnderstand this matter more at large hereafter in the particular handling of the parts of an estate, which we wil diuide into 3. principal and general heads, folowing therin the ancient Politikes, namely, into the Magistrate, the Law, and the people. Now to goe on with that which was propounded vnto vs, let vs speake of those kindes of gouernments which were amongst the ancients. The ordinance of a citie, or order amongst magistrates, especially amongst them that had the soueraigne rule ouer all, was called of the ancients, *Common-welth*, or as some others wil haue it *Weale-publike*, which in hir kind of gouernment was named according to the qualitie of the chiefe rulers therof. And those common-wealths that tended to common benefit were said to be right, & simply iust: but if they respected the profit of the superiors only, they were said to be corrupt, & were called transgressions of right commó-wealths, these being the cause of as much euil to the whole body

Ciuil ordinance ought to maintaine the worship of God.

Euery estate cósisteth of 3. parts, of the magistrate, the law, and the people.

When common-wealths are right, and when corrupt.

body of the city, as the others are of *Good*. For as the good or euill of an houſe dependeth of the father of the familie, the ſafetie or loſſe of a ſhip, of the Pilote or maſter, the good or ill ſucceſſe of an army, of the generall thereof: ſo the happines or vnhappines of townes and peoples dependeth of the magiſtrates, and yet ſo that God ruleth ouer all. Common-wealths then are either good or bad, right or corrupted. That is a good common-welth, wherin the gouernours ſeeke the publike profit of the citizens, & the benefit of the whole ciuil ſocietie. It is called right and iuſt, bicauſe it hath ſuch an end, and ſeeketh after the ſame, taking no counſell about any thing, but only about the preſeruation of iuſtice. A corrupt common-wealth is that which repugneth and is directly contrary to that which is good and iuſt, & chiefly to the end therof. For it ſeeketh only the increaſe of priuate commoditie, hauing no care of publike profit. There are 3. kinds of good common-wealths, and 3. of bad, whoſe gouernment alwayes conſiſteth in the ſuperiors of the eſtate, taking their appellation and name of them, as hath been ſaid. The firſt kind of good common-wealths is a Monarchie, which taketh place whē the ſoueraigntie is in one alone. This reſpecting publike profit onely, and preferring common benefit always before hir own priuate and particular commoditie, taketh vpō hir the name of a kingdom, or of kingly power. But if ſhe looke vnto his particular benefit that ruleth, ſeeking to raign by an abſolute wil without any obſeruatiō of iuſt laws, then ſhe hath the name of tirānie, which is the firſt bad kind of cōmon-welth. Now foraſmuch as we liue in this kingdō, vnder this firſt kind of cōmon-welth, called a kingly monarchie, we wil dilate this matter, & cōſider thereof at large in a ſeueral treatiſe, that we may the better know the excellencie of it, when it is wel & iuſtly ordained. The ſecond kind of a right & good commō-welth is of a Greek word called an Ariſtocratie, which in our lāguage we may interprete, *the power of the beſt mē*, whō we cal in latine *optimates*, bicauſe they are accounted for the beſt & moſt vertuous men. This forme of gouernment taketh

The good or euil eſtate of cōmon-wealths dependeth of the magiſtrates next vnder God.

The diuiſion of common-welths in generall.

The ſubdiuiſion of them.

Of a monarchie.

Of a tirannie.

Of an Ariſtocratie, and what it ſignifieth.

place when a few tried and approoued men for maners and learning haue the ſoueraigntie iointly togither, and make lawes for the reſt of the people, whither it be generally or particularly, directing their thoughtes to no other marke than to publique vtilitie and profite. This was ſeene moſt excellently among the Lacedemonians, whoſe common-wealth ſurpaſſed all others of hir time, as well for hir policie and eſtabliſhment, whereof there was neuer the like, and wherein ſhe continued about 500. yeeres, as alſo for the glorie of hir warlike actes, whereby ſhe helde the empire of Græcia a long tyme, vnder the lawes of that happy Ariſtocraticall gouernment, which *Lycurgus* eſtabliſhed there. This man ſeeyng their eſtate to incline one while to tirannie, when the kings had too much power, and an other while to popular confuſion, when the common people beganne to vſurpe too great authoritie, deuiſed with him-ſelfe to giue them a counterpoize, that ſhould be healthfull for the whole bodie of the Common-wealth, by eſtabliſhing there a Senate, which was as a ſtrong barre, holding both the extremities in equall balaunce, and giuing firme and ſtedfaſt footing to their eſtate. For the 28. Senators making the bodie of the Senate, ſometimes tooke part with the two kings who were depriued of all ſoueraigntie, ſo far foorth as was thought needfull to reſiſt the raſhneſſe of the people: and contrarywiſe, ſometimes they ſtrengthened the peoples ſide againſt the kings, who had then but the voyces of two Senatoures in the councell, thereby to keepe them from vſurping any tyrannicall power. True it is that their eſtate was not purely Ariſtocraticall, vntill one hundred yeeres after the firſt eſtabliſhment thereof by *Lycurgus*, bicauſe hee had left the confirmation and abrogation of the aduice and decrees of the Senate in the peoples power. But *Polydorus* and *Theopompus* beyng kinges, and ſeeyng how hard a matter it was to aſſemble all the people togither, and how they ouerthrew many tymes the ſacred decrees of the Senate, holpe them-ſelues with an oracle from *Apollo*, whereby

The Lacedemonian eſtate was an excellent paterne of this gouernment.

Why the Senate of Lacedemonia was firſt inſtituted.

What power the kings of Lademonia had.

The policie of Polydorus and Theopompus to get the power out of the peoples hands.

whereby it was signified that the Senate of thirtie should from thence-forth haue all power in matters of estate, in so much that of Senators they became soueraigne lordes. And to content the people, they appointed fiue Ephories who were chosen out of the people, as Tribunes to keepe away tiranny. That policie then is truely Aristocraticall, wherin vertue only is respected in the distribution of magistracies, and the benefit of the subiects is chiefly considered in the gouernment thereof. *Oligarchie* is opposite and contrary to this, and is the second kinde of a corrupted common-wealth. This is when a few noble or riche men occupie the authoritie and administration of the common-wealth, reiecting the poorer and baser sort, and aiming at nothing but at their owne priuate and particular profite, without all care of publique commoditie. These men alwayes vse to take part with their like in nobilitie or riches, to the treading downe and oppression of the meaner sort of people. Moreouer, they rule all matters according to their affections, and through ambition and couetousnes take them into their own hands, vntil some one that is mightiest amongst them, find the means to rule absolutely, and to change the Oligarchie into a tiranny. *Aristotle* affirmeth that all the auncient gouernments in Sicilia were Oligarchies, among which that of the Leontines was translated into the tirannie of *Panetus*, that of *Gela* into the tirannie of *Cleander*, that of *Rhegium* into the tirannie of *Anaxilas*, and so of many others. The third kind of a good and right common-wealth is of a Greeke worde called Timocratie, which we may call *The power of meane or indifferent wealth*. This kinde of gouernment was after a peculiar sort called of the Auncients by the name of *Common-wealth*: bicause this policie tended most of all to publique profite, and was guided by lawes, and * compounded of an Oligarchie and a Democratie, which are two extremes, and of themselues vicious and corrupt. For of their mediocrities this forme of common-wealth was instituted after 3. sortes. First, by taking the lawes and institutions of both: secondly, by holding

Why the Ephories were appointed in Lacedemonia.

Of an Oligarchy

How an Oligarchie is changed into a tirannie, with examples thereof.

Of a Timocraty.

*His meaning is, that it is ruled by some lawes taken from eche of these.

the mediocritie of things commanded by them: thirdly, by following the constitutions, partly of the one, & partly of the other. *Aristotle* speaketh of this kind of Common-wealth when he saith, That ciuill societie consisting of meane persons is very good, and that those cities are wel gouerned wherein there are many of the middle sort, who haue more power than both the other parties, or at least than any one of them. For where as many are passing rich, or extreme poore, there followeth either an extreme Democratie, or an intollerable Oligarchie, or els through their excesse, a tirannie. Nowe the last kind of corrupt common-wealth remaineth to be seene, which is called Democratie, where free and poore men being the greater number, are lordes of the estate. There were fiue sortes of them: the first, where the gouernment was equally communicated to all: the second, where regard was had to wealth, although it was but small: the third, where all the citizens were partakers of the gouernment vnder the ruling of the lawe: the fourth, where euery one might attaine to the magistracie, so that hee were a citizen, and the lawe ruled: the fift, where other things beyng equall, the multitude commanded and not the lawe: and then the people onely gouerned, accordyng to their fansie by decrees and prouisoes, which they gaue out daily, oppressing the vertuous, riche and noble, that they might liue in all libertie. This kinde is not to bee called a Common-wealth, seeing the lawes beare no sway, but beyng aunswerable to a tirannie, it is passing ill, and vnwoorthie to bee numbred among Common-wealths. *Plato* and *Xenophon* wrote, that the Democratie of Athens was such a one, where the people was giuen ouer to all licentiousnesse without either feare of Magistrates, or obseruation of lawes. Nowe of the three kindes of good Common-wealthes mentioned by vs, *Aristotle*, *Polybius*, *Dionysius Halicarnassaus* and *Cicero*, compound an other, that is partaker of all three: saying, that euery kind of Common-wealth established simplie, and alone by it selfe, soone degenerateth into the next vice, if it be not moderated

Of a Democratie.

Fiue kinds thereof, according to Aristotle in his 4. booke of Politi. ca. 4.

Athens a Democratical estate.

Of a mixt kinde of common-wealth.

moderated and kept backe by the reſt. Therefore they ſay that a Common-wealth erected with a right gouernement to continue long, muſt haue the vertues and properties of the other Common-wealths, ioyned togither in hir, to the ende that nothing growe out of proportion which may cauſe hir to degenerate into hir next euill, and ſo conſequently ouerthrow hir. Likewiſe many auncient and late Politikes haue maintayned, that the Common-wealths of the Lacedemonians, Carthaginians, Romans and others that are famous, as that of the Venitians, were compound and mildlie intermingled with the royall, Ariſtocraticall, and popular power. But this ſubiect deſerueth well a ſeuerall diſcourſe, which beyng needleſſe for the vnderſtanding of the matter here propounded vnto vs, we will not ſtay any longer in the curious ſearching out of ſundry other kindes of eſtates and policies, which the ancients haue drawen out of theſe alreadie deſcribed. We will note therefore for the concluſion of our ſpeech that the reaſon why ſo many kindes of Common-wealths are mentioned by the auncients is this, bicauſe euery citie is compounded of many partes, the diuerſitie of which, according as they were in greater number and power, cauſed them to varie the names of gouernments. But to auoyd confuſion and obſcuritie, we may ſay, that if the ſoueraignte conſiſteth in one onely prince, the eſtate is Monarchicall: if all the people haue intereſt in it, the eſtate is popular: and if onely the leaſt parte of them haue the chiefe power, the eſtate is Ariſtocraticall. But if their forme of gouernment be contrary to their nature, they take an other qualitie but chaunge not their eſſence. Moreouer we ſay, that the preſeruation of euerie publique ſocietie dependeth of the policie well ordeined, without which there can be nothing but diſorder & confuſion among men. We ſay, that policie is the order of a citie in the offices of magiſtracie, namely, in the chiefe of all, in whoſe gouernment the whole Common-wealth conſiſteth: which if it be in the peoples handes, is called Popular, as in the Cantons of Switzerland, and leagues

Examples hereof.

The perfe ctest diſtinction of common-wealths.

There is difference between the eſtate and the gouernment of a common-wealth.

Examples of the popular eſtate.

of the Grisons, in many free townes in Germanie, and in old time was in Athens: if in the hands of certaine persons, as of the gentlemen of Venice, and of some families in Genes, it is called Aristocraticall: if it dependeth of the wil of one alone, it is called a Monarchie, as in France, Spaine, Portingale, England, Scotland, Sweathland, Polonia. Further we say, that the diuersitie of gouernment among cities and peoples, dependeth of their end: if they tend to a good ende, which is to publique benefite, they are good and iust: but if to an ill ende, namely, to the particular profite of such as commaund, they are euill and vniust.

Of the Aristocraticall,

Of the Monarchicall.

Of the soueraigne Magistrate, and of his authoritie and office. Chap. 54.

ACHITOB. WE commonly say that that thing is rightly done, which is done according to the order and institution of policie. Neither is right any other thing amongst vs, than the order of that estate vnder which we liue, the soueraigntie wherof is the sure foundation, vnion and bond of all the particulars in one perfect body of a commō-welth. And when iudgements are exercised by the magistrates, when the wil of iustice is declared by the exposition of the lawes & of right, and when we direct our actions vnder iustice, thē is the order of ciuil societie duly obserued. Hereupon in our last discourse we said, that the estate of a common-wealth was compounded of 3. general partes, of the magistrate, of the law, and of the people. Thus followyng our purpose, let vs intreat particularly of these parts, wherof euery common-welth consisteth: & first let vs consider of the chief magistrate, and of his authoritie and office.

What right is.

The foundation of euery estate is the soueraigntie therof.

Euery estate cōsisteth of 3. parts

ASER. All ciuil superioritie is a holy and lawful vocation before God. And as iustice is the end of the law, and the law a worke of the magistrate, so also the magistrate is the image of God, who ruleth and gouerneth all, according

The magistrate is the image of God.

according to which mould and paterne he muſt faſhion himſelfe through the meanes of vertue.

AMANA. As in a man that is well diſpoſed both in bodie and ſoule according to nature not corrupted, the ſoule ruleth and commandeth with reaſon, being the better part, and the body with the affections thereof ſerue & obey, as the woorſe part: ſo is it in euery humane aſſemblie. It belongeth to the wiſeſt to rule, and to ſuch as are leſſe aduiſed to obey. Therfore the Magiſtrate muſt aboue all things labour, that he be not vnwoorthie of that perſon which he ſuſtaineth. But let vs heare ARAM diſcourſe of this matter which is heere propounded vnto vs.

The wiſeſt muſt rule.

ARAM. God being carefull of all things, euen of the very leaſt, and comprehending in himſelfe the beginning, end, and midſt of them, according to his good pleaſure, and making all in all by his onely ſpirite, reſpecting the common good of this whole frame, and preſeruation of humane ſocietie, hath from time to time diſtributed to ſundry perſons diſtinct and different graces, that in exerciſing diuers eſtats, charges, adminiſtrations, offices, handicrafts, and occupations, they might through mutuall ſuccour, and interchangable helpe preſerue and maintain themſelues. This is that which we ſee in cities amongſt ciuill companies, which is aſmuch to ſay, as a multitude of men vnlike in qualities & conditions, as rich, poore, free, bond, noble, vile, skilfull, ignorant, artificers, labourers: ſome obeying, others commanding, and all communicating togither in one place their arts, handicrafts, occupations, & exerciſes, to this end, that they may liue the better, and more commodiouſly. They obey alſo the ſame Magiſtrates, lawes, and ſoueraigne councell, which *Plato* calleth the Anchor, head and ſoule of the citie: which naturally tendeth to ſome order and rule of dominion, as that which tooke beginning and increaſe from perſons acquainted with a gouernment that reſembleth the royall regiment, as appeereth in euery well ordered familie, and hath already beene touched of vs. The firſt ſoueraign gouernment was eſtabliſhed either by the violence of the mightieſt,

Why God diſtributeth his gifts diuerſly to diuers men.

A well gouerned familie reſembleth the kingly regiment.

mightieſt, as *Thucidides*, *Ceſar*, *Plutarke*, and others write: and the holy hiſtorie teſtifieth the ſame vnto vs, and putteth this opinion out of doubt, where it is ſayd, that *Nimrod Chams* nephewe, was the firſt that brought men into ſubiection by force and violence, eſtabliſhing his principalitie in the kingdome of Aſſyria: Or if any will beleeue *Demoſthenes*, *Ariſtotle*, and *Cicero*, the firſt ſoueraigntie was inſtituted vpon their will and good liking, who for their owne commoditie, reſt, & ſecuritie, ſubmitted themſelues to ſuch as excelled moſt in vertue in thoſe times, which they called heroicall. Who knoweth not (ſaith *Cicero*) in his oration for *Seſtius*, that the nature of men was ſometime ſuch, that not hauing natural equitie as yet written, they wandred vp and downe being diſperſed in the fields, and had nothing but that which they could catch & keep forceably by murders and wounds? Wherefore ſome excelling in vertue and counſell, & knowing the docilitie & vnderſtãding of man, gathered the diſperſed togither into one place, & brought them from that rudenes wherein they were, vnto iuſtice & gentlenes. Then they eſtabliſhed thoſe things that belonged to common profit, which we call publike, & appointed aſſemblies, afterward called cities, & walled about their buildings ioined togither, which we cal townes, hauing firſt found out both diuine and humane equitie. At the ſame time the authoritie of Magiſtrats tooke place, who were inſtituted by the conſent of the people, for that excellent heroicall vertue, which they ſaw in thoſe firſt Rectors and Ordainers of ciuill ſocietie, to whome was committed the iuriſdiction of lawes, or receiued cuſtomes, and the diſpoſition of written equitie to rule and gouerne their people thereafter. But not to ſtaye long about the diuerſitie of thoſe opiniõs, which we haue heere alleadged for the eſtabliſhment of the ſoueraigntie, this is out of queſtion, that the foundation of euery common-wealth dependeth thereupon, & that it is the abſolute & perpetual power of the Common-wealth, & is not limited either in power, or charge, or for a certaine time. This ſoueraigntie is in him or them that are chiefe of the Eſtate:

Gen. 10. 10.

Of the originall of kingdoms.

Cicero his opinion therein.

What ſoueraigntie is.

Eſtate: & a little king is aſmuch a ſoueraigne, as the greateſt Monarch of the earth. For a great kingdome (ſaith *Caſſiodorus*) is nothing elſe but a great Common-wealth, vnder the keeping of one chief ſoueraigne. But before we intreate more amply of his authoritie and office, it behooueth vs to render a reaſon of the name of *Magiſtrate*, which is heere giuen vnto him. This word *Magiſtrate*, hath beene taken of the Ancients in diuers ſignifications: and *Plato* maketh ſeuenteene ſortes of them, calling ſome neceſſary Magiſtrats, others honourable. *Ariſtotle* ſaid, that they ought chiefly to be called Magiſtrats, that haue power to take counſell, to iudge, and to command, but eſpecially to command. And this doth the Greeke word ἀρχαὶ & ἄρχοντες, ſufficiently declare, as if he would ſay, *Commanders*: and the Latine word *Magiſtratus*, being a word of commanding, ſignifieth to maiſter, and to exercife dominion. Alſo the Dictator, who had the greateſt power to command, was called of the Ancients, *Magiſter populi*. Therefore albeit the name of Magiſtrate hath been heeretofore, and is yet giuen to all that haue publike and ordinarie charge in the Eſtate, yet we will as it were abuſe this name a little, by transferring it to the Soueraigne of all, of whome all Magiſtrats, lawes, and ordinances of the Common-wealth depend. Now, let vs ſee whether this vocation of the Magiſtrate be lawfull and approoued of God. We haue not onelye infinite teſtimonies in the Scripture, that the eſtate of Magiſtrates is acceptable before God, but which is more, it is adorned with honourable titles, that the dignitie therof might be ſingularly recommended vnto vs. When we ſee that all men placed in authoritie are called Gods, we muſt not eſteeme this title to be of ſmal importance, ſeeing it appeereth therby, that they are authorized by him, and repreſent his maieſtie in the ruling & gouerning of vs. If the Scripture (as that heauenly word ſaith) called them Gods, vnto whom the word of God was giuen, what is that elſe but that they haue charge & cómiſſion from God to ſerue him in their office, & (as *Moſes* & *Ioſaphat* ſaid to their Iudges, whom they appointed

A little king aſmuch a Soueraigne as the greateſt Monarch.

Of the name of Magiſtrate.

The Dictator of Rome was called *Magiſter populi*.

The calling of Magiſtrates prooued to be lawfull.

Pſal. 82. 6.

Iohn. 10. 35.

2. Chron. 19. 6.

pointed ouer euery citie of Iudah) to exerciſe iuſtice, not in the name of men, but in the name of God? By me (ſaith the wiſedome of God) kings raigne, and princes decree iuſtice. By me princes rule, and the nobles, and all the iudges of the earth. Moreouer we ſee, that many holye men haue obtained kingdomes, as *Dauid, Ioſias, Ezechias:* ſome gouernments and great eſtates vnder kings, as *Ioſeph*, and *Daniel:* others the guiding of a free people, as *Moſes, Ioſua*, and the Iudges, whoſe calling and eſtate was acceptable to God, as he hath declared by his ſpirite. Wherefore no man ought to doubt of this, that ciuill ſuperioritie is not onely a holie and lawfull calling before God, but alſo the holieſt and moſt honourable of all other, whereunto all the people is ſubiect, aſwell by the eſtabliſhment of the right of the eſtate, as by the holie and heauenly ordinance of God. And if the Magiſtrate be perſwaded (as it is certaine, that many Eſtates haue had that foundation) that the cauſe of his firſt inſtitution, and voluntarie ſubiection whereunto the people ſubmitted themſelues for their cõmon benefit, was that excellencie of vertue, which appeered in ſome aboue the reſt, ought he not to thinke himſelfe vnwoorthy of ſo honourable a title, if he want the cauſe of the beginning thereof? But further, if the Magiſtrate know that he is appointed the miniſter of Gods iuſtice, vnto what great integritie, prudence, clemencie, moderation, and innocencie, ought he to conforme & frame himſelfe? With what confidence dare he ſuffer any iniquitie to haue entrance into his ſeate, which he vnderſtandeth to be the throne of the liuing God? With what boldnes will he pronounce any vniuſt ſentence out of his mouth, which he knoweth is appointed to be an inſtrument of the truth of God? With what conſcience will he ſubſcribe to, or ſeale any euill ſtatute with his hand, which he knoweth is ordained to write the decrees of God? To be ſhort, if the Magiſtrate call to mind, that as God hath placed the Sunne and Moone in the heauens as a token of his diuinitie, ſo is he alſo appointed in earth for the like repreſentation and light, will he not thinke that he is to imploy

Prou. 8. 15. 16.

The calling of the Magiſtrate is moſt holie.

He is the miniſter of Gods iuſtice.

Good counſell for Magiſtrats.

imploy and beſtow all his care and ſtudie, that he may repreſent vnto men in all his dooings, as it were an image of the prouidence, defence, goodnes, clemencie, and iuſtice of God? It is certaine that the Magiſtrate is the ſame thing in the Common-wealth, which the hart is in the body of a liuing creature. If the hart be ſound and pure, it giueth life vnto the whole body, bicauſe it is the fountaine of the bloud, and of the ſpirits: but being corrupted, it bringeth death and deſtruction to all the members. So fareth it with the Magiſtrate, who is the ſoule of the people, their glaſſe, and the white whereat all his ſubiects aime. If he liue vnder right, reaſon, truth and Iuſtice, which are the proper wil of God onely, he is not vnlike to a line or rule, which being firſt right it ſelfe, afterward correcteth all other crooked things that are applied vnto it. For nothing is more natural, than that ſubiects ſhould conforme themſelues to the manners, deedes, and words of their prince. The wiſe Hebrew, *Plato*, *Cicero*, and *Titus Liuius*, haue left this Maxime vnto poſteritie as an infallible rule of Eſtate. And *Theodoricus* king of the Gothes, writing to the Senat of Rome, goeth yet further, vſing theſe words, as *Caſſiodorus* rehearſeth them: *That the courſe of nature would ſooner faile, than the people would leaue off to be like their Princes*. But further, as the hart in the bodies of liuing creatures is laſt corrupted, inſomuch that the laſt relicks of life ſeeme to abide therein: ſo it is meete, that, if any diſeaſe corrupt the people, the ſoueraigne Magiſtrate ſhould continue pure and ſound vnto the end from all that pollution. If there be any euill in the ſoule, it proceedeth from the wickednes of the body, being ſubiect to peruerſe affections: and looke what good thing ſoeuer is in the body, it floweth from the ſoule, as from the fountaine thereof. Now as it would be againſt nature, if the euils of the body ſhould come from the ſoule, & the good gifts of the body ſhould be corrupted by the vices of the ſpirite: ſo would it be very abſurd, that corrupt manners, euill lawes, vice, and vngodlines, ſhould proceede from the Magiſtrate vnto the people, ſeeing (as *Plato* ſaith) he holdeth the ſame place

The Magiſtrate compared to the hart of a liuing creature.

And to a Carpenters rule.

in

The Magistrate is in the Common-wealth that which reason is in the soule.

in the Common-wealth, that reason doth in the soule, which guideth the other parts by wisedome. And forasmuch as the whole Common-wealth representeth but one certaine bodye compounded of diuers members, whereof the Magistrate is the Head and most excellent of all, he must also vse such equitie, that he profit euery one of them, and beware that he be not contagious to the whole publike body through his euil example. The people (saith *Seneca*) giue more credite to their eies, than to their eares: that is to say, they beleeue that which they see, sooner than that which they heare. And to instruct the people by precepts, is a long and difficult way: but to teach them by examples is very short, and of greater efficacie. Therefore the Magistrate must be more carefull of that which he doth, than of that which he speaketh. And that which he prescribeth his subiects for a rule, as it were by law, must be confirmed of him by works and deedes. For as he is chiefly bound to follow the lawes of God and nature, so he must make all those lawes and statuts, which he establisheth in his estate, according to that paterne. And therfore one of the Ancients said very wel, that the prince togither with his subiects, had one and the same God to serue, one law to keepe, and one death to feare. We will then briefly comprehend the dutie of the Magistrate in these three things, in ruling, in teaching, and in iudging his people: which duties are so neerely knit and ioined togither, that the one cannot be well exercised without the other, and he that faithfully discharged one, fulfilleth them all. For this cause *Plato* saith, that the arte and science of the King, of the Philosopher, and of the Politician, is one and the same; bicause they consist all three in knowing how to rule, to teach, and to iudge well. He saith also, that the only way to procure true quietnes and most happie felicitie in Common-wealths, is when by some diuine prouidence the soueraigne authoritie of Magistracie meeteth with the will of a wise Philosopher in one person, that vertue may be superior, and vice suppressed. And if such a gouernour ouer people is to be accounted very happy,

The example of the Magistrate is the best way to teach the people.

Whereunto the Prince is bound aswell as his subiect.

The dutie of the Magistrate consisteth in three things.

The art Royall, Philosophicall, and Politicall is all one.

happy, they are no leſſe happie, that may heare the excellent diſcourſes, & good inſtructions which proceed from his mouth. Beſides, when they ſee vertue after a liuely ſort imprinted in a viſible paterne, & that the Magiſtrates life is ſuch an example, they become wiſe of their own accord. Then is force, conſtraint, or threatning, needeles to bring them to their dutie, as they that conforme themſelues to an vpright & good life in friendſhip, charitie, & concord, one with another. So that we may boldly ſay, that he is by nature moſt worthie of ſoueraigne authority, who is able by his vertue to imprint in mens harts the like diſpoſition & affection to liue wel & vertuouſly. But foraſmuch as few vertuous men are found, & ſoueraigne Magiſtrats are not commonly choſen out of that ſmal number, but come to that authoritie for the moſt part by ſucceſſion: it is no maruell if there be but fewe ſuch Magiſtrates, as we haue here deſcribed: nay, it is rather greatly to be wondered at, if any one amonge a great many become very excellent. Notwithſtanding, as their ſoueraign is nothing leſſe ouer their ſubiects, who owe fidelitie & obedience vnto them: ſo are they alwaies bound to do their dutie and office towards them, which conſiſteth in miniſtring iuſtice, counſel, comfort, aide, and protection. Moreouer, bicauſe inſolencie and rebellious wickednes is alwaies to be found in ſome corrupt perſons, who neither by teaching, nor by example of good life will be brought to vertue, but perſeuer in committing a thouſand impious & vniuſt actions, for the puniſhment of ſuch, the ſword is put into the Magiſtrates hand, both by the law of God & man, that as the miniſter of God he ſhould ſerue his wrath, & take vengeance of them that do euil. This is that which is ſo expreſly cõmanded to Magiſtrats in infinit places of the ſcripture, vnder theſe words: *Do iudgement & iuſtice:* Iuſtice in deliuering him that is oppreſſed by force, from the hand of the oppreſſor, in not grieuing ſtrangers, widowes, and orphanes, in offering no iniurie to any, in ſhedding no innocent blood, and in dealing vprightly with euery one: and Iudgement in reſiſting the boldnes of the wicked, in

Who is moſt woorthie of ſoueraigne authoritie.

Why there are ſo few vertuous Princes.

Wherin the dutie of the chiefe Magiſtrate conſiſteth.

Why the ſword is put into the Magiſtrates hand.

Ier. 22. 3.

What is meant by this precept, *Do Iudgement and Iuſtice.*

in repreſſing their impudencie and violence, and in puniſhing their faults. *It is an abhomination to kings* (ſaith the wiſe man) *to commit wickednes: for the throne is ſtabliſhed by iuſtice. A king that ſitteth in the throne of iudgement, chaſeth away all euill with his eies. A wiſe king ſcattereth the wicked, and cauſeth the wheele to turne ouer them. Take the droſſe from the ſiluer, and there ſhall proceede a veſſell for the ſiner. Take away the wicked from the king, and his throne ſhall be ſtabliſhed in righteouſnes. Aſwell he that iuſtifieth the wicked, as he that condemneth the iuſt, is an abhomination vnto God. The people and nations curſe him that ſaith to the wicked, thou art iuſt.* Yea, an offence is to be imputed aſmuch or more to him that ſuffereth it to be done, when he may & is bound to ſtay it, than to him that committeth the ſame. And if it be a point of true iuſtice in Magiſtrates to perſecute the wicked with drawne ſword, let not them that will needes (forſooth) abſtaine from all ſeueritie, and keepe their hands pure from blood, whileſt the ſwords of the wicked are drawne out to commit murder and violence: I ſay, let them not doubt but they themſelues ſhall be iudged guiltie of great iniuſtice before the diuine Maieſtie. It is true, that gentlenes and clemencie moſt of all beſeeme a great and excellent man, and is one principall vertue neceſſary for a Magiſtrate. Notwithſtanding it muſt ſo be ruled, that for the benefite of the Common-wealth, ſeueritie and rigor be ioined therewith: bicauſe it is vnpoſſible to rule & gouerne a multitude without this. And yet it is not the part either of a wiſe Phiſition, or of a good gouernor of an Eſtate, to ſet hand to the iron, except in great neceſſitie, when there is no other remedie. For if they do otherwiſe, as there is want of diſcretion in both, ſo moſt of all in the Magiſtrate, bicauſe iniuſtice alſo is ioined with crueltie. So that it is neceſſarie both in clemencie and rigor to keepe ſome honeſt meane by right reaſon, and prudence, to the end that the inconueniences of both may be eſchewed. This is that which *Iſocrates*, ſpeaking of the manner of raigning wel, teacheth, when he ſayth, that a man muſt be ſeuere in ſearching out of faults, and mercifull in impoſing puniſhments that are leſſe

Prou. 16.12. & 20.8.26.

Prou. 25.4.5.

He that ſuffreth euill, is culpable aſwell as he that committeth it.

Seueritie and clemencie are to be linked together in a Magiſtrate.

lesse than the faults, gouerning men more by clemencie and prudence, than by rigor and crueltie. And seeing it falleth out so, that an ouer-seuere Magistrate becommeth odious, and that he is contemned & despised who is too gratious, a wise man must be both ciuill and graue; grauitie being comely in commanding, and ciuilitie necessarie for him that conuerseth with men. For the conclusion therefore of our discourse, we learne, that both by the establishment of euery estate and policie, and by a holie & heauenly decree, we are subiect to the soueraigne Magistrate, who is lawfully ordained to rule, to teach, and to iudge vs in all things that respect this present life, and the preseruation of ciuill societie. We learne, that seeing he is the image of God vpon earth, he must conforme himselfe asmuch as he is able to the perfection of all goodnes and iustice, that he may bring on them that are committed to his charge to godlines and vertue by his example: & that it is his dutie to honor the good, and to punish the euill, declaring thereby that he is the protector and preseruer of publike tranquillitie, honestie, innocencie, and modestie, and appointed to maintaine the common safetie and peace of all men.

Ciuilitie and grauitie must be ioined both togither in a Magistrate.

The dutie of the Magistrate.

Of the Law. Chap. 55.

ARAM. AS wee note in the vniuersall frame of the world, that many vnlike motions are contained within one heauenly motion, which is alwaies like to it selfe, & all causes by the first cause: and as in euery liuing creature many sundry members distinct in office, are comprised & brought into vnion and agreement by the soule & hart: so in euery Common-wealth compounded of many differing parts, necessary for the establishment thereof, the law is the blood that giueth vertue and life vnto it, the bond that reduceth all the parts therof to vnitie, and the firme preseruer of ciuill societie. Therefore seeing (my Companions) we haue discoursed of the first part of euery ciuil estate & gouernment, which

Al motions contained vnder one, and all causes vnder the first.

The law is the blood and bond of the Common-wealth.

is the chief Magiſtrate: let vs conſider now of the ſecond, no leſſe neceſſary therein, which is the law, whereby he is ioined and vnited to the reſt of the publike body for the maintenance and preſeruation thereof.

The law is the ſpirite and ſoule of the common-wealth.

ACHITOB. The lawe is in the citie, as the ſpirite is in the body. For as the body without the ſpirite vndoubtedly periſheth: in like maner euery citie & Commonwealth that hath no law, falleth into ruine and perdition. Therefore *Cicero* calleth lawes the ſoules of Common-wealths.

ASER. As the ſoule guideth the body, and indueth it with abilitie to work: ſo the law is the direction & maintenance of euery Eſtate. By the lawe is the Magiſtrate obeied, and the ſubiects kept in peace and quietnes. But let vs heare AMANA handle this matter.

All creatures are ſociable by nature.

AMANA. We ſee that naturally all liuing creatures, whether earthie, watry, aërie, or flying, tame, or wild, ſeeke after the companies and aſſemblies of their kinds, to liue with them, as Sheepe by flocks: Kine, Oxen, Harts, and Hindes, feeding by herds: Horſes, Aſſes, & Mules by companies: Choughs, Stares, Cranes, & other birds by flights: Fiſhes both in freſh and ſalt waters following one another in ſholes: Bees dwelling in hiues: Pigeons in doouehouſes: Ants in little hollow places. No maruell therefore if men, ſingularly adorned with an immortal ſoule, with reaſon, & ſpeech, and by theſe prerogatiues more communicable than other creatures, as borne to honour God, to loue one another, to liue togither in a ciuill policie with lawes, Magiſtrats, & iudgements, hauing proper to themſelues onely the knowledge of good & euill, of honeſtie & diſhoneſtie, of iuſtice & iniuſtice, knowing the beginnings & cauſes of things, their proceedings, antecedents, & conſequents, their ſimilitudes & cõtrarieties, no maruel I ſay, if they liue more commodiouſly & happily togither, & do that by right & equity, which other liuing creatures do only by a natural inſtinct: ſeeing alſo they may be aſſured (as *Cicero* ſaith) *that nothing here below is more acceptable to god the gouernor of all the world, than the cõgregations & aſſemblies of mẽ linked togither by right & equity, which we cal cities.* Now we are

The prerogatiues of men aboue other creatures.

to

to note, that all thoſe which obey the ſame lawes & Magiſtrats, make iointly togither but one city, which (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) is euery cõpany aſſembled togither for ſome benefit. If a city be aſſẽbled in monarch-wiſe, it is to be defẽded againſt ſtrãgers, & to liue peaceably among thẽſelues according to law: if Ariſtocratically vnder certaine chiefe lords, it is to be reſpected according to their riches, nobility, & vertue: if in a popular cõmunity, it is to enioy liberty & equality: & the better that the city is guided by policy, the greater benefit they hope for therby. Therefore as the *Venetians* make but one city, liuing vnder an Ariſtocraticall gouernment: the Bernians an other, liuing vnder a Democraty, whether they liue within or without the wals, or far frõ the chief towne: ſo all the natural ſubiects of this Monarchy, acknowledging one king for their ſoueraigne lord, & obeying his commandemẽts, & the decrees of his coũcel, repreſent one city & political cõmunion, cõpounded of many villages, townes, & prouinces, Prouoſtſhips, Bailiweeks, Senſhalſhips, gouernments, Parliaments, Barronies, Counties, Marqueſies, Dukedoms, Cures, Biſhopriks, Archbiſhopriks, being in & of it ſelf ſufficiently furniſhed with all neceſſary & honeſt things, for the leading of a good & vertuous life, & obeying the ſtatuts, lawes, & ordinances eſtabliſhed therin, according to which the Magiſtrat ought to rule & to gouern his ſubiects, ſhewing therby, that albeit he be not ſubiect to the law, yet he wil (as it becommeth him) liue & gouerne himſelfe vnder the law. Therfore the Magiſtrate is very wel called by ſome, *a liuing lawe, & the law a mute Magiſtrate*. Moreouer, the marke of a ſoueraign Prince, of which depẽdeth whatſoeuer he doth by his imperial authority, is the power to preſcribe lawes vnto all in general, & to euery one in particular: & not to receiue any but of God, who is the Iudge of Princes (ſaith *Marcus Aurelius*) *as Princes are the iudges of their ſubiects*: yea it is God (ſaith the wiſe mã) *that wil proceed with rigor againſt thẽ for the contẽpt of his law*. So that they which ſay generally, that princes are no more ſubiect to laws, thã to their own couenãts, if they except not the laws of god & of nature, &

What a citie is.

The diuers ends of the three good Commonwealths.

A king muſt liue vnder a law, albeit he be not ſubiect to the lawe.

The marke of a ſoueraigne.

Wiſd. 6. 3.

How far Princes are ſubiect to lawes.

those iust couenants and bargaines that are made with them, they are iniurious to God. And as for their power to abrogate such lawes by their absolute authoritie, it is no more permitted vnto them than the other: seeing the power of a soueraign is only ouer the ciuill or positiue lawes. But that we may haue some certaine vnderstanding of the matter heere propounded vnto vs to intreate of, we must first see what the lawe is, into howe many kindes it is diuided, whereunto it ought to tend, the profite of it, and howe we must obey it. The lawe is a singular reason imprinted in nature, commanding those things that are to be done, and forbidding the contrary. We haue both the lawe of nature, and the lawe written. The lawe of nature is a sence and feeling, which euerie one hath in himselfe, and in his conscience, whereby he discerneth betweene good and euill, asmuch as sufficeth to take from him the cloake of ignorance, in that he is reprooued euen by his owne witnesse. The written lawe is double, diuine, and ciuill. The diuine lawe is diuided into three partes, that is, into Manners, Ceremonies, and Iudgements. That of Manners was called of the ancient writers the Morall lawe, beeing the true and eternall rule of Iustice, appointed for all men, in what countrie or tyme soeuer they liue, if they will direct their life according to the will of God. And as for the Ceremonies and Iudgements, although they haue some relation to Maners, yet bicause both of them might be altered and abolished without the corruption or diminution of good manners, the Ancients did not comprehend those two parts vnder the word Morall, but attributed this name particularly to the first part of the lawe, of which the sincere integritie of Maners dependeth, which neither may nor ought in any sort to be altered or changed, and whereunto the end of all other lawes is to be referred, in honouring God by a pure faith, and by godlines, and in being ioined vnto our neighbour by true loue. The Ceremonial lawe was a Pedagogie of the Iewes, that is to say, a doctrine of infancie giuen to that people

Wherein the absolute power of Princes consisteth.

The definition of the law.

The diuision of it.

What the law of nature is.

The diuision of the written law.

The diuision of the law of God.

Of the Morall law.

Of the Ceremoniall law.

people to exercise them vnder the obedience to God, vntill the manifestation of those things which were then figured in shadowes. The Iudiciall law giuen vnto them for policie, taught them certaine rules of iustice and equitie, wherby they might liue peaceably togither without hurting one another. Now, as the exercise of ceremonies appertained to the doctrine of pietie, which is the first part of the Morall law (bicause it nourished the Iewish Church in the reuerence of God) and yet was distinct from true pietie: in like maner, albeit their Iudiciall law tended to no other ende than to the preseruation of the selfe same charitie that is commanded in the Morall law, yet it had a distinct propertie, which was not expresly declared in the commandement of charitie. As therefore the ceremonies were abrogated, and true religion and pietie, I meane Christian, substituted in place of the Iudaicll law: so the Iudiciarie lawes were cancelled & abolished, without violating in any sort the dutie of charitie. So that all nations haue libertie to make for themselues such lawes as they shall thinke expedient for them, called of vs ciuill lawes, which must be squared according to the eternall rule of charitie, and differing onely in forme, they must all haue one end, commanding alwaies honest & vertuous things, and contrariwise forbidding those that are dishonest and vitious. Nowe of these ciuill lawes, there are two chiefe kindes amongst vs: The first consisteth in lawes that are ratified & established, vpon which euery Monarchie and publike gouernment is first grounded, and hath his beginning, which ought not in any wise to be infringed or changed: such are those which we call the lawes of the French-men: namely the Salicke law, established by *Pharamond*, who was the first that tooke vpon him the name of king ouer them. Such lawes also are annexed and vnited to the crowne, and therefore the Prince cannot so abrogate them, but that his successor may disanull whatsoeuer he hath done in preiudice of them: much lesse are subiects permitted to attempt any such matter. Yea all those that go about it, seeke nothing but to mooue sedition in the e-

Of the Iudiciall law.

Of ciuill or positiue lawes.

The diuision of ciuill lawes.

What ciuill lawes may not be changed.

The Salick law immutable.

What ciuill lawes may be changed.

ſtate, and to cauſe ſubiects to reuolt from their ſuperiours. As for the other ciuill lawes, as conſtitutions, ordinaunces, edicts, and cuſtomes, which haue beene made and receiued according to the condition and circumſtaunce of times and places, they are in the power of the ſoueraigne Prince, to change and to correct them as occaſion ſhall ſerue. And yet in the general and particular cuſtomes of this Realme, none haue beene commonly chaunged, but after the lawefull aſſemblie of the three generall Eſtates of France, or elſe of the particular Eſtates of euery Prouince: not as if the king were neceſſarily bound to ſtand to their aduice, or might not do contrary to that which they demand, if naturall reaſon and iuſtice ſtand with his will. And then whatſoeuer it pleaſeth him to like or diſlike, to command or forbid, is held for a law, an edict, and decree, and euery ſubiect is bound to obey it. But to ſpeake generally of the lawes of an Eſtate, the changing and gain-saying of them is a very pernitious plague in euery Common-wealth. This ancient rule and Maxime of wiſe Politicks, is well woorth the marking: *That nothing is to be changed in the lawes of a Common-wealth which hath a long time preſerued it ſelfe in good eſtate, what apparant profite ſoeuer a man may pretend.* And for this cauſe in the popular gouernment of the Romanes vnder *Publius Philo* the Dictator, that Athenian edict was receiued, and paſt by force of lawe, *whereby it was not lawfull for any to preſent a requeſt to the people, without the aduice of the Senate.* But there was a farre more ſtrict and ſeuere decree amongeſt the Locrians. For it was to this effect (as *Demoſthenes* rehearſeth it) that euery Citizen that was deſirous to bring in a newe lawe, ſhould come and declare it publikely before the people with a halter about his necke, to the end that if his newe lawe was not thought meete to be receiued, and very profitable for the Common-wealth, he might preſently be ſtrangled, as a woorthie reward for his raſhnes. In euery ſocietie (ſayth *Ariſtotle*) that is well inſtituted and ordained by lawes, great care is to be taken

A Prince may deny the requeſt of his three Eſtates, hauing reaſon and iuſtice on his ſide.

The change of lawes in a well ſetled Eſtate is dangerous.

A ſeuere decree of the Locrians againſt ſuch as would bring in new lawes.

that

that no part of the lawe, although neuer ſo little, be diminiſhed or changed: yea, moſt heede is to be had of that which is done by little and little. For if reſiſtance be not then made, it falleth out in the Common-wealth, as in the diſeaſed bodie of a man, wherein the diſeaſe, if ſpeedie remedie be not vſed in the beginning thereof, increaſeth by little and little, and that which might eaſily haue beene cured, through negligence is made incurable. Men neuer beginne (ſayd *Paulus Æmilius* the Romane Conſul) to alter and chang the eſtate of a Common-wealth, by making their firſt entrance with ſome notorious reſiſting of the lawes. And therefore we muſt thinke that the preſeruation of the principall foundations of a politike Eſtate is left at randon, when men neglect the care of keeping diligentlye the conſtitutions thereof, howe light, or of ſmall importance ſoeuer they ſeeme to be. For ſeeing the lawe is the ſure foundation of euery ciuill ſocietie, if that fayle, it muſt needes be, that the whole politicall building will fall to ruine. Therefore *Bias* the wiſe ſayd, that the Eſtate of that Common-wealth is happie, wherein all the inhabitants feare the lawe as a ſeuere Tyrant. For then whatſoeuer it requireth, is vndoubtedly perfourmed. After the lawe is once eſtabliſhed and approoued (ſaith *Iſidorus*) we muſt not iudge of it, but iudge according vnto it. That is the beſte policie (ſayde *Chilon* one of the Sages of Græcia) where the people hearken more to the lawes, than to the Oratours. This alſo was the cauſe that *Pauſanias* the Lacedemonian made this aunſwere to one who demaunded of him, why it was not lawefull in their countrie to alter any of their aunci-ent lawes. The reaſon is (quoth he) bicauſe the lawes muſt bee Miſtreſſes ouer men, and not men Mayſters ouer the lawes. Moreouer, the antiquitie and profite of lawes are ſo euident, that it is needeles to make any long diſcourſe thereof heere. *Moſes* was the firſt lawe-maker of the Hebrewes; *Mercurius Triſmegiſtus* of the Egyptians; *Phoroneus* the Kinge, of the Græci-

Miſchiefs in a commonwealth muſt be reſiſted in the beginning

The law is the foundation of ciuill ſocieties.

Bias.

We muſt not iudge of the law but according to the law.

Why the Lacedemonian lawes might not be changed.

The ancient law-makers.

ans: *Solon* of the Athenians: *Lycurgus* of the Lacedemonians: *Anacharsis* of the Scythians: *Numa Pompilius* of the Romanes. Ten notable men were chosen by the Senate and people of Rome, to translate and to expound the lawes of the twelue tables. We haue already declared how *Pharamond* made ours. The greatest and best part of the lawes of Germanie was established by *Charles* the great, Emperour and king of France. And so all regions haue had diuers lawmakers, according to the condition and circumstance of time, place, and countrie. True it is, that before the publishing of the law of God, there was no law-maker of whome we haue any knowledge: and surely not so much as one word of a law is to be found in all the works of *Homer*, or *Orpheus*, or of any before *Moses*. But Princes iudged and commanded all thinges by their soueraigne power, which kind of gouernment being more tyrannicall than kingly, could not be of any continuance or assurance, bicause there was no bond to knit the great with the small, and so consequently no agreement. Besides, this is out of doubt, that all the subiects of an Estate stand in neede of a law, as of a light to guide them in the darkenes of humane actions: especially it is necessarie for the terrifieng of the wicked, who might pretend some true cause of their ignorance, or some probable colour of their wickednes, or at least some shew why they should escape the punishment, which is not imprinted in our hartes, as things forbidden by nature. Neuertheles it is not the law that maketh a right gouernment, but vpright iustice, and the equal distribution therof, which ought to be surer ingrauen in the mindes of good kings and princes, than in tables of stone. And it is to small purpose to multiply Edicts and Decrees, if they be not seuerely obserued: yea the first signe that a man may haue of the losse of an estate, is when there appeereth an vnbrideled licence and a facilitie in dispensing with good statuts, and when new decrees are daily consulted of. And if the estate be already troubled, the heaping vp of lawes vpon lawes is no lesse dangerous for it, than a

No law before the law of God.

The necessitie and profit of a law.

The vpright and equall distribution of the law maketh a good gouernment.

To dispence with good statuts, and daily to make new, is a token of the decay of a common-wealth.

multitude

multitude of medicines in a weake ſtomacke, whereas contrarywiſe, new introductions and abuſes are then eſpecially to be taken away, and things brought backe againe to their firſt and ancient forme. Hiſtories teach vs, that when edicts and decrees were moſt of all multiplied, then did tiranny gather greateſt ſtrength. As it fell out vnder the tyrant *Caligula*, who publiſhed decrees of al ſorts both good and bad, and thoſe written in ſo ſmall a letter, that men could not read them, to the end that he might thereby ſnare thoſe that were ignoraunt. His ſucceſſour *Claudius* made twentie edicts in one day, and yet tirannie was neuer ſo cruell, nor men more wicked than at that time. Therfore let the lawes and good ordinances of an eſtate be inuiolable, ſtraightly kept, not ſubiect to diſpenſation, not fauourable to great men, but common and equall to all, and then ſhall the bond of ciuill ſocietie bee ſurely tied. Now where as I ſaid, that all nations haue libertie to preſcribe and frame ciuill lawes for themſelues, my meaning was not to approoue certaine barbarous & beaſtly lawes receiued of ſome people: as thoſe lawes which alowed theeues a certain reward, which permitted the company of men and women indifferently, and innumerable others more diſhoneſt, which are not onely voyd of all iuſtice, but euen of all humanitie. But theſe two things muſt be kept inuiolably in all lawes, namely, *The ordinance of the law, & the equitie of it*, vpon the reaſon wherof the ordinance is grouuded. Equitie is alwayes one and the ſame to all people, bicauſe it is naturall. Therefore all the lawes in the world, of what matter ſoeuer they are, muſt meete in the ſame equitie. Concerning the ordinance of the law, bicauſe it is ioyned with circumſtances, no inconueniẽce letteth but that it may de diuers among ſundry nations, prouided alwayes that they all tend a-like to the ſame marke of equitie. Now ſeeyng the diuine law which we call morall, is nothing elſe but a teſtimonie of the law of nature, and of the conſcience that is imprinted in all mens hartes, no doubt but this equitie whereof we now ſpeake, is wholy declared and comprehended therein.

Examples thereof in Caligula, & in Claudius.

How lawes may be kept inuiolable.

Two things required in the keeping of euery law.

Equitie is alwayes one and the ſame to all people.

The equitie of the morall law ought to be the end and rule of all other lawes.

in. Therefore it is meete that this equitie onely ſhould be the white, rule and end of all lawes. For (as S. *Auguſtine* ſaith in his booke of the citie of God) euery law that beareth not the image of the diuine lawe, is a vaine cenſure. And iuſtice is the end of euery law wel eſtabliſhed, which is the cauſe why S. *Paul* ſo greatly extolleth the vigor of the lawe, calling it the bond of perfection. Thoſe lawes then which are ſquared out by this heauenly rule, which tend to this ende, and are limited out by this meaſure, ought to be receiued and followed cheerfully, albeit they differ from the Moſaicall law, or otherwiſe one from another. For many haue denied (& ſome amongſt vs are yet of that opinion) that no Common-wealth can be well & iuſtly inſtituted and ordained, if leauing the policie of Moſes, it be gouerned by the common lawes of other nations: which is ſo abſurd a thing, and would be the cauſe of ſo great confuſion in the policies of the world, that there needeth no great ſtore of arguments to prooue it vaine and friuolous. Moreouer, by that diſtinction of the law which we haue already ſet downe in our diſcourſe, it appeereth ſufficiently, that the opinion of theſe doters is grounded vpon a meere ignoraunce of the will of God. The lawe of God forbiddeth ſtealing and diuers paines and puniſhments are appointed for the ſame in the policie of the Iewes, according to the kind, time, and place of the theft. The ancienteſt lawes of other nations puniſhed theeues by cauſing thē to reſtore double that which they had ſtolne. Thoſe lawes which folowed made a diſtinction betweene open and ſecret theft: others vſed baniſhment, and ſome death. The lawe of God forbiddeth falſe witnes-bearing, which was puniſhed amongſt the Iewes with the ſame puniſhment that the partie falſely accuſed ſhould haue incurred, if he had been found guiltie. In ſome other countries there was no puniſhment for it but publike ignominie and ſhame: and in ſome alſo the gibbet. Briefly, all the lawes in the world with one common conſent, how different ſoeuer they be, tend to one and the ſame ende, pronouncing ſentence of condemnation againſt

Their opinion confuted, who would tie all nations to the policie of Moſes.

Theft puniſhed diuerſly in diuers nations.

How falſe witnes was puniſhed among the Iewes.

thoſe

thoſe crimes that are condemned by the eternall lawe of God: onely they agree not in equalitie of puniſhment, which is neither neceſſarie nor expedient. There is ſome ſuche countrey that woulde ſpeedily become deſolate through murders and robberies, if it did not exerciſe horrible & grieuous puniſhments vpon the offenders in thoſe crimes. There falleth out ſome ſuch time as requireth increaſe of puniſhments. Some ſuch natiō there is that ſtandeth in need of ſome grieuous correction to be appointed for ſome ſpecial vice, wherunto otherwiſe it would be more giuē than other nations. He that ſhould be offended at this diuerſitie, which is moſt meete to maintain the obſeruation of the law of God, would he not be thought to haue a malicious mind, and to enuy publike benefite and quiernes? For the concluſion of our preſent ſpeech, let vs learne, that ciuil lawes and ordinances depend only of the ſoueraigne ruler, & that he may change them according to the occurrence and benefit of ſtate affaires. Let vs learn that all lawes muſt be referred to the infallible rule of the iuſtice and will of God, and to the common profit of ciuil ſocietie: that he which commaundeth vs to obey magiſtrates not only for feare of puniſhment, but alſo for conſcience ſake, requireth of vs ſuch obedience to their lawes and ordinances: ſo that he is accurſed that infringeth or contemneth them. Therfore we muſt voluntarily ſubmit our ſelues vnto them, ſo that their general end be to ſet an order and policie amongſt vs, and not diſpute of their reaſon and cauſe, as long as their iuriſdiction extendeth not to our ſoules to lay vpon them a new rule of iuſtice.

Ciuil ordinances depend only of the ſoueraign ruler.

The end wherunto all lawes are to be referred.

Of the People, and of their obedience due to the Magiſtrate, and to the Law. Chap. 56.

AMANA. WE haue hitherto ſeene, that the preſeruation of policies dependeth of the obſeruation of the law, that the ſoueraigne

raigne magistrate ruleth thereby, and vseth it as a bond to reduce to vnitie and agreement all the citizens of one Common-wealth, being vnlike in calling, and liuing vnder his dominion: at which marke euery good politike gouernor ought chiefly to aime. Now (my companions) we are to intreat of this third part of a citie, which maketh the politike body perfect and absolute, namely, of the people, and of that obedience which they ought to yeeld to the magistrate and to the law.

The magistrate is the head, the law the soule, and the people the body of the common-welth.

ARAM. The whole Common-wealth fareth well or ill, as all hir parts, euen to the least, are ruled, and containe themselues within the compasse of their duetie. For all of them togither make but one body, whereof the magistrate is the head, and the lawe the soule that giueth life vnto it. Wherefore it is needefull that these should commaund, and the other obey.

ACHITOB. Whatsoeuer profiteth the whole, profiteth the part, and that which is commodious to the part, is also commodious to the whole: and so contrarywise. Wherefore to obey well, which is necessarily required of the people, is greatly auaileable to the whole political bodie. Now let vs heare ASER handle this matter vnto vs more at large.

ASER. In euery discipline the beginning is commonly taken from the least partes thereof. Grammer taketh his beginning from letters, which are the least things in it: Logike, from the two least partes thereof, namely, the Nowne and the Verbe. Geometrie from the point: Arithmetick from Vnitie: Musick from the Minnem and Sembrief, which are likewise the least parts therof. Therefore hauing seene that Policie is the order and life of the citie, and that the citie is a multitude of citizens, before we speak of the whole bodie of them, we must (as I think) intreat first of a citizen, who, although he differ according to the diuersitie of common-wealths, yet to take him properly, may be said to be euery one that hath right to iudge in his citie, & hath a deliberatiue voyce in the generall or common councell thereof. This definition of a citizen cannot

The Nowne and Verbe are no parts of Logike, but of Grammer.

The definition of a citizen in a popular state.

cannot fitly be applied to all citizens of all Common-wealths, but only to those that are ruled popularly, wherin they are all equall, and gouerne themselues by assemblies, in which euery one hath libertie to speake his aduise. Some define a citizen to be he, whose parents are citizens: or els, to be a free subiect holding of the soueraignetie of an other: wherin they adde this word Free, to distinguish him from slaues and strangers. But generally we may say, that whosoeuer may beare offices or magistracie, in what forme of gouernment so euer, is reputed & taken for a citizen: and such are all the naturall Frenchmen in this monarchie, amongst whom there is not one, how base soeuer he be that may not be made noble by vertue, or that may not by skill and integritie of life attaine to the greatest estates of iustice, of treasurie, and of other publike charges. This is not seen in all common-wealths. For in the Seignorie of Venice it seemeth that none are truely citizens, but the lordes and nobles, who onely enioy the office of magistracie, and may enter into the great councell after they haue attained the age of fiue and twentie yeeres. As for the people they intermeddle not with any matter of gouernment, this only excepted, that they may be Secretaries and Chancellors, as *Contarenus* reporteth. The citie of Rome hauing many times sundry gouernments, the appellation of a citizen was likewise diuers therein. For as long as the first kings ruled, the common people were altogither excluded from publike honors & offices. But after when the regall power was changed into the gouernment of a certaine number of men, chosen by suffrages and common voyces, the people were admitted to magistracies, and to the managing of affairs, being present at the publike assemblie had in Mars his field, which was distributed by tribes, wardes, companies, and centuries, to deliberate of the common estate, to create magistrates, and to decree new lawes: where he was reputed for a citizen in deed, that was a free man, that had both house and tribe, and possibilitie to attaine to honor, enioying besides many other priuiledges and prerogatiues.

Other definitions of a citizen.

A general definition of a citizen.

Of the state of Venice.

Of the ancient estate in Rome.

tiues. But when the ſoueraigntie came into the emperors hands, thoſe aſſemblies continued onely vnder *Iulius* and *Octauius*, and after were abrogated by *Tyberius* and tranſlated to the Senate, and to the abſolute power of the prince, taking away al authoritie frō the people in publike matters. Now to returne to our former aſſertion, we ſay, that all they are citizens to whom the gate that leadeth to the gouernment of the citie lieth open, I mean the whole company of them that liue vnder the ſame lawes and ſoueraigne magiſtrates. Such are all the ſubiects and naturall vaſſals of our king, of whom the people and the nobilitie are the two orders or eſtates, and of them is the eſtate of the church compounded, which maketh one part of the common-wealth of France. This ſelf-ſame diſtinction of citizens is obſerued almoſt throughout all Europe. But beſides this general diuiſiō, there are ſome more ſpecial in many common-welths, as at Venice, *into the Gentlemen, Burgeſſes, & Common people*: at Florence before it was brought in ſubiectiō to a Prince, there were *the greater ſort, the middle ſort, & the vulgar or common ſort of people*. And our ancient Gaules had *the Druides, the Horſemen, & the inferior people*. In Egypt were *the Prieſts, the Souldiors, & the Artificers*. And although *Plato* labored to make all the citizens of his common-welth equal in rights & prerogatiues, yet he diuided them into three eſtates, into *Gardes, Souldiers*, and *Labourers*. Whereupon we muſt neceſſarilie inferre this concluſion, that there neuer was, nor can be Common-wealth, wherein the citizens were equall in all rights and prerogatiues, but that ſome had more or leſſe than others, and yet ſo, that wiſe Politikes haue carefully prouided, that the meaneſt ſhould haue no cauſe to complaine of their eſtate. Moreouer, the conueniencie and proportionable agreement of our French eſtates, hath been the cauſe why this kingdome (vntill this our infortunate age) hath continued & proſpered ſo long amongſt other kingdoms both of auncient and late times, namely, when *Goodes, Honours*, and publike charges were ordinarily diſtributed, according to the condition of euery eſtate, and

Who are truly citizens.

The diuiſion of the whole people into three orders or eſtates

The diuiſion of citizens in Venice and Florence.

In Egypt and among the ancient Gaules.

Theſe gardes were the Senate and councell for ſtate affaires, conſiſting of 400. Burgeſſes.

Of the agreement that is to be kept between the eſtates of a common-wealth.

and their rightes and priuiledges preſerued: eſpecially when it was carefully prouided, that one eſtate ſhould not grow too great aboue the other, I meane, that the nobilitie ſhould not keep the people too much vnder, and bring them to a deſperate eſtate: and that the people through their traffike, offices of iudgements, and receipts for the prince which they exerciſed, and benefices which they enioyed, ſhould not exceſſiuely enrich themſelues, to the preiudice of the nobilitie, nor get into their hands the lands of the nobles, who being impoueriſhed, could not ſuſtain the charges of warre, nor ſerue the king in his armies. But the neglect of this foreſight, & the great inequalitie of riches among the eſtates (that one part which was woont to be pooreſt, being now become richer than both the other two) is the cauſe of great wounds in the body of this monarchie. The poore people being oppreſſed by both the other eſtates, is fallen vnder the burthen like to Æſops aſſe. And the horſe that would cary nothing, I mean the nobilitie & clergie are conſtrained, ſome to beare their tenths & extraordinary ſubſidies, & others to ſell their liuing to go to war at their own charges. But theſe things deſerue a long diſcourſe by it ſelf, & may hereafter be touched more fitly thã at this time. Let vs then generally conſider of our propoſition, namely, of the duty of al thoſe ſubiects which liue vnder one eſtate and policy. Firſt it is neceſſary that they ſhould haue the eſtate of the magiſtrate in great eſtimation, acknowledging it to be a commiſſiõ & charge giuen by God, & therfore they muſt honor & reuerẽce him, as one that repreſenteth vnto them the heauenly empire ouer al creatures. For as God hath placed the Sun in the heauẽs as an image of his diuine nature, which lightneth, heateth, quickneth, & noriſheth al things created for mãs vſe, either in heauẽ or earth: ſo the ſoueraign magiſtrate is the like repreſentatiõ & light in a city or kingdõ, eſpecially ſo long as the feare of God, & obſeruatiõ of iuſtice are imprinted in his hart. Some are obediẽt enough to their magiſtrates, & would not but that there ſhould be ſome ſuperior vnto whom they might be ſubiect, bicauſe they know it

One cauſe of the miſerie of France at this preſent.

The office and dutie of ſubiects.

The ſoueraign magiſtrate compared to the Sunne.

Against them that thinke the magistrate to be a necessarie euil.

it to be expedient for common benefit: yet they haue no other opinion of a magistrate, but that he is a necessary euil for mankind. But when we know, that we are commãded to honor the king, to feare God and the king, which we finde often in the scripture, we must vnderstand that this word *to honour*, comprehendeth vnder it *a good opinion and estimation*, which we must haue of the soueraigne magistrate: and that the ioining of the king with God, must cause vs to attribute great dignitie and reuerence vnto him, in respect of that power which is giuen him from his maiestie. Likewise when it is said, that we must be subiect *to the higher powers, not bicause of wrath onely, but also for conscience sake*, it is to honour them with an excellent title, and to binde vs to obey them for the feare of God, and as we wil obey his ordinance, bicause their power dependeth of him. Of this honour and reuerence it followeth, that we must submit our selues vnto them in all obedience, whether it be in yeelding to their ordinances or hestes, in the paiment of impostes and subsidies, or in receiuing such publike charges, as it shall please them to commit vnto vs. Briefly, euery subiect is bound to serue his prince with goods and life, which is the personall seruice of a naturall subiect, not as a hireling that serues at will, whereas the other seruice is necessarie. *Let euery soule* (saith S. *Paul*) *be subiect to the higher powers. For whosoeuer resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.* He writeth also to *Titus* in this maner. *Put them in remembraunce that they be subiect to the principalities and powers, and that they be obedient and ready to euery good worke. Submit your selues* (saith S. *Peter*) *vnto all maner ordinance of man for the Lordes sake, whether it be vnto the king, as vnto the superiour, or vnto gouernours, as vnto them that are sent of him for the punishment of euil doers, and for the prayse of the that do well.* Moreouer, to the end that subiects should testifie, that they obey not dissemblingly, but of a free and willing mind, S. *Paul* addeth, that they must by prayers to God recommend their preseruation and prosperitie vnder whom they liue. *I exhort* (saith he) *that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giuing of thanks be made for all men,*

Prou.24.21. What is ment by honouring the king.

Rom.13.5. Subiects must obey their prince for the feare of God.

Of the seruice due to the prince.

Rom.13.1.2.

Tit.3.1.

1.Pet.2.13.14.

1.Tim.2.1.2.

men,for kings,and for all that are in authoritie, that we may lead a quiet and a peaceable life in all godlines and honestie. Neither let any man deceiue himself herein. For seeing no mā can resist magistrates without resisting God, howsoeuer some may think,that a weak & powerles magistrate may be cōtemned without punishment,yet God is strong & mighty to reuenge the contempt of his ordinance. Besides,vnder this obedience is contained that moderatiō which al priuate persons ought to obserue in publike affairs, namely, that they must not of their own motiō intermeddle in the gouernment or reformation of them,nor take vpon them rashly any part of the magistrates office, nor to attempt any publike thing. If there be any fault in the common policie that needeth amendment,they must not therfore stir at al therin,nor take to thēselues authoritie to redres it,or once to put too their helping hands,which in that respect are as it were bound behind thē. But they are to shew it to the superior, who only hath his hand vnbound to dispose & order publike matters,& if he then command them to deal therin,they may put it in executiō,as being furnished with publike authoritie. For as we vse to call the counsailors of a prince,his eies & eares,bicause they must be vigilant for him,so we may also cal those mē his hands,whom he hath appointed to execute such things as are to be don. And to these we owe honor & obedience,seeing the force of the laws consisteth in their cōmandement. These are the magistrates & officers established by the soueraigne,& armed with power to cōpel the subiects to obey his laws,or els to punish thē. Wherby we see two kinds of cōmanding with publike power,the one in chief,which is absolute,indefinite & aboue the laws, aboue magistrates and priuate men: the other is lawful,subiect to the lawes & to the soueraigne, which power properly belongeth to them that haue extraordinary power to command, as long as their commission lasteth. The soueraign prince acknowledgeth (after God)none greater thā himself: the magistrate holdeth his power(after God)of the soueraign prince,and is always subiect to him & to his laws. Priuate men acknow-

Priuate men must not busie themselues in publike affairs.

The counsailors of a prince are his eies & eares: and his officers are his hands.

Two kinds of publike power.

The difference between the prince,the magistrate, and the priuate man.

ledge after God (who muſt alwaies be firſt) their ſoueraign prince, his lawes & his magiſtrates, euery one in his place of iuriſdiction. They are bound to obey them, euen then (which is repeated in many laws) when they cõmand any thing cõtrary to publike profit, or againſt ciuil iuſtice, ſo that it be not againſt the law of God & of nature. Now foraſmuch as when we intreated of the ſoueraigne magiſtrate, we deſcribed him ſuch a one as he ought to be, anſwering truly to his title, that is to ſay, a father of the coũtrey which he gouerneth, a ſheepheard of his people, the gardian of peace, protector of iuſtice, & preſeruer of innocencie, that man might wel be iudged to be beſide himſelf that would reprehend ſuch a gouernment. But bicauſe it commonly falleth out, that moſt princes wander far out of the right way, & that ſome hauing no care to do their duty, ſleep in their delights & pleaſures, others fixing their harts vpon couetouſnes, ſet to ſale all lawes, priuiledges, rights & iudgemẽts: ſome ſpoil the poore people by ouercharging them with impoſtes & exactions to furnith their prodigalitie & vnmeaſurable diſſolutenes; others exerciſe open robberies, in ſacking of houſes, violating of virgins & maried women, in murdring innocents, or ſuffring ſuch violence to be done vnder thẽ by the miniſters & baudes of their pleaſures: ſome alſo oppres the nobility, euen the princes of their bloud, to ſhew fauour to baſe perſons, and thoſe ſtrangers, deſpiſing woorthy mẽ that are their natural ſubiects & vaſſals: I ſay conſidering theſe things, it will be very hard, yea altogither impoſſible, to perſwade a great many, that ſuch are to be acknowledged for princes and true ſuperiors, & that we muſt of neceſſitie obey thẽ ſo far as we may without offending our conſciẽces conſecrated to God onely. For this affection is rooted in the harts of men, to hate & deteſt tirants no leſſe than they loue & reuerence iuſt kings. So that whẽ amongſt ſuch lothſom vices, ſo far eſtranged not only frõ the duty of a magiſtrate, but alſo from all humanity, they ſee in their ſoueraign no forme of the image of God, which ought to ſhine in him, no ſhew of a miniſter giuen from aboue for the prayſe of good

How farre ſubiects are bound to obey their prince and his lawes.

The titles of a good magiſtrate

The behauiour of euil princes.

Tirants are naturally hated.

good men, and execution of vengeance vpon the wicked, they are easily driuen forward to hate & to contemn him, and finally, to rebell against him. But if we direct our sight to the word of God, it will lead vs a great deale farther. For it wil make vs obedient, not onely to the rule of those princes which execute their office according to iustice, but to them also that do nothing lesse than their dutie. It telleth vs, that whatsoeuer they are, they haue their authoritie from God only: the good, as mirrors of his goodnes; the bad, as scourges of his wrath to punish the iniquitie of the people: but both the one and the other, authorized from him with the same dignitie and maiestie in regard of their subiects. Therfore in respect of obedience and reuerence, we owe as much to the vniust, as to the iust prince. Which thing bicause it is so hardly beleeued amongst mē, & lesse practised now than euer, I wil insist a litle longer in the proofe of my saying by testimonies of the scripture, than we haue vsed to do in our other discourses. First, I desire euery one diligently to consider and marke the prouidence of God, & that special working wherby he vseth to distribute kingdoms, & to establish such kings as he thinks good, wherof mention is ofte made in the scripture. As it is written in *Daniel: He changeth the times & seasons: he taketh away kings: he setteth vp kings, that liuing men may know, that the most high hath power ouer the kingdom of men, and giueth it to whomsoeuer he wil, & appointeth ouer it the most abiect among mē.* It is wel known what maner of king *Nebuchadnezzar* was, euē he that took Ierusalē, namely, a great thief & a robber. Notwithstanding God affirmeth by the prophet *Ezechiel*, *That he gaue him the lād of Egypt for the reward of his work, & for the wages of his army wherwith he had serued him, in spoiling and sacking Tyrus.* And *Daniel* said vnto him: *O king thou art a king of kings: for the god of heuē hath giuē thee a kingdom, power, strength & glory.* Whē we heare that he was appointed king by god, we must withal cal to mind the heauēly ordināce, *which commandeth vs to feare & honor the king*, & then we wil not doubt to yeild to a wicked tyrant that honour *which God hath thought him worthy of.* Whē *Samuel* declared to the people of

We must obey and reuerence vniust princes as well as iust.

Dan.1.21. & 4.14.

Nebuchadnezzar.

Eze.29.18.19.

Dan.2.37.

1.Sam.2.7.

& 26.9.10.

Israel what they should suffer of their kings, not onely according to the rights and priuiledges of his maiestie, but by tyrannical customs and fashions, namely, *that they would take their sonnes and daughters to serue him, their lands, vines and gardens, to giue them to their seruants, contrary to the commandement of the law of God:* yet he inioined them all obedience, leauing them no lawful occasion to resist their king. *I haue* (saith the Lord in *Ieremy*) *made the earth, the man, & the beast that are vpon the ground, by my great power, & by my out-stretched arme, & haue giuen it vnto whom it pleased me. But now I haue giuen al these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babel my seruant, & the beasts of the fields haue I also giuen him to serue him. And all nations shal serue him, and his sonne, and his sonnes sonne vntil the very time of his land come also. And the nation and kingdom which will not serue the same Nebuchadnezzar king of Babel, & that wil not put their necke vnder the yoke of the king of Babel, the same nation wil I visite, (saith the Lord) with the sword, famine, & pestilence. Wherfore serue the king of Babel and liue.* We know by these words with what great obedience God would haue this peruerse & cruel tyrant to be honored, only for this reason, bicause he was lift vp by his hand vnto that roial maiestie. Now if we are bound to beleeue as much of al the kings of the earth, these foolish & seditious thoughts should neuer come into our mindes, that a king must be handled according as he deserueth, & that it standeth not with reason, that we should accoũt our selues his subiects, who for his part behaueth not himselfe towards vs as a king. There is in the same prophet a cõmandemẽt of god to his people to desire the prosperitie of Babylon, wherin they were held captiues, & to pray for it, *bicause in the peace therof they should haue peace.* Behold how the Israelits were commanded to pray for his prosperity, who had spoiled thẽ of their goods & possessions, caried thẽ into exile, & brought thẽ into miserable bõdage: so far off is it, that they were permitted to rebel against him. Although *Dauid* already elected king by the wil of God, & anointed with holy oile, was vniustly pursued of *Saul*, yet he said, *The lord keep me from doing that thing to my master the lords anointed,*

1. Sam. ?.

Iere. 27. 5. &c.

A tyrant called the seruant of God.

Ier. 29. 7.

1. Sam. 24. 7. & 26. 9. 10.

to

to lay my hand vpon him. For who can lay his hand on the Lordes annointed and be guiltles? As the Lord liueth, either the Lord shal smite him, or his day shall come to die, or he shall descend into battel, and perish. The Lord keepe me from laying my hand vpon the Lords annointed. This word is directed to vs all, & it ought to teach vs not to sift out the life of our soueraign prince, but to content our selues with this knowledge, that by the wil of God he is established & set in an estate, that is ful of an inuiolable maiestie. Moreouer, we read in *Iosephus*, that the holiest men that euer were among the Hebrewes, called *Essai*, that is to say, true practisers of the lawe of God, maintained this, that soueraigne princes, whatsoeuer they were, ought to be inuiolable to their subiectes, as they that were sacred and sent of God. Neither is there any thing more vsuall in all the holy scriptures than the prohibition to kill or to seeke the life or honour, not onely of the prince, but also of inferiour magistrates, although (saith the scripture) they be wicked. And it is said in *Exodus, Thou shalt not raile vpon the iudges, neither speake euill of the ruler of thy people.* Now, if he that doth so is guiltie of treason, both against the diuine and humane maiestie, what punishment is sufficient for him that seeketh after their life? According to mens lawes, not onely that subiect is guiltie of high treason that hath killed his soueraigne prince, but he also that attempted it, that gaue counsell, that consented to it, that thought it. Yea, he that was neuer preuented nor taken in the maner, in this point of the soueraigne the law accounteth him as condemned alreadie: and iudgeth him culpable of death that thought once in times past to haue seazed vpon the life of his prince, notwithstanding any repentance that folowed. And truly there was a gentleman of Normandie, who confessed to a Franciscan frier, that he once minded to haue killed king *Francis* the first, but repented him of that euill thought. The frier gaue him absolution, but yet afterward told the king thereof, who sent the gentleman to the parliament of Paris there to be tried, where he was by common consent condemned to die, and after executed. Amongst the

Dauid would not lay violent hands vpon Sauls person.

These *Essai* or *Esseni*, were a superstitious sect among the Iewes, that pretended to leade a most perfect kind of life.

Exod. 22. 28.

A gentleman iudged to die, bicause he once thought to haue killed his prince

A ſeuere law againſt treaſon.

Macedonians there was a law that condemned to death fiue of their next kinsfolks that were conuicted of conſpiracie againſt their prince. We ſee then the ſtraight obligation wherby we are bound vnto our princes both by diuine and humane right. Wherfore if it ſo fall out that we are cruelly vexed by a prince voyd of humanitie, or els polled and burthened with exactions by one that is couetous or prodigall: or deſpiſed and ill defended by a careleſſe prince, yea afflicted for true pietie by a ſacrilegious and vnbeleeuing ſoueraigne, or otherwiſe moſt vniuſtly and cruelly intreated, firſt let vs call to mind our offences committed againſt God, which vndoubtedly he correcteth by ſuch ſcourges. Secondly, let vs thinke thus with our ſelues, that it belongeth not to vs to remedie ſuch euils, being permitted onely to call vpon God for helpe, in whoſe hands are the harts of kings, and alterations of kingdoms. It is God, who (as *Dauid* ſaith) ſitteth among the gods, that ſhal iudge them: at whoſe onely looke all thoſe kings and iudges of the earth, ſhall fall and be confounded, who haue not kiſſed his ſonne Ieſus Chriſt, but haue decreed vniuſt lawes, to oppreſſe the poore in iudgement, and to ſcatter the lawfull right of the weake, that they may praie vpon the widowes, and poll the orphans. Thus let all people learne, that it is their duetie aboue all things to beware of contemning or violating the authoritie of their ſuperiours, which ought to be full of maieſtie vnto them, ſeeing it is confirmed by God with ſo many ſentences and teſtimonies, yea although it be in the hands of moſt vnwoorthy perſons, who by their wickednes make it odious (as much as in them lieth) and contemptible. Moreouer, they muſt learne that they muſt obey their lawes and ordinances, and take nothing in hand that is againſt the priuiledges and marks of ſoueraigntie. Then ſhall we be moſt happy, if we conſecrate our ſoules to God only, and dedicate our bodies, liues and goods, to the ſeruice of our prince.

How we muſt behaue our ſelues vnder a tyrant.

Pſal. 82. 1. & 2. 12.

Eſay 10. 1.

The ende of the fourteenth daies worke.

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THE FIFTEENTH DAIES WORKE.

Of a Monarchie, or a Regall power. Chap. 57.

ASER. WHen we began yesterday to intreat of the sundry kinds of estates and gouernments that haue been in force amongst men, and of the excellencie or deformitie of them, we reserued to a further consideration the monarchie or kingly power, vnder which we liue in France. This forme of regiment by the common consent of the woorthiest philosophers and most excellent men, hath been always taken for the best, happiest, and most assured common-wealth of all others, as that wherein all the lawes of nature guide vs: whether we looke to this little world, which hath but one bodie, and ouer al the members one only head, of which the wil, motion and sense depend; or whether we take this great world, which hath but one soueraigne God; whether we cast vp our eyes to heauen, we shall see but one sunne, or looke but vpon these sociable creatures belowe, we see that they cannot abide the rule of many amongst them. But I leaue to you (my Companions) the discourse of this matter.

The lawes of nature lead vs to a monarchie.

AMANA. Among all creatures, both with and without life, we alwais find one that hath the preheminence aboue the rest of his kind. Among al reasonable creatures, Man: among beasts, the Lion is taken for chiefe: among

In euery kind of thing one excelleth.

birds, the Eagle: among graine, wheate: among drinks, wine: among ſpices, baulme: among all mettals, gold: among al the elements, the fire. By which natural demonſtrations we may iudge, that the kingly and monarchicall gouernment draweth neereſt to nature of all others.

A monarchie moſt ſignificantly repreſenteth the diuine regiment.

ARAM. The principalitie of one alone is more conformable, and more ſignificant to repreſent the diuine & ineffable principalitie of God, who alone ruleth al things, than the power of many ouer a politicall body. Notwithſtanding there hath been many notable men that haue iudged a monarchie, not to be the beſt forme of gouernment that may be among men. But it is your duetie (ACHITOB) to handle vs this matter.

ACHITOB. This controuerſie hath always been very great among thoſe that haue intreated of the formes of policies and gouernments of eſtates, namely, whether it be more agreeable to nature, and more profitable for mankind to liue vnder the rule of one alone, than of many, neither ſide wanting arguments to prooue their opinion. Now although it be but a vaine occupation for priuate men, who haue no authoritie to ordain publike matters, to diſpute which is the beſt eſtate of policie: and a greater point of raſhneſſe to determine therof ſimply, ſeeing the chiefeſt thing conſiſteth in circumſtances, yet to content curious mindes, and to make them more willing to beare that yoke vnto which both diuine & humane nature and equitie hath ſubiected them, I purpoſe here to waigh their ſtrongeſt reaſons that haue miſliked a monarchy, to the end that by contrary concluding arguments, which maintaine & defend it, both they and we may be ſo much the more ſtirred vp, to range our ſelues willingly vnder the happy & lawful rule of our king, conſidering the agreement & participation which it hath, with al the good policies that can be named, as alſo the happines & certain benefit that commeth to vs, as well in reſpect of this our priuate life, as of the cõmon proſperitie of the whole publike body, vnto which we owe our ſelues. Firſt, we wil note that a monarchie, a kingdome, or royall power; ſignifie

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one and the ſame thing: namely, one kind of Commonwealth, wherein the abſolute ſoueraigntie conſiſteth in one onely Prince, who may not be commanded by any, but may command all. If there be two Princes of equall power in one eſtate, neither the one nor the other is ſoueraigne. But a man may well ſay, that both togither haue the ſoueraignty of the Eſtate, which is comprehended vnder this word Oligarchye, and is properly called a Duarchy, which may continue ſo long as thoſe two Princes agree, otherwiſe it muſt needes be that the one will ouerthrow the other. Therefore to auoid diſcord, the Emperours diuided the Eſtate into two parts, the one taking himſelfe for Emperour of the Eaſt, the other of the Weſt: and yet the edicts and ordinances were publiſhed by the common conſent of both Princes, to ſerue both their empires. But as ſoone as they fell in debate, both the Empires were in deede diuided, both for power, for lawes, and for eſtate. He therfore may be called a Monarch, that of himſelfe alone hath power to preſcribe lawes to all in generall, and to euery one in particular. And vnder this power are comprehended all the other rights and marks of ſoueraigntie, which the Lawyers call regall rights, and handle them ſeuerally, which neuertheles we may comprehend vnder eight ſoueraigne marks: namely, to make and to abrogate a lawe: to proclaime warre, or to make peace: to take knowledge in the laſt appeale of the iudgments of all Magiſtrates: to appoint or to diſappoint the greateſt officers: to charge or to diſcharge the ſubiects of taxes and ſubſidies: to grant tollerations and diſpenſations againſt the rigour of lawes: to inhaunce or to pull downe the title, value, and conſtant rate of monie: to cauſe ſubiects and liege people to ſweare, that they will be faithfull without exception, to him vnto whome the oath is due. Now, to enter into that matter, which we purpoſed eſpecially to handle: namely, whether a Monarchie be more profitable, than any other forme of eſtate: many haue maintained that it is a dangerous thing to liue vnder the rule of one onely king or prince, bicauſe it is a very

What a Monarchie or kingly power is.

Of a Duarchy, that is, of the rule of two.

The diuiſion of the Empire.

8. Marks of ſoueraigntie.

Their reaſons who miſlike a Monarchie.

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ry hard matter to find one perfect in all points, as euery King or Prince must of necessity be, if he will deserue that name: according to that which *Cyrus* Monarch of the Persians sayd: *That it belonged to none to command, if he were not better than all those ouer whome he commanded.* Moreouer, although it were possible to finde one of that perfection which is required, yet were it a thing alwaies to be greatly feared, that by reason of humane frailtie, and of the great licence that kings haue to execute their wils, he would change both condition and nature, and of a King become a Tyrant, of which there are infinite examples set downe in histories. Yea it is certaine, and granted by the greatest part of them that haue written of state matters, that euery kind of Common-wealth that is established simply, and alone by it selfe, quickly degenerateth into the next vice, if it be not moderated and held backe by the rest: As a kingdome is soone changed into a tyrannie, an Aristocraty into an Oligarchy, and so of the other. But this danger is greater in a Monarchy, (as they say that mislike it) than vnder the rule of many, bicause it is vnlikely, that all of them should be wicked, and if any one be so, the good men may bridle him. And so they conclude, that it is not so dangerous a matter to liue vnder the gouernment of many, as of one, who may more easily corrupt his nature, being a Monarch, than many can doe that are elected in an Aristocraty, as the Areopagiticall Lordes in Athens, the Ephoryes in Lacedemonia, and the Senate in Rome. After the death of *Cambyses*, Monarch of the Persians, when the chiefe Lords of the kingdome had slaine that *Magus*, who vnder the name of *Smerdis* had vsurped the rule of the Estate, they deliberated of the affaires, and helde a generall Councell, wherein (as *Herodotus* writeth) many very woorthie and memorable speeches were vttered. *Otanes* mooued this, that the affaires might be gouerned in common by the Persians, speaking vnto them in this manner. I am not of opinion, that one of vs from hence forward should be sole Monarch ouer all, bicause it is neither pleasant nor

What excellencie is required in him that ruleth others.

The Persian Councell held for the establishing of their Estate.

Otanes oration.

good

good to haue it so. For ye know to what insolencie *Cambyses* was growne, ye haue also throughly seene the boldnes of the *Magus*: and ye may thinke with your selues how perilous a thing it is to haue a Monarchy, which may do what it list, not being subiect to correction. The best man in the world placed in this estate, will soone be caried away with his woonted thoughts. Insolencie possesseth him, bicause of present prosperitie, and hatred is soone bred in such a man. Now hauing these two vices, he aboundeth in all iniquitie, and committeth great iniustice, one while through insolency, another while of hatred. Although a Tyrant, hauing abundance of all good things, should be farre from enuy, yet the contrary falleth out in him towards his subiects. For he hateth good men that liue and prosper well, he delighteth in the wicked, and gladly heareth euill reports of other men. And which becommeth him very il, if you admire and praise him moderately, he is angry that you do it not excessiuely: & yet if you doe so, he will mislike it, thinking that you flatter him. Besides, which is woorst of all, he changeth the lawes and customs of the countrie, forceth women, killeth good men, not taking knowledge of their cause. Thus did this Persian Lord conclude, that a Monarchy was to be left, & a Democraty to be chosen. *Megabyses*, one of his companions, liked well the abolishing of a Monarchy, but perswaded the Oligarchical gouernmēt, saying, that nothing was more ignorant, or more insolent, than an vnprofitable multitude. Therefore it was in no wise tollerable, that eschewing the insolencie of a Tyrant, they should fall into the handes of an vnbrideled and disordered people. Many others haue noted great dangers and discommodities in a Monarchy, especially in the change of the Monarch, whether it be from ill to good, or from good to better. For we commonly see at the changing of Princes, new deuices, newe lawes, newe officers, newe friends, newe forme of liuing: bicause Princes ordinarilye take delight in changing, and in remoouing almost all things, that men might speake of them: which manye tymes bringeth great

The effects of a Tyrant.

Megabyses oration for an Aristocraty.

The dangers of a Monarchy.

great diſcommodities to their ſubiects. But if this were not ſo, and the Prince as wiſe as hart could wiſh, yet the alliances and leagues made by a mans predeceſſor, end with him: which is the cauſe that the alliances ending, the neighbours betake them to armes, and the ſtrongeſt aſſaulteth the weakeſt, or elſe preſcribeth him lawes. For many maintaine, that the ſucceſſours of Princes are not bound to the treaties and obligations of their predeceſſors, if they be not their heires. An other inconuenience to be feared in a Monarchie, is the danger of falling into ciuill warre, through the diuiſion of thoſe that aſpire to the crowne, and namely, if there be right of election, which oftentimes draweth after it the ruine of the eſtate. But put the caſe there were no ſtriſe for the Monarchie, yet if the Monarch be a childe, there will be diuiſion for the gouernment of him, betweene the moother and the Princes, or betwixt the Princes themſelues. Alſo when God purpoſeth to be reuenged vpon nations, he threatneth to giue them children for Princes. And although the child hath a Tutor, by the appointment of the predeceſſor, or by cuſtome, yet is there danger of making himſelfe ſoueraigne Lord, of which thing hiſtories ſet downe many examples before our eies. If a yoong Prince freed from Tutors, come to the crowne, his gouernment is no leſſe to be feared. For being then ſet at libertie when his luſts are moſt violent, you ſhall ſee nothing in his Court but fooleries, maskings, and looſe behauiour. If he be warly, he will hazard his ſubiects, his eſtate, and his perſon, to make triall of his valure. Briefly, a craftie and wicked Monarch will eſtabliſh a tyrannie: a cruell man will make a ſlaughter-houſe of the Common-wealth: a whore-maiſter will make it a ſtewes: a couetous wretch will pull off both haire and skin from his ſubiects: a prodigall Prince will ſucke the blood and marrow, to glut a dozen of horſeleaches about his perſon: a fooliſh and ignorant Prince will do woorſe, falling eaſily into the moſt of theſe vices, for want of iudgement to knowe and to make choice of counſell, neceſſary for the gouernment of his eſtate. Theſe

A child Prince is a token of Gods wrath.

are

are the chiefe reasons of them that mislike a Monarchie. Now we will alleadge the other reasons in the defence of it, and begin with *Darius* his declaration vpon the speeches of his companions, rehearsed by vs in the generall Councell of the Persians: bicause it is well woorthy to be remembred, according vnto which the Monarchie was concluded of in the Councell. In my iudgement (said he to the assemblie) *Megabyses* said well concerning the multitude, but ill in that which belongeth to an Oligarchy. For although there be three kinds of Policies, a Democraty, an Oligarchy, and a Monarchy, and all good, yet I say this last is farre better than the other, bicause there is nothing so good as the gouernment of one vertuous man alone, who iudging thereafter, gouerneth his people without reprehension. I will not speake of the councels which he taketh in like manner against his enimies and ill-willers. But in an Oligarchy, where many busie themselues with publike affaires, great enmities arise betweene them, from whence proceede seditions, and from seditions murders, and by murders some one attaineth to a Monarchye. Whereby you may easily knowe how much better a Monarchy is. As touching the people, it is impossible but that where they rule, there should be much wickednes, which increasing in the euill gouernours of the Common-wealth, breedeth not hatred betweene them, but great friendship. For they that are euill affected towards the Common-wealth, hide one anothers counsell, vntill some one man being set ouer the people, cause them to giue ouer. Then is that man admired, and therewithall made a Monarch: whereby also it is euident, that a Monarchy is best. Wherefore my aduice is, that, seeing we haue beene set at libertie by one onely man, we should maintaine that Estate: otherwise we shall disanull the lawes of our countrie, that are already well established, which will not turne to the best for vs. *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* in his antiquities of Rome, affirmeth that the like speech was vsed before *Romulus*, when he first established the gouernment in Rome: where *Annulius* concluded for

Darius oration for a Monarchy.

Against an Oligarchy.

the

A Monarchy concluded vpon in the Councell of the Persians, of Romulus, and of Augustus.

the Monarchy, as *Darius* did among the Persians. The same question was deliberated of by *Augustus* amongst his friends, bicause he desired nothing more than to liue in rest, and to giue ouer the Estate: but it was then concluded, that a Monarchy was best for the Common-wealth, and the euent prooued the same. For before the Romans could not liue ten yeeres without ciuill warre or sedition: whereas *Augustus* preserued them almost 50. yeeres in perfect peace, which continued also long time after his death. *Demosthenes* in his first Olynthiacke oration, sheweth the Athenians what aduantage a Monarch hath in the deliberation and execution of great enterprises, speaking in this manner: It is greatly auaileable for the speedie and commodious execution of warlike exploits, when one man alone hath the ouer-sight of all enterprises, both secret and open, & withall is Captaine, Lord, & Treasurer, & alwaies present at the affaires. But who can deny, that it is not a great deale better for great and mighty nations to be gouerned Monarchically, to the end that they may maintain themselues in vnity at home, & abroad in reputation? Especially those nations where there are Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Barons, & other gentlemen, who possesse in the highest, lowest, & midle sort of iustice; Villages, Boroughs, Townes, Castles, with vassals holding and relying of them by fealtie and homage: as namely in France, Spaine, and other countries, wherin the Monarch by absolute power, and force when need is, holdeth in the greater sort with the lesse, staying the insolencie of the one, & releeuing others from oppression. Otherwise, if they were diuided into many heads, disagreeing among themselues, and acknowledging no soueraigne Lord, who doubteth but that they would be continually troubled with ciuill warres, set vpon by strangers, and spoiled of all sides? Italy prooueth this sufficiently vnto vs, which commanded the greatest part of the world, when it was vnited in one: but being now diuided into many Potentats and Seignories, after vnspeakeable calamities of ciuill wars, which it hath suffered a long time, it is yet without doubt exposed for a

The commodities of a Monarchy.

praie

praie to all the neighbours, if they were not ſtaied with other warres. If we conſider the antiquitie of the royal gouernment, & how it hath been practiſed of all nations almoſt, either wholy, or in part, to their great honor & felicitie, we ſhall be conſtrained to prefer it before all others, & to account all thoſe happy that liue vnder a Monarchy. Italy a praie to all hir neighbours, and why.

As men liued in old time (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) *vnder Kings, ſo they thought that the gods had a king. All nations* (ſaith *Cicero*) *obeyed kings in old time, which kind of rule was at the firſt beſtowed vpon moſt iuſt men.* And it hath greatly profited our commonwealth, that from the beginning therof it hath been ruled by a kingly gouernment. *The firſt name of Empire and rule, knowne in the earth* (ſaith *Saluſt*) *was the royall Eſtate: but then men liued without couetouſnes, euery one being content with his own. From the beginning* (as *Trogus Pompeius* writeth) *of countries and nations, the gouernment was in the hands of kings, who were not lift vp to that high degree of maieſtie by popular ambition, but for their modeſtie, which was knowne & approoued of good men.* Then the people were not kept in awe by any lawes, but the pleaſure & will of Princes ſtood for all lawes. They were more giuen to keepe the frontiers of their Empire, than to inlarge them. Kingdomes were bounded by his countrie that raigned therein. *Ninus* king of the Aſſyrians, whome the Scripture calleth *Nimrod*, (that is a rebell) and a mightie hunter, was the firſt that changed the ancient cuſtome of the nations, through greedie deſire of ruling, and that beganne to warre vpon his neighbours. For finding that the people knew not as yet how to reſiſt, he ſubdued them al, from his kingdome to the end of Lybia. Almoſt all the ancient nations of greateſt renowne liued vnder the royall gouernment, as the Scythians, Ethiopians, Indians, Aſſyrians, Medes, Egyptians, Bactrians, Armenians, Macedonians, Iewes, and Romanes, after they were wearie of other gouernements. Thoſe alſo that are moſte famous at this daie, liue after the ſame ſort, as the Frenchmen, Spaniards, Engliſhmen, Polonians, Danes, Moſcouites, Tartares, Turkes, Abiſſines, Moores, Agiameſques, Zagathians, Cathains. Yea the ſauage

Of the antiquitie of a kingdome.

Ninus was the firſt that extended the limits of his kingdom.

What Eſtates were ruled Monarchically.

ſauage people newly diſcouered, are in a manner all vnder kings. And they that liue in other kinds of Commonwealths, as the Venetians, do retaine an outward ſhewe of a king, whome they call a Duke, who is electiue, and to continue his eſtate as long as he liueth. In other places they haue Gonfalonners, as at Lucques; the like whereof they were woont to haue at Florence, and at Sienna. In ſome places they haue Aduoyers, or Bourg-maiſters, as in the Cantons of Switzerland, and in the free townes of Germany, which acknowledge an Emperour. Vpon which name we will note by the way, that it importeth no more than the name of a king, although amongſt the Lawyers and others, there haue beene infinite queſtions as touching the authoritie and preheminence of both: namely, that the Emperours haue vſurped ouer other kings vntill this preſent, albeit the power and maieſtie of the Empire is greatly diminiſhed, ſo that nothing elſe remaineth in a manner but the name and ſhadow of it within Germany. As for this title of Emperor, which the Romane Monarks tooke to themſelues, & before vſed to call their Generals in warre by that name, it was vpon this occaſion taken vp. After they had depriued *Tarquine* of the kingdome of Rome, by reaſon of his pride and inſolencie, this name of king became ſo odious amongſt the Romanes, that it was forbidden to be vſed, by an edict and ſolemn oath. Whervpon when their popular Eſtate was changed into a Monarchie, they would not call their Monarch by the name of King, by reaſon of their ancient oath, but called him Emperour, as *Appian* writeth. But to continue the diſcourſe of our principall matter, and to anſwer briefly to the reaſons alleadged againſt a Monarchye, we haue firſt to note, that the moſt part of the dangers mentioned do ceaſe, where the Monarchy goeth by ſucceſſion, as it doth in ours. For there is no cauſe of feare in regard of any that might aſpire to the Crowne, or of the treaties and allianees, which are not broken by the Prince his death, but renued and confirmed by his ſucceſſor and heire, vnles before they were greatly preiudiciall to the Eſtate. That new

The Dukedome of Venice is electiue.

What this word Emperour importeth.

Vpon what occaſion the name of Emperour was firſt giuen to a Monarch.

The reaſons alleadged againſt a Monarchie anſwered.

Princes

Princes ſeeke after nouelties, it may be ſaid of ſome: but it is much more vſuall in Ariſtocraticall and Popular Eſtates. For Magiſtrates that are renued ſo often, would be very ſorowfull that their yeere ſhould run out before they had done ſome thing that might cauſe men to ſpeake either good or euill of them. As for the troubles about the gouernment of a yoong king, peraduenture it falleth not out once in a hundreth yeeres: whereas if a Gonfalonner of Genes be choſen but onely for two yeeres, & the Common-wealth will be all on fire. To put into the ballance the cruelties and robberies of a tyrant, whereby to counterpeaze many good Princes, there is no ſhew of reaſon in ſo dooing. For we know well enough, that a peaceable Ariſtocratie wiſely guided, if it may be ſo, is better than a cruell tyrannie. But the chiefe matter ſubiect of our diſcourſe, is to knowe whether it be not better to haue one iuſt and perfect king, than many good Lords: and by the contrary argument, whether the tyrannie of 50. tyrants is not more perillous, than of one only tyrant. Now, if many Maiſters, Pilots, how wiſe ſoeuer they are, hinder one another, when euery one deſireth to hold the Rudder: then ſurely many Lords wil do the like, when they ſeeke al togither to gouerne the Common-wealth, albeit they are wiſe and vertuous. And truly no Ariſtocratical or Popular Eſtate can be named, that hath laſted aboue 600. yeeres togither, and few haue endured ſo long: but many Monarchies haue continued 1000. and 1200. yeeres in the ſame eſtate. Moreouer, they are agreeable to the vpright lawes of nature, which (as we haue before diſcourſed) do al lead vs to a Monarchy. But there is more to be conſidered of in our French kingdome, which ought to moone all French harts very much to deſire the preſeruation therof, and to thinke themſelues happy, that they may liue vnder it: I meane that which we touched in the beginning of our ſpeech: namely, the agreement & participation, which it hath with all good policies. Many Politicks haue giuen this out, that no Common-wealth inſtituted to continue long, ought to be ſimple or of one only kind: but that the

One iuſt Prince better than many good Lords: and many Tyrants woorſe than one.

Monarchies haue continued longeſt.

The opinion of many Politicks touching a mixt eſtate of a Common wealth.

vertues & properties of the other Eſtates muſt meete togither in it, to the end that nothing grow out of proportion, which might cauſe it to degenerate to the next euill, and ſo conſequently ouerthrow it. This was firſt obſerued by *Lycurgus*, who in ordaining the Lacedemonian Common-wealth, mingled the Senate with the Kings, & after the Ephories were eſtabliſhed aboue the Kings, inſomuch that they were mingled and weighed ſo equally togither, that a man could not wel diſcerne vnder what kind of gouernment it was erected. The Carthaginian cómonwealth alſo, moſt floriſhing for a long time, was ſo inſtituted in the beginning thereof. It had kings, the Ariſtocratical power of Senators, & the common people, who had their preheminence in things belonging vnto them. The Romane Common-wealth, during the time of hir greateſt glorie, had theſe 3. parts ſo equally & proportionably tempered, that a man could not tell, whether it were altogither Ariſtocratical, or Democratical, or Monarchicall. In looking to the power of the Conſuls, a man would haue iudged it Monarchical & Roial: to the Senators, Ariſtocratical: to the Tribunes & common ſort, Democratical. The Venetians in their Cómonwealth repreſent al theſe eſtates. Their great Councel hauing ſoueraign power, wherof the Senat & the authority of al their Magiſtrats dependeth, doth repreſent the Popular eſtate. The Duke, who is Preſident as long as he liueth, repreſenteth the roial power, bicauſe he eſpecially retaineth the grauity & dignity therof. And the Colledge of ten men, with the Colledge of ancients, commonly called Sages, repreſenteth the Ariſtocraty, as *Contarenus* writeth. As for our French Monarchy, it may wel be ſaid alſo to be partaker of all 3. in regard of the gouernment therof, albeit in truth the eſtate therof is a ſimple & pure Monarchy. For the king is the Monarch, beloued, obeied, & reuerenced: who although he haue all power & ſoueraigne authority to cómand, & to do what he will, yet this great & ſoueraigne liberty ſeemeth in ſome ſort to be ruled & limited by good lawes & ordinances: and by the multitude & great authority of Officers, & Counſellors, who

The Lacedemonian eſtate mingled.

The Carthaginian Common-wealth was mixt.

The Romane eſtate mingled.

The eſtate of Venice compounded.

What agreemẽt the French Monarchy hath with euery good policie.

who are aſwell neere his perſon, as in ſundry places of his kingdom. The 12. Peeres, the ſecret & priuy councels, the Parliament & great Councel, the Chambers of accounts, the Treaſorers, & Generals of charges reſemble in ſome ſort the Ariſtocraty. The States yeerely helde in the Prouinces, the Mairalties of townes, Shreeualties, Conſulſhips Capitolats, & Church-wardens, are as it were the forme of a Democraty, as *Sieſſel* declareth more at large. Moreouer the general Eſtates of the Realme, which are woont to be gathered togither to deliberate (the king being Preſident) of all matters concerning the Eſtate, doe they not ſufficiently teſtifie the happie order therof, drawing neere to the gouernment of a good Oeconomiſt, when the king (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) commandeth in his kingdome, as a good father of a familie rūleth ouer his children, with loue, and according to right and iuſtice? Wherefore although all the authoritie of Officers, Counſellors, Parliaments, and Eſtates, dependeth (as riuers of a fountaine) of the onely power of their king and Prince, yet of his fatherly and royall goodnes he granteth them ſuch authoritie, that hardly could he do any thing that were very violent, or too preiudiciall to his ſubiects. And if ſome ſuch actions may be noted, they come rather through the fault of his Counſellors, than from his Maieſty. Thus let vs conclude with *Plato*, that the royall gouernment and authority ought to be preferred before all others policies, as that which draweth neereſt to the diuinitie. But it muſt haue a Senate of good men ioined vnto it, after the forme of an Ariſtocratie, as our kings haue alwaies vſed to haue, of their natural benignitie, which maketh them inclinable to all exerciſes of vertue, pietie, and iuſtice.

Of diuers kinds of Monarchies, and of a Tyranny. Chap. 58.

ACHITOB. THe varietie of manners, and inclinations to diuers things, which is (we ſee) particularly in euery one from his birth, and generally

Why men are diuerſly affected vnto diuers formes of gouernments.

ly throughout all nations of the world, diſpoſeth without doubt the people as they growe in age and iudgement, and according to their bringing vp, to like one kind of gouernment rather than another. But Frenchmen haue euen to theſe laſt times, caried away the praiſe of a more naturall and conſtant diſpoſition, loue, obedience, and fidelitie towards the maieſtie of a king, than other nations euer ſhewed to their forme of eſtate and gouernment. For amongſt them all, there is not one nation to be found, that hath ſo conſtantly continued in their lawes and ancient cuſtomes without any alteration and change, as this flouriſhing Monarchie, which hath alſo gone beyond them all in goodnes and mildnes of gouernment, as we may ſee better (my Companions) if we compare with it thoſe ſundry ſorts of Monarchies, which haue been heretofore, and doe at this day flouriſh, of which many come as neere to a tyrannie, as ours is farre diſtant from it. And to make a tyrannie appeere more odious, we will conſider the pernitious and miſerable eſtate thereof.

The praiſe of the French nation for their loue to a Monarchy.

ASER. As it properly belongeth to a royall eſtate to gouerne and to rule ſubiects, not according to the ſenſuall appetite, and diſordered will of the Prince, but by maturitie of counſell, and by obſeruation of lawes and of iuſtice: ſo it agreeth with a tyrant to raigne by his abſolute will, without all regard either of lawes, or of the precepts of iuſtice.

The difference betweene the rule of a king, and of a tyrant.

AMANA. A tyrant (ſaith *Seneca*) differeth from a king in effect, not in name. The one ſeeketh his owne profite onely, and the other, the profite of the Commonwealth. Now let vs heare ARAM, who will teach vs to diſcerne them well by their works.

ARAM. Amongſt all the Monarchies that euer were, or are at this daye among men, moſt of the ancient authors and great Politicks haue noted out fiue ſundrie ſortes, of which I purpoſe heere to diſcourſe particularly with briefe examples, that the excellencie of ours may the better appeere ouer others, eſpecially ouer thoſe that decline much vnto tyrannye, whoſe ſhame and

Fiue kinds of Monarchies.

and infamie I will heere display. The first and most ancient kind of Monarchy was that, which was voluntarily offered by the people for some heroicall vertue appeering in those men whom they iudged worthie to gouerne them iustly and vprightly. And when they continued in this sort to declare themselues benefactors of the multitude, in gathering them togither, in giuing vnto them territories, and in distributing lands among them, in finding out of arts, in making of warre, and in the administration of iustice vnto them, their authoritie and power did lawfully descend to their successors, who had soueraigne power in time of warre, and were chiefe in certain solemn ceremonies of their sacrifices. *Herodotus*, *Demosthenes*, *Aristotle*, *Cicero*, and many others, make mention of this kind of Monarchy. After the floud, when the number of men increased, *Noah* perswaded his children, and others of his posteritie, to disperse themselues in diuers countries, to till the ground, and to build townes, and to this ende he assigned to euery one his Prouince by lot. *Nimrod* the sonne of *Cush*, whose grandfather *Noah* was, abode with his men in the land of the Chaldeans, and was their first king, and the first king of Babylon. He was the first that beganne to extend his bounds by force vpon his neighbours, sending whole companies of people into many and diuers countries, to laye the foundations of other kingdomes, as histories doe giue vs certaine knowledge thereof. This is the cause why many establish the first Monarchy in Assyria vnder him. We read also in good authors, that the first and ancient kings of Egypt kept themselues a long time in this heroical vertue, which had procured vnto them their dignitie. They liued not disorderedly, as those doe, who bicause of their dominion, iudge their owne will to be a iust lawe for them, but they followed the constitutions of lawes, aswell in the gathering of their duties and tributes, as in their manner of life. They vsed the seruice of Noble mens and of Princes children onely, who were of the age of twentie yeeres, and were instructed in all sciences. The reason

How the first Monarchy came vp.

Gen. 10.8.

Of the raigne of Nimrod.

Nimrod was the first king that warred vpon his neighbours.

Of the happie raigne of the ancient kings of Egypt.

They vsed the seruice onely of Noble mens children, and they well learned

whereof was, that the king being pricked forward with the ſight of thé that were about him, might beware how he committed any thing woorthie of reproch. And truly there is nothing that corrupteth Princes ſo much as vitious ſeruants, who ſeeke to pleaſe their ſenſuall deſires and affections. When the king aroſe in the morning, he was bound firſt to take and receiue all the letters and requeſts that were brought vnto him, that anſwering neceſſarie matters firſt, all his affaires might be guided by order and reaſon. Then he went to the Temple to offer ſacrifice to the gods, where the Prelate and chiefe Prieſt, after the ſacrifice and praiers were ended, rehearſed with a loud voice in the preſence of the people, what vertues were in the king, what reuerence and religion towardes the gods was in him, and what clemencie and humanitie towards men. Moreouer, he told that he was continent, iuſt, noble-minded, true, liberall, one that brideled his deſires, and puniſhed malefactors with a more mild and light puniſhment than the greatnes of their ſinne and offence required, rewarding alſo his ſubiects with graces & gifts that were greater than their deſerts. This done, he exhorted the king to a happie life agreeable to the gods, and likewiſe to good manners, by following after honor and vertue, and therewithall propounded vnto him certaine examples of the excellent deedes of ancient kings, thereby to prouoke him the rather therunto. Theſe kings liued with ſimple meates, as with veale & birds for all diſhes: they kept very exactly all the lawes and ordinances of their countrie in euery point of their life, which was no leſſe directed euen in the leaſt things, than the ſimpleſt of their ſubiects. And truly ſo long as the kings of Egypt were ſuch zealous obſeruers of their lawes, and of iuſtice, & raigned peaceably among their ſubiects, they brought many ſtrang nations into their ſubiection, & gathered together infinite riches, whereby they adorned their countrie with great buildings and ſumptuous works, and decked their townes with many gifts and benefits. The Barbarian kingdomes were the ſecond kinde of Monarchy: namely,

The Prieſts of Egypt vſed to praiſe their Princes in the Temple before the people.

The diet of the ancient kings of Egypt.

Of the ſecond kind of Monarchy.

namely, the ancient Monarchies of the Aſſyrians, Medes, and Perſians, whoſe Princes vſurped Lordlie rule ouer their goods and perſons, and gouerned their ſubiects as a father of a familie doth his ſlaues. Which kind of gouernment ſauoureth more of a tyrannie, than of a kingdome: beſides, it is directly againſt the law of nature, which keepeth euery one in his libertie, and in the poſſeſſion of his owne goods. Notwithſtanding when by the law of Arms, and of iuſt warre, a Prince is made Lord ouer any people, they properly belong to him that conquereth, and they that are ouercome, are made his ſlaues by the ancient conſent of all nations: and this maketh the difference betweene the Lord-like Monarchy, and a tyrannie, which abuſeth free ſubiects as ſlaues. Of this ſecond kinde of Monarchy was the kingdome of Perſia (as *Plato* writeth) vnder *Cambyſes*, *Xerxes*, and other kings, vntill the laſt *Darius*. For vſurping more abſolute authoritie to rule, than was conuenient, they began to contemne their Vaſſals, and to account of them as of ſlaues: and putting no more confidence in them, they intertained into their ſeruice mercenarie ſouldiors and ſtrangers, whereby they made their owne ſubiects vnfit for warre, and ſo in the end loſt their eſtate, when it ſeemed to haue attained to the top of worldlie proſperitie. Such is the eſtate of the Turke at this day, wherein he is ſole Lord, commanding ouer his ſubiects in rigorous manner, aſwell ouer the Muſulmans, as Chriſtians, and Iewes. He vſeth in his principall affaires, which concerne peace and warre, and matters of gouernment, the ſeruice of runnagate ſlaues, whom he placeth in authoritie, changeth or depoſeth as he thinks good, without peril and enuie: yea he ſtrangleth them vpon the leaſt ſuſpition or diſlike conceiued of them, not ſparing his owne children and others of his blood, if they anger him. So did *Sultan Solyman* deale with *Hibrahim Baſcha*, who was almoſt of equall authoritie with him: inſomuch that he was there called the Seignour, king of the Ianitzaries, the *Baſcha*, and king of the men of Armes. Neuertheles in one night, wherin he made him ſtay & ſup with him, & lie in his

The difference betweene a Lord-like Monarchy and a tyranny.

Marks of a tyrannicall gouernment.

Of the eſtate of the Turke.

The death of Hibrahim Baſcha.

owne chamber, he cauſed him to be ſlaine, and his bodie to be caſt into the ſea. The morrow after he ſeazed vpon his goods, as confiſcate, and caried them away: and yet no man euer knewe the cauſe of his death, except it were this, that he was growne too great, and conſequently ſuſpected of his maiſter, who was a Tyrant, rather than a King. Likewiſe he keepeth in his hands all the Lordſhips of his kingdome, which he diſtributeth to men of warre, who are charged to maintaine a certaine number of men of Armes, and of horſes, according to the rate of their reuenew: and when it pleaſeth him he taketh them away againe. Neither is there any man in all the countries vnder his obedience, that poſſeſſeth Townes, Caſtles, and Villages, or dwelleth in ſtrong houſes, or that dare build higher than one ſtorie, or than a Dooue-houſe. The great Knes, or Duke of Moſcouia, exceedeth for ſeueritie and rigour of commanding, all the Monarchs in the world, hauing obtained ſuch authoritie ouer his ſubiects both Eccleſiaſticall and ſecular, that he may diſpoſe of their goods and liues at his pleaſure, ſo that none dare gainſay him in any thing. They confeſſe publikely, that the will of their prince is the will of God, and that whatſoeuer he doth, is done by the will of God. The king of Ethiopia is alſo a Lordlike Monarch, hauing (as *Paulus Ionius* affirmeth) 50. kings no leſſe ſubiect vnto him than ſlaues. And *Frauncis Aluarez* writeth, that he hath ſeene the great Chancellour of that countrie ſcourged ſtarke naked with other Lords, as the very ſlaues of the prince, wherein they thinke themſelues greatly honoured. The Emperour *Charles* the fift, hauing brought vnder his obedience the kingdome of Peru, made himſelfe ſoueraigne Lord thereof in regard of goods, which the ſubiects haue not, but as they farme them, or for terme of life at the moſt. The third kind of Monarchy, whereof the Ancients made mention, was that of Lacedemonia, wherein the king had not abſolute power, but in time of warre out of the countrie, and a certaine preheminence ouer the ſacrifices. We made mention of their gouernment before. The

The Turke diſpoſeth of all Lordſhips at his pleaſure.

Of the Eſtate of Moſcouia.

Of the king of Ethiopia.

The king of Ethiopia whipped his Lords like ſlaues.

Of the kingdom of Peru.

Of the third kind of Monarchy.

firſt

first kings in Rome were sacrificers also, and afterward, the emperors called themselues *Pontifices*, that is, chiefe bishops: and those of Constantinople were consecrated, as our kings of Frãce are. In like maner the Caliphaes of the Sarasins were kings and chiefe bishops in their religion: the one in Bagdet, the other in Cayre. The king of Calecuth is chiefe of his religion, and for this cause goeth before the other kings of India in dignitie, and is called *Samory*, that is to say, God on earth. The Pope commandeth ouer the temporalties of the church, called S. *Peters* patrimonie, as king: and is reast of the latin christian churches, as head of the religion, I meane in those places, & of those persons, where he is so taken and acknowledged. The king of England certaine yeeres past tooke vpon him the title of king and supreme gouernor of the Church. The fourth kind of monarchie is elective, not hereditarie: in some places for terme of life, as the empire of Almaigne, the kingdom of Polonia, of Bohemia, and of Hungaria: in other places for a certaine time, as was the Dictatorship at Rome. These estates are not commonly so sure and durable as those that are hereditarie, bicause of the practises & forestalling of voyces, which are for the most part vsed, wherupon seditions arise, to the great detriment of those kingdomes. For the prince being dead, the estate remaineth in a pure Anarchie, without king, without lord, without gouernment, & in danger of ruine, like to a ship without a Pilote, which is ready to be cast away with the first wind that bloweth. Also a gate is set open to theeues and murderers, who kill and slay at their pleasure vpon hope of impunitie: as it is commonly to be seene (as histories rehearse) after the death of the kings of Thunes, of the Souldans of Egypt, and of the Popes of Rome: where the seat being vacant, the first thing that is commonly done, is the breaking open of prisons, the killing of iailers, the letting out of guiltie persons, and the reuenging of iniuries by all possible meanes: and this continueth vntil the colledge of cardinals haue agreed vpon a successor. And in deed, in the yeere 1522. two were executed, against whom

What kings took vpon them soueraignetie in religion.

Of the 4. kind of monarchie which is elective

The dangerous state of an elective kingdom when the prince is dead.

Examples therof in the kingdoms of Thunes, of Egypt. The great disorder in Rome vpon the death of the Pope.

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it was prooued, that at ſundry tumults mooued at this election, they had ſlaine an hundreth and ſixteene men.

In the empire of Germanie.

As touching the Empire of Almaigne, their hiſtories are full of impoueriſhmentes fallen vpon them through the election of their Emperours, as well by ciuill warres, as by murders and poiſonings. So that within three hundreth and three-ſcore yeeres ſince the Empire fell vnder the election of ſeuen princes, eight or nine Emperours haue been ſlaine or poiſoned, beſides thoſe that haue been ſhamefully thruſt out of their imperiall ſeate.

In the Popedome.

Eccleſiaſticall perſones alſo haue not wanted ciuill warres about their elections, wherein no ſuch prouiſion could be made, but that two and twentie Popes were cut off, and many thruſt out of their ſeate: as may be ſeen in the Regiſters of the Vatican. Nowe we muſt note further, that among the electiue eſtates, euery election is either of ſuch perſones as the Electours like of, as in Germanie they doe not onely chuſe for emperoures the princes of Almaigne out of diuers families, but ſometime ſtraungers haue been choſen, as *Alphonſus* king of Spaine, and Richard Duke of Cornewall, and brother to king Henry the third: or elſe it is out of certaine inferiour eſtates, as the Pope out of the Colledge of Cardinals, and not long ſince the Souldan of Cayre out of the Mammeluckes: vnto which degree of honour none could aſcend, except before he had been a ſlaue and a runnagate Chriſtian: ſo that afterward he commaunded abſolutely in Egypt and Soria. This eſtate hauing continued about three hundreth yeeres, was not long ſince quite ouerthrowen by Sultan Selym king of the Turkes, who tooke the laſt Souldane, and cauſed him to bee caried vpon an olde Cammell all a-long Cayre, and then to be hanged vpon one of the gates of that Citie. The great maſter of Malta is choſen by the chiefe Priors of his religion: as that alſo of Pruſſia was before the agreement made with the king of Polonia, by which compoſition his eſtate was turned into a Duchie, ſubiect to the crowne of Poland, and of electiue made hereditarie. The fift kinde of Monarchie

All electiue princes are either taken indefinitely, or out of certaine eſtates.

The Souldans of Cayre choſen out of the Mammelucks.

The great maſterſhip of Malta electiue, and that alſo of Pruſſia.

Of the fift kind of Monarchie

narchie

narchie is hereditarie, and is properly called royall and lawfull: whether the king come to the eſtate by right of ſucceſſion, as *Thucidides* writeth of the auncient kings: or whether the kingdome be giuen by vertue of the lawe, without regard had to daughters, or to males deſcending of them, as it is in this kingdome, by the Salicke lawe: or whether it bee giuen as a meere gift, as the kingdomes of Naples and Sicill were giuen to *Charles* of Fraunce, and ſince giuen agayne to *Lewes* of France, firſt Duke of Aniow: whether it bee left by will, as the kinges of Thunis, Fez, and Marocke vſed to doe, and as it was practiſed alſo by *Henry* the eight, king of England, who left his kingdome to his ſonne *Edward*, appointing *Mary* after him, and after hir *Elizabeth*, or by what other meanes ſo euer the Prince becommeth lord of the eſtate, his monarchie is alwayes royall and lawfull, if he in like maner bee obedient to the lawes of nature, as he deſireth that his ſubiectes ſhould bee towards him, leauyng to euery one his naturall libertie and proprietie of his goodes, and looking to the profite and commoditie of the Common-wealth. This kingly gouernment *Ariſtotle* compareth to Oeconomie. For although a father of a familie gouerne his houſe after his pleaſure, yet he reſpecteth the commoditie of his familie. Vnder this happie fourme of gouernement, beyng the beſt of all, wee may boaſt that wee liue in Fraunce, through the goodneſſe of our kinges, who neyther ordaine, nor put any thing in execution, but by mature deliberation and counſaile, which they take with the princes of their bloud, and with other notable and graue perſones whome they call neere vnto them, as though their ſoueraigne power were ruled and moderated. For firſt the king commaundeth nothing that taketh effect, if it bee not ſigned by his Secretaries, and ſealed with his great ſeale: that is to ſaye, ſeene and approoued by the Chauncellour, who is a ſeuere Controuler of all matters that paſſe. All the kinges letters muſt alwayes of neceſſitie bee approoued by the

which is hereditarie.

The Salick law excludeth daughters and their ſonnes.

Kingdoms left by will.

Of the happy gouernment of the eſtate of France.

The Chancellor of France muſt approoue all matters before they can paſſe.

the iudges to whom they are directed, and examined not only whether they were obtained by priuie insinuation or fraudulent dealing, but also whether they be lawful or vnlawfull. Yea in criminall matters, the re-inabling of such as before were not capable of offices or dignities, writs of repeale from banishment, pardons & remissions, are skanned with such rigor by them, that the procurers of such letters are compelled to deliuer them bare-headed and kneeling, and to offer themselues prisoners, of what estate soeuer they be: in so much that oftentimes men are condemned and executed with their pardons about them. As for the giftes and expences of the king, whether they be ordinarie or extraordinarie, the chamber of accounts examineth them narowly, and many times cutteth off such as haue no good ground: by reason that the officers are sworne to let nothing passe to the detriment of the realm, notwithstanding any letters of commandement whatsoeuer. Among other things the king may not alienate his crowne reuenues, without some cause knowen to the sayd officers of accounts, and to the parliaments. And which is more, publike treaties with neighbour states, edicts and decrees haue no authoritie before they are published in the high courts. By which moderation his power is not lessened, but made surer, more durable, and lesse burthensome to his subiects, being wholy separated from tiranny, which is hated of God and men, as we may haue further knowledge by discoursing thereof particularly. So that ouer and besides those fiue kindes of monarchies mentioned of vs, tiranny may be put for the sixt, which we may call that, wherein the monarch treading vnder foote the lawes of nature, abuseth the libertie of free subiects, as if they were slaues, and other mens goods as his owne. Among the auncients the name of tyrant was honourable, and signified nothing else (being a Greeke worde) but a prince that had gotten the gouernment of the estate without the consent of his subiects, and of a companion had made himselfe a master, whether he were a wise and iust prince, or cruel and vniust. And in deed most of them became

Officers in France sworne to let nothing passe that is hurtfull to the realme, notwithstanding the king his cómandement.

Of a tiranny, & of the name of a tirant.

came wicked to make ſure their eſtate, life & goods, knowing that they were fallen into many mens hatred, bicauſe they had inuaded the ſoueraignty. In this reſpect therfore was this dominion & rule called tyrannical, bicauſe it gouerned in lord-like maner without right ouer free men, compelled and forced to obey. But generally we may call that a tirannie, when the prince accounteth all his will as a iuſt law, and hath no care either of pietie, iuſtice, or faith, but doth all things for his owne priuate profite, reuenge, or pleaſure. And as a good king conformeth himſelfe to the lawes of God and nature, ſo a tyrant treadeth them vnder foote: the one ſtriueth to enriche his ſubiects, the other to deſtroy them: the one taketh reuenge of publike iniuries, and pardoneth his owne, the other cruelly reuengeth iniuries done to himſelfe, and forgiueth thoſe that are offered to others: the one ſpareth the honour of chaſte women, the other triumpheth in their ſhame: the one taketh pleaſure to be freely admoniſhed, and wiſely reprooued when he hath done amiſſe, the other miſliketh nothing ſo much, as a graue, free, and vertuous man: the one maketh great account of the loue of his people, the other of their feare: the one is neuer in feare but for his ſubiects, the other ſtandeth in awe of none more than of them: the one burtheneth his as little as may be, and then vpon publike neceſſitie, the other ſuppeth vp their bloud, gnaweth their bones, and ſucketh the marrow of his ſubiectes to ſatiſfie his deſires: the one giueth eſtates and offices to meete with briberie and oppreſſion of the people, the other ſelleth them as deare as may bee, and careth not for the oppreſſion of his ſubiectes: the one in time of warre hath no recourſe but to his ſubiects, the other warreth againſt none but them: the one hath no garde or garriſon but of his owne people, the other none but of ſtraungers: the one reioyceth in aſſured reſt, the other languiſheth in perpetuall feare: the one is honoured in his life tyme, and longed for after his death, the other is defamed in his lyfe, and rent in pieces after his death. Examples hereof are

The difference between a good king and a tyrant.

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Diogenes girdeth Dionysius.

in euery mans sight. And therefore *Diogenes* the Sinopian meeting one day in the citie of Corinth with *Dionysius* the younger, tyraunt of Syracusa, who was then brought into the estate of a priuate man, banished from his countrey, and fallen from his dignitie, spake thus vnto him: Truely *Dionysius* thou art nowe in an estate vnworthie of thee. The tyraunt standing still withall, made him this answere: I like thee well *Diogenes*, bicause thou hast compassion of my miserable fortune. What? (replied the Philosopher) doest thou thinke that I pitie thee? I am rather grieued to see such a slaue as thou, who deseruest to growe olde and to die in that cursed estate of a tyraunt, as thy father did, to take thy pleasure in suche safetie, and to passe away thy tyme freely amongst vs without feare. And to say truth, tirannie is suche a miserable condition, that euen they that practise it and glorie therein, are constrained manie tymes to confesse with their owne mouth, that no kinde of life is so wretched as theirs. This selfe tyrant *Dionysius*, when hee was in the greatest glorye of his estate, declared as much to *Democles*, one of his familiar friendes, who had sayd that he was most happie. Wilt thou (quoth *Dionysius* to him) enioy my felicitie but for one day onely? Whereunto when *Democles* agreed, hee caused him to be serued at the table as himselfe was woont to be, with all the magnificence that could be deuised, hanging in the meane while a sworde right ouer his head, which was tied to the roofe aloft onely by one haire of a horse taile. When *Democles* perceiued that, he was well contented to make a short dinner, and to passe away the rest of the day in his former estate. Loe, (quoth the tyraunt then vnto him) how happie our life is, which with all our armed garde hangeth but by a little threed. Moreouer, the raigne of tyraunts beyng without measure and reason, and guided onely by violence cannot be of any long continuaunce. This is that which *Thales* the wise man sayde, that there was nothing so straunge or rare, as an olde tyrant. And albeit they liue miserablie

Of the miserable condition of tyrants.

Democles was quickly wearie of the estate of Dionysius.

A tyrant cannot long continue.

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in perpetuall diſtruſt of euery one, yea, of their neereſt kindred, yet their ende is more wretched. For there were fewe of them that died not a cruell and extraordinarie death, moſt of them being ſlayne and murdered: and others perſecuted with ſtraunge griefes, died like mad and deſperate men, through the remembraunce of their corrupt life, and of the cruelties which they had committed. In auncient time tyrannie was ſo deteſtable, that euen ſcholers and women ſought to winne the reward of honour by killing tyraunts: as *Ariſtotle* the Logitian did, who ſlew a tyraunt of Sycionia, and as Thebe, who killed hir husband *Alexander*, tyrannt of the Phereans. Thirtie tyraunts were ſlayne in one day in the Citie of Athens, by *Theramenes*, *Thraſibulus*, and *Archippus*, who had but three-ſcore and tenne men to execute that enterpriſe. *Leander* tyraunt of Cyrena, was taken aliue, and being ſewed into a leather bagge, was caſt into the ſea. *Ariſtodemus* tyraunt of Cumes, tooke *Xenocrita* by force, beyng a wealthie citizens daughter whome he had baniſhed, and keeping hir with him as his wife, ſhee ſtirred vp *Thymoteles* and others to recouer the libertie of their countrey, who beyng ſafelie let into the tyrants chamber by hir, ſlew *Ariſtodemus*. Beſids, the auncientes had appoynted great rewardes and recompences for the murderers of tyrauntes: namelie, titles of Nobilitie, of Proweſſe, of Chiualrie, images, and honourable titles: to bee ſhorte, the goodes of the tyrauntes were giuen vnto them, as to the true deliuerers of their Countrey. Nowe albeit wee ſayde, that this worde tyraunt was taken amongſt them for him that made him-ſelfe ſoueraigne Prince of his owne authoritie, with-out election, or right of ſucceſſion, or lotte, or iuſt warre, or ſpeciall callyng of GOD, yet wee muſt not inferre this conſequent, that therefore it is lawfull to kill euerie Prince that exerciſeth tyrannie. For it belongeth in no wiſe eyther to anye particuiar ſubiect, or to all in generall, to ſeeke the honour or lyfe of the Prince, that is abſolutely and lawfully

Tyrants haue commonly an euil end.

Examples of the extraordinarie deaths of tyrants.

Rewards appointed for murderers of tyrants.

It is not lawfull for any to kill his Prince, although a tyrant.

lawfully ſoueraigne, as we haue alreadie diſcourſed. Now to conclude our preſent ſpeech, we may ſee how farre the eſtabliſhment of this French Monarchie is from any inclination, and from all things that may ſeeme to giue any entraunce, life and preſeruation to a tirannie: nay it is cleane contrary thereunto, and goeth beyond all monarchies that euer were or are amongſt the ſundrie nations of men, for goodneſſe and mildeneſſe of gouernement: which ought wonderfully to ſtirre vp Frenchmen to perſeuere in loue, obedience, and fidelitie towardes their king, for which ſtraungers haue alwayes prayſed them.

Of the Education of a Prince in good maners and conditions. Chap. 59.

ARAM. THe effect of cuſtome is wonderfull, yea it is ſo power-full, that it paſſeth nature, eſpecially in vice and diſſolutenes. Wherein if men be once plunged, it is a very hard matter, eſpecially if they be young, to drawe them out of it. But further when they know that they haue in their handes an vnbrideled licence, and a ſoueraigne authoritie to enioy their luſtes and deſires at their pleaſure, a man may then ſaie, that all hope of amendment is vtterly periſhed in them, and that it is altogether impoſſible to gaine any thing of them by counſell, inſtruction or reaſon. Therefore it is very certaine, that the principall hope and expectation of a Prince (after requeſt made to God, that by nature he may bee of a good and teach-able diſpoſition) ought to bee grounded alwayes in his education and firſt inſtitution, which beyng either good or badde, will bring foorth like effectes, to the great good or hurt of his ſubiectes. Nowe then (my Companions) let vs diſcourſe of that which we thinke ought to be obſerued in the right inſtruction of a Prince in all kinde of good maners, and commendable conditions, as well for his owne

Cuſtome goeth beyond nature in that which is euil.

The chiefe hope of a prince dependeth (next to God) of his inſtitution.

owne profit, as for the common vtilitie of all those ouer whom he is to command.

ACHITOB. Men are commonly carefull to strengthen with rampires the bankes of riuers, which receiue into them great quantitie of waters. But it is needefull that more diligence be vsed in preseruing and fortifying the minde of a young prince with strong reasons, graue sentences, and most learned preceptes of wisedome, against the greatnesse of his fortune, the great aboundaunce of wealth, riote, delightes, and flatterie, disguised with fidelitie and libertie, which, lyke to a mightie streame, fall from some rocke to ouer-whelme and to drowne the weake seedes of Vertue naturallie in a Prince.

A notable comparison.

ASER. Men must bee so much the more carefull in the dressing and tillage of that spirite and soule, which they know ought to bee vigilant, wise, prudent, and iust for the benefite of many. Such a one is the king or magistrate, or any other man that is to deale in gouernement, and in publike affaires. For to fill that soule with vertue and goodnesse, is to profite an infinite number by the meaues of one. Now let vs heare AMANA discourse vpon this matter.

Why great care is to be had in the institution of a prince.

AMANA. All kingdomes vnder which men doe liue at this day, are eyther hereditarie, or giuen by election. Some that are hereditarie goe by succession from male to male onely, as this kingdome of Fraunce. And this did the French-men wisely ordaine in the beginning of their Monarchie by the Salicke lawe, by which prouidence and fore-sight, they haue continued in the same kind of gouernement almost one thousand and two hundreth yeeres, so that the crowne neuer went out of their nation, neither hath the roiall linage chaunged oftener than thrise in so long continuaunce: which thing neuer happened to any other Monarchie or Seignorie to any mans knowledge. In other kingdomes, when males are wanting daughters succeede, as in Spaine, England, and Scotland. Moreouer in hereditarie kingdomes, where

The kingdom of France goeth only from male to male.

males succeede, in some places that honour is alwayes reserued for the eldest, who giueth an honest pension to his younger brethren, as it is in Fraunce: or if no regard be had to birth-right, either he is preferred that is fittest to gouerne, or he that is most warlike, and in greatest fauour with the souldiours, as in Turkie, *Selim* the first of that name, beyng the third and youngest sonne of *Baiazet* the second, vsurped the Empire by the aide of the Ianitzaries vpon his father, whome he caused to be poisoned, and slew *Achmat* and *Corcuth* his two elder brothers, with all his nephewes, and others of *Ottomans* race, saying that nothing was pleasaunter than to rule when all feare of kindred was taken away. In some places they kill not their brethren and kindred, but shut them vp in some most sure and safe place of custodie, as they vse or are accustomed to doe in Ethiopia, where hee that must beare rule, is kept alone, the rest are sent to a very high and strong mountaine, called the mountaine of the Israelites; from whence none of the male kinde may euer come foorth, except *Prester Iohn* die without heire of his bodie to succeede him in the crowne: for then he that is next vnto it, and knowen to be woorthiest and fittest, is taken foorth. By this meanes that great kingdome hath continued very long without ciuill warre or murder, and neuer wanted of-spring of the royall race. In *Calecuth*, when the king dieth, although hee haue male children, or nephewes by his brother, yet none of them succeed in the kingdom, but his sisters sonne: and if they faile, the next of the bloud royal commeth to the crowne. They ground this vpon a foolish and fond superstition which they haue in causing the Queene to bee defloured by some young priest called Bramin, in whose custodie she remaineth euer after, so long as the King is abroade. Whereuppon they presume, and peraduenture not without good cause, that the children which descend or are borne of that Ladie, hold more of the priest than of the prince. Concerning kingdomes that goe by election, we haue spoken of them alreadie. Now bicause it is a very harde matter to change

The barbarous crueltie of Selim.

The custome of electing of a king in Ethiopia.

The custome of succession in Calecuth.

change him that is once choſen in ſuch a kingdome, greater conſideration muſt be had in making the election, leſt the ouer-ſight of one hower procure a perpetuall repentaunce. But where the prince is by nature and not by election, men muſt labour by carefull induſtrie and diligence to bring him vp, and to inſtruct him well by repleniſhing his mind with ſound opinions from his infancie, and by caſting vpon his new ground ſeedes of vertue and honeſtie, which by little and little may growe and waxe ripe with age, and hauing once taken roote, may abide ſtedfaſt and firme to his liues ende. For there is no time better and fitter to frame and to correct a prince in, than when he knowes not that he is a prince. For if he learne to obey from his infancie, when hee commeth to the degree of commaunding, he applieth and behaueth himſelfe a great deale better with his ſubiectes, than they that from their youth haue been alwayes free and exempted from ſubiection. For by ſuch education or bringing vp, a Prince addeth to his royall greatneſſe, and to thoſe faſhions which great men haue by nature, curteſie and gentle behauiour, which cannot but bee very acceptable to his people, and containe them more willingly in their duetie of obedience. Therefore the prince in his yong and tender yeeres muſt bee diligently imployed, not onely in with-drawing him from diſhoneſt things, but alſo in cauſing him to taſte of vertue, and to haue ſome preceptes thereof ingrauen in his brayne, vntill in the ende he vnderſtand all that belongeth to his duetie, and whatſoeuer elſe may helpe him forward to leade a good and happie life. If wiſe fathers with great care bring vp, and inſtruct their children, who ſhall ſucceed them but in the gouernment of ſome litle houſe in the countrey, how much greater care and labor ought to be taken in teaching him well & wiſely, who is to ſucceed in the Empire ouer much people, and whoſe life ought to be the diſcipline of their maners & conditiõs? For this cauſe a good & prudent prince muſt take pains in cauſing his children to be brought vp, that he remember he hath begotten them for the Com-

When a prince may beſt be corrected.

The beſt token of remembrãce that a Prince can leaue behind him.

mon-wealth, not to ſerue his priuate affections. Let him knowe, that although he erect a great number of images, builde ſumptuous houſes, eſtabliſh good and holeſome Ordinaunces, yet hee cannot leaue a more excellent marke of his, than a ſonne, who degenerating in nothing, repreſenteth the goodneſſe of his father by vertuous actions. For he dieth not that leaueth behinde him a liuely image of himſelfe. And truely it is the perfection of an excellent prince to rule in ſuch ſorte, as if hee would ſtriue, that his like for goodneſſe and iuſtice coulde not ſucceed him, and ſo to bring vp his children, as if hee deſired that they ſhoulde ſurmount him in vertue. To this ende therefore let him make choice of all his ſubiectes, yea from what place ſo euer, and gather together vertuous and ſincere men, vncorrupted, graue, and ſuch as are learned not onely through preceptes, but alſo through the experience of manye thinges, to whome their age breedeth reuerence, their good lyfe authoritie, and their mildeneſſe and gentle behauiour loue, and good-will: that the tender ſpirite of the yong prince, offended with the rough dealyng of his teachers, may not beginne to hate vertue before he know it, nor yet corrupted through their ouer-great gentleneſſe, degenerate and ſtarte aſide where it ought not. Wherefore *Seneca* ſayde, that a Prince his teacher muſt haue theſe two properties, *Hee muſt know how to chide without ſhaming of him, and howe to prayſe hym without flatterie.* Moreouer, great care muſt bee had in making choice of all ſuch perſones, whether they are men, women, children, or ſeruauntes, as come neere about him, eyther to gouerne, or to ſerue him, or to keepe him companie. For ſeeing the moſt part of mens mindes incline to euill, and no childe is ſo happily borne, but hee may bee corrupted through wicked education, what may a man looke for but verie great euils from that Prince, who, of what nature and ſpirite ſoeuer he be, preſently after he is out of his cradle, is ſtuffed with fooliſh and falſe opinions, nouriſhed among fonde women, brought vp

How a prince ought to liue himſelfe, and to bring vp his children.

What teachers a yong prince muſt haue.

Two properties requiſite in him that teacheth a prince.

What maner of perſons muſt be about the prince.

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in the middeſt of laſciuious maidens, of loſt children, vile and abiect flatterers, of iuglers and plaiers, of drunkards, of dice-plaiers and inuenters of pleaſures? briefly, in the midſt of ſuch caitifes, amongſt whom he heareth and learneth nothing but pleaſure, delight, pride, arrogancie, couetouſneſſe, choler and tirannie, and ſo departing from this ſchoole, takes vnto him the ſcepter and gouernment of his Empire? Now he that is elected and choſen to vndertake ſuch a great and difficult charge, as is the education and inſtruction of the prince, muſt bring with him a will woorthie the ſame, conſidering with himſelfe, not how many benefices and biſhoprikes he may get into his hands, but how he may deliuer vp a vertuous prince vnto his countrey, which putteth all hir truſt and confidence in him. Let him know that they do good to all the people, who make them good mē whom the people cannot want: as contrarywiſe, they that marre and corrupt princes and kings, ought to be an abomination to all men, and puniſhed no leſſe than they that put poiſon, not into a cup, but into a common fountaine, of which they ſee euery bodie drinke. Firſt then he that hath taken this charge vpō him, muſt narowly note whereunto the nature of the prince is inclined, ſeeing it may be knowen by ſome ſignes euen in his yong yeeres: as whether he be not giuen to anger, to ambition, to deſire of renowne, to riot, to play, to couetouſnes, to reuenge, to war, or to tiranny. After, when he knoweth to what vice he is enclined, he muſt fortifie his mind againſt the ſame with good opinions and with holie reſolutions, and labor to change his hart, which is yet tender, into a habite that is contrary to his nature. And when he perceiueth that his tender nature inclineth to honeſt and commendable things, or to ſuch vices as will eaſilie change into vertues in princes well brought vp, as to ambition and prodigalitie, he muſt pricke him forward, and helpe his good nature by diligent trauel. Neither muſt he vſe precepts onely to withdraw the prince from diſhoneſt things, & to procure in him a longing deſire to doe thoſe things that are vertuous, but he muſt labor to imprint and

The duty of him that is choſen to bring vp the prince.

To make a good prince is to do good to all his people.

The inclination of a yong prince muſt firſt be knowen.

How a yong prince muſt be taught.

to roote them in his memory by diuers formes, now by ſentences, another while by fables, after by compariſons, then by examples, or by ſome notable ſayings, ingrauen in rings, and painted in tables. Briefly, if there be any other thing wherein this age taketh pleaſure, let that be a meane to worke in him a taſte of vertue. Aboue al things ſpeciall regard is to be had, what opinions are ingrauen in the prince his braine. For the whole order of his life proceedeth from that fountaine. And therfore he muſt labor immediately to imprint in his mind holy and good opinions, which may ſerue for a counter-poiſon againſt the cómon errors of the ignorant people: but chiefly to inſtruct him throughly in gods truth, & in that which concerneth his ſaluation. He muſt perſwade him, that whatſoeuer is taught in the law of God, belongeth to none ſo much as to the prince, and that as he is to raign by him, ſo likewiſe it belongeth to his office to raigne according to his will, that he may enioy proſperitie in this world, and eternall felicitie in the bleſſed life to come. Let him be taught to loue vertue as the only good, and to hate vice as the onely euil: let him know that the one is folowed no leſſe with ſhame and diſhonor, than the other with glory and honor, eſpecially in a prince, in whom if vertue take place, as it were in a high watch-tower, it ſhineth ſo cleerely, that the brightnes thereof remaineth long after his death. As for all worldly pompe, antiquitie of petigree, images and riches, they are but meere vanitie and folly, not woorthie to be cared for, or to be admired by a vertuous prince. Let him be perſwaded that dignitie, greatnes and maieſtie are not to be ſought after by the helpe of fortune, or by humane means, but by wiſdome, integritie of life & maners, and by vertuous and noble deeds. *Plato* ſaith not without cauſe, that a Common-wealth will neuer be happie vntill princes play the Philoſophers, or Philoſophers take the rudder of the Empire in hand. Now his meaning is not to cal him a Philoſopher, that is learned in Logike, in naturall Philoſophie, and in the Mathematicks, but him, who with an vntamed hart deſpiſeth the vaine ſhadowes of things,

Deu. 17. 18. 19 The law of God belongeth to the prince.

When a Common-wealth is happy.

things, and followeth after true goods. A philoſopher and a Chriſtian differ but in name: and a prince wel inſtructed in piety, is truly both the one and the other. Therefore he ought to learne nothing ſooner (next to the law of God) than the morall philoſophie of the auncients, which teacheth all vertue. Is there any thing more fooliſh than to eſteeme highly of a prince if he vaute well, if he play well at tenniſe, if he be ſtoute and ſtrong: briefly, if he be cunning in ſome things, which peraduenture a peaſant would doe better than he, and in the meane while he is puffed vp with pride, he polleth his people, and ſporteth himſelfe in all kind of diſſoluteneſſe and pleaſure? What honor is it for a prince to go farre beyond the common ſort in precious ſtones, gold, purple, traine of ſeruants, and in other ornaments of the body, and in euery thing that is falſly called good, and in the meane while to be farre inferior in the true goods of the ſoule to many of his people, and thoſe of loweſt calling? Theſe opinions, as holy and inuiolable lawes, muſt bee ingrauen in the hart of a young prince, and muſt bee, as it were the firſt lines that are to be drawen in the voide table of his ſoule, namely, that he muſt ſtriue that none excell him in the goods of the ſoule, in wiſdome, magnanimitie, temperance and iuſtice. Frugalitie, modeſtie, and ſobrietie in other men may be attributed either to pouertie or to niggardlines, but in a prince they cannot but be a note of tẽperance, I meane, when he vſeth goods modeſtly, who hath as much as he will. Ancient men called that prudence miſerable, which was gottẽ by the experience of things, bicauſe it is bought with publike loſſe & calamity. But ſuch kind of experience ought to be fartheſt off from a Prince, bicauſe the longer it is a learning, the greater cauſe is it of many euils vnto al his people. If *Scipio Africanus* had reaſon to ſay, that this ſpeech, *I had not thought it*, did not beſeem a wiſe man, how much more vnſeemely is it for a Prince, who cannot vtter the ſame without his great harme, and greater to the Common-wealth? For as in a voiage the fault of a common Mariner (ſaide *Agapetus*) doth but little hurte,

The agreement between a Philoſopher and a Chriſtian.

Wherin a prince ought to excell others.

The fault of a Prince is much more hurtfull than that of a priuate man.

whereas the ſlip of a Pilot bringeth ſhipwracke: ſo in monarchies the offence of a priuate man is more hurtfull to himſelfe than to the Common-wealth, but if the prince begin to faile, he hurteth euery one. This is the cauſe why the mind of a prince muſt eſpecially be inſtructed with good reſolutions & ſentences, to the end he may be skilfull by reaſon and not by vſe. For then the counſel of aged men will ſupply that experience of things which is wanting in him. He muſt be giuen to vnderſtand, that his life is in the face of all the world, that he can do nothing that will be hid, and therfore if he be good, it muſt needs turne to the great benefit of many; if wicked, to their hurt likewiſe: bicauſe the prince is always the very portrature after which ſubiects conforme themſelues. He muſt know that the greater honour is giuen vnto him, the more he is to ſtriue that he may be woorthie of it, looking more to his owne doyngs and actions, than to the prayſes that men giue him, which he muſt beleeue and receiue, according as he behaueth himſelfe. For if hee rule well, they are due vnto him; if ill, he is honoured and praiſed, either through conſtraint, or of flatterie: or els it is to ſhew him vnder hand what he ought to bee. Let him know that as God hath placed the Sunne and the Moone in the heauens for a reſemblaunce of his diuinitie: ſo a prince is the like repreſentation and light in a kingdome, as long as he hath the feare of GOD, and the obſeruation of iuſtice imprinted in him. For theſe two things make their life diuine and celeſtiall, that are placed in high degree of power and authoritie: as contrarywiſe, the contempt of pietie and iuſtice, maketh it beaſt-like and ſauage. As God the giuer of all things ſtandeth not in neede of any mans ſeruice to receiue a good turne of him: ſo it is the dutie of a worthie prince, who repreſenteth the figure of the eternall king, to profite euery one with-out reſpect of his owne commoditie and glory. As God is not touched with any affections or paſſions, but ruleth and gouerneth all thinges perfectly by his prouidence: ſo after his example a prince laying aſide the perturbations

A prince ought to be skilfull by reaſon and not by vſe.

How a prince is to receiue the praiſes that are giuen him.

Good precepts for princes ſet out by compariſons.

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of his ſoule muſt follow reaſon onely in all his dooings. As there is nothing more common than the ſunne, which imparteth of hir light to all the celeſtiall bodies: ſo a Prince muſt be alwaies readye to profite the Commonwealth, and haue within him the light of wiſedome, to the end that if others looſe their brightnes, yet he may neuer be ouertaken with darknes. As the Sunne when it is higheſt in the Zodiacke mooueth ſloweſt: ſo the higher that a Prince is lift vp in greatnes and authoritie, the more gentle and gratious he ought to be, keeping himſelfe from dooing any thing that beſeemeth not a Prince. Therefore let him thinke, that nothing is more vile and abiect, than for him that is called a king and Prince of free men, to become a ſlaue to riot, choler, couetouſnes, ambition, & other vices of like qualitie, which are moſt vile and cruell maiſters. He muſt be ſo affected towards his ſubiects, as a good father of a familie is towards thoſe of his houſhold: bicauſe a kingdome is nothing els but a great familie, and a king the father of a great many. For although he paſſe them in greatnes and authoritie, yet he is of one and the ſame kind with them, a man commanding men, and free ouer thoſe that are free, not ouer beaſts or ſlaues, as *Ariſtotle* ſaith very well. And if he would haue that excellent title, which we giue to God the Prince of all men, calling him *Our father*, he muſt procure it not by threatnings and feare, but by good deedes, by meekenes and humanitie, which will ſtand him in ſteede of a ſure Gard to preſerue his eſtate. For the loue and loialtie of his ſubiects will greatly encreaſe thereby, of which the aſſurance of Monarchies dependeth. When the nobilitie and common-people vſe to feare, not him, but for his ſake that commandeth them, then he ſeeth with many eies, heareth with many eares, and perceiueth a farre off whatſoeuer is done. Let the Prince haue this ſaying of *Plutarke* alwaies engrauen in his ſoule: *That nothing heere below pleaſeth God more, or draweth neerer to his diuine nature, than to rule well in all iuſtice and equitie*, which is the chiefeſt charge of his vocation, and that vnto which he is ſtraightly bound in reſpect

A kingdome is but a great familie.

The ſafetie of Monarchies dependeth of the loue and loialtie of ſubiects.

The mutuall duties of the Prince and his ſubiects.

ſpect of his ſubiects. For as the ſubiect oweth obedience, aide, and reuerence to his Lord: ſo the Prince oweth iuſtice, defence, and protection, to his ſubiects. When a Prince ſheweth himſelfe vpright, indifferent, and true of his word to all, it is the greateſt felicitie that can happen to a Common-wealth, and that which crowneth the Monarch thereof with greater glorie and honour. And truly a Prince ought to be more carefull to obtaine that praiſe and reputation which proceedeth of goodnes and vertue, than that which commeth of ſtrength and power. For as the diuine nature, vnto which kings muſt endeuour to conforme their woorks and actions, excelleth all other eſſences and natures chiefly in three things, that is, in immortalitie, power, and goodnes: ſo a Prince muſt ſtriue to excell his ſubiects, not ſo much in the immortalitie of his name, or in power, as in goodnes, which vertue is certainly much more venerable, and draweth neereſt to the diuinitie. For to be incorruptible and immortall, the fower Elements, and the whole frame are indued with that qualitie, as naturall Philoſophers maintaine. And as for ſtrength and power, earthquakes, lightnings, tempeſtuous whirlewinds, flouds and inundations of waters, are full of force and might: but nothing is partaker of iuſtice, vprightnes, and equitie, except it be diuine, and that by the meanes of reaſon and vnderſtanding. So that (as the ſame *Plutark* ſaith) we only are capeable of that Good of vertue that commeth from God. To be ſhort, let the Prince be diligently taught whileſt he is yoong, and labour to knowe how he may adorne his name with works anſwerable to thoſe excellent Epithits and titles, wherewith *Iulius Pollux*, who was gouernour to the Emperour *Commodus* in his yoong yeeres, ſetteth foorth a good king. He calleth him *Father, gentle, acceptable, mercifull, prudent, iuſt, curteous, noble-minded, free, a contemner of monie, not ſubiect to paſſions, but commanding ouer himſelfe, one that ouercommeth pleaſures, and vſeth reaſon, quicke of iudgement, ſharpe, prouident, good in counſelling, iuſt, ſober, godly, and full of good religion, carefull ouer the welfare of men,*

What praiſe a Prince is to ſeek after.

The whole world is immortall in reſpect of ſubſtance, but not of qualities.

Excellent titles of a good Prince.

men, constant, firme, no deceiuer, minding great things, decked with authoritie, industrious, a quicke dispatcher of affaires, carefull ouer those whome he commandeth, a Sauiour, ready to do good, slow to reuenge, alwaies one and the same without turning aside, inclining greatly to iustice, easie to haue accesse vnto, curteous in speech, gentle to them that haue to deale with him, plaine, a louer of vertuous and valiant men, who neuertheles are not desirous of warre, a louer of peace, a peace-maker, a precise obseruer thereof, borne to correct the manners of people, skilfull in discharging the dutie of a king and Prince, hauing knowledge to make good lawes, borne to profit euery one, and of a diuine forme. A Prince of noble birth shall feele himselfe greatly prouoked to desire and seeke after these excellent gifts and graces, through the consideration of examples propounded vnto him, concerning the liues & deeds of so many famous and woorthy men, as are at this day after innumerable ages reuiued againe by meanes of histories. And it cannot be but he will be greatly pricked forward to conforme himselfe vnto them, thereby to giue like occasion to good wits, to write, singe, and publish his praises. What Prince will not burne with a iealous desire of vertue, when he heareth that the onely fame thereof in the person of *Scipio Africanus* allured and rauished theeues and robbers with such an admiration, that when they vnderstood that he was in a house far from any towne, they did beset it round, and as he stood in his defence to driue them away, they threw downe their weapons, assuring him, that they came thither onely to see and to reuerence him, as in deed they did? What prince will not be possessed with ioy, when he heareth, that *Menander* king of the Bactrians was so beloued of his subiects for his iustice and vertue, that after his death the cities were in great contention, which of them should haue the honor of his buriall, for the appeasing of which strife, order was taken that each of them should make a tombe? Who wil not be mooued with loue towards the goodnes of *Traian* Emperour of the Romanes, when he heareth his Panegyricall Oration, wherein *Plinie*, after he had extolled him to heauen, concludeth thus: *That the greatest happines, which*

Examples of former ages must be propounded to Princes.

Scipio Africanus.

Menander.

Traian.

which could come to the Empire, was, that the Gods tooke example by the life of Traian? Who will not deſire the honour that king *Ageſilaus* receiued, when he was fined by the Ephoryes, bicauſe he had ſtolne away the harts, and wonne the loue of all his Citizens to himſelfe alone? Who will not wiſh to haue the ſurname of *Ariſtides the iuſt*, as diuine and royall a title as euer king could obtaine, rather than as many vſe to be called *Conquerours*, *Beſiegers*, *Thunderers*? Briefly, vnto theſe examples oppoſe the reprehenſion and marke of perpetuall infamie, which hiſtories ſet vpon euill Princes, and it cannot be but that a Prince well brought vp, and exerciſed in the loue and ſtudie of vertue, will be very deſirous to ſhew foorth the fruits and effects thereof, eſpecially if he be well inſtructed in the feare of God, and knowledge of his dutie, whereof he ſhall haue perfect vnderſtanding in the law of God, which he is commanded by the ſoueraigne king of all to haue with him, to read in it all the daies of his life, and to obey it, to the end he may raigne happily in earth, and finally in heauen.

Ageſilaus.

Ariſtides.

Deut. 17. 19.

Of the office and dutie of a King. Chap. 60.

AMANA. *AVguſtus Cæſar* hearing ſome rehearſe, that *Alexander* the great, after he had finiſhed moſt of his conqueſts at two and thirtie yeeres of age, ſaid, that he tooke great care to know what he ſhould do afterward: *I woonder* (ſaid this wiſe Monarch) *at the ſpeech of that great Prince, whereby it ſeemeth he thought that there was leſſe to do in well ordering, ruling, and preſeruing a great Empire once entirely gotten, than in conquering the ſame.* And ſurely to ſpeake truth, there is nothing more difficult than to raigne well. Moreouer, it is better for a Prince to gouerne prudently, and to rule according to his eſtate, than to inuade & poſſeſſe another mans countrie: namely, if he conſider, that God, being ſo gratious vnto him as to bring innumerable perſons vnder his obedience, hath chiefly eſtabliſhed him to keepe them in the knowledge and

It is as hard a matter to gouerne well, as to get an Empire.

Why Princes are placed in their thrones.

and obſeruation of true religion, to rule them by good lawes, to defend them by armes, and in all things to be ſo carefull of their good, that they may eſteeme of him, as of their father and ſheepeheard. Now ſeeing we haue ſummarily intreated of the education and inſtitution of a prince vnder the charge of a teacher and gouernour, let vs in this place (my Companions) conſider of his office and dutie, when he raigheth with full authoritie ouer his ſubſubiects.

ARAM. Foraſmuch as integritie of religion, and the good will of the people are two principall pillers vpon which the ſafetie of euery Eſtate ſtandeth, the king ought to procure the firſt, being therefore appointed by God ouer ſo many millions of men: and the ſecond without doubt dependeth of the former, which is the onely difference betweene a king and a tyrant, who ruleth by conſtraint.

The good will of the people dependeth of the integritie of religion.

ACHITOB. In a king is ſeene the ordinance of God, who is the author and preſeruer of policies, and of good order. Therefore his feare and reaſon, muſt neuer depart out of his mind, to the end that ſeruing God, he may profite all thoſe that liue vnder his dominion. But from thee ASER we looke for the diſcourſe of this matter.

ASER. The ſeuen Sages of Grecia being inuited to a feaſt by *Periander* prince of Corinth, were requeſted by him to enter into the diſcourſe of the eſtate of great men. *Solon* ſpeaking firſt, ſaid: *That a ſoueraigne king or prince cannot any way procure greater glorie to himſelfe than by making a popular Eſtate of his Monarchy:* that is to ſay, by communicating his ſoueraigne authoritie with his ſubiects. *Bias* ſpeaking next, ſaid: *By ſubmitting himſelfe firſt of all to the lawes of his countrie. Thales: I account that Lord happie that attaineth to old age, and dieth a naturall death. Anacharſis: If he be the onely wiſe man. Cleobulus: If he truſt none of thoſe that are about him. Pittacus: If he be able to preuaile ſo much, that his ſubiects feare, not him, but for him. Chilon: A Prince muſt not ſet his mind vpon any tranſitorie or mortall thing, but vpon that which is eternall and immortall. Periander* concluding vpon theſe opinions,

The ſayings of the ſeuen wiſe men of Grecia touching the eſtate of Princes.

pinions ſaid, that all theſe ſentences ſeemed to him to diſſwade a man of good iudgement, from deſiring at any time to command ouer others. The Emperour *Traian* writing to the Senate of Rome, among other things, vſed theſe very words: *I freely confeſſe vnto you, that ſince I began to taſte of the trauels and cares which this Imperiall Eſtate bringeth with it, I haue repented me a thouſand times that I tooke it vpon me. For if there be great honor in hauing an Empire, there is alſo very great paine and trauell in gouerning the ſame. But ouer and beſides, to what enuie is he expoſed, and to how many miſlikings is he ſubiect that hath others to gouerne? If he be iuſt, he is called cruell: if pitifull, he is deſpiſed: if liberall, he is thought to be prodigall: if he laie vp monie, he is taken for couetous: if he be addicted to peace, he is ſuppoſed to be a coward: if he be courageous, he is iudged ambitious: if graue, they will call him proud: if affable and courteous, he is termed ſimple: if ſolitarie, an hypocrite: and if he be merrie, they will ſay he is diſſolute.* After many other ſpeeches, this good Emperour concluded, that *although he willingly accepted of his eſtate at the firſt, yet he was very ſorowful afterward that he had ſo great a charge: bicauſe the ſea and the Empire were two pleaſant things to looke vpon, but perilous to taſt.*

Traians letter to the Senate, touching the carefull eſtate of Princes.

To what falſe ſurmiſes a Prince is ſubiect.

Who is fitteſt to rule.

Diuine *Plato* wrote alſo, that none was fit to gouerne an Empire, and to be a Prince, but he that commeth vnto it through conſtraint, and againſt his will. For whoſoeuer deſireth the charge of a Prince, it muſt needes be, that he is either a foole, not knowing how dangerous and full of care the charge of a King is: or if he be a wicked man, that he mindeth nothing but how he may raigne to ſatiſfie his pleaſure and priuate profite, to the great hurt of the Common-wealth: or elſe if he be ignorant, that he conſidereth not how heauie the burthen is which he taketh vpon him. Therefore a wiſe Prince will not thinke himſelfe the happier, bicauſe he ſucceedeth in a greater Empire and kingdome, but remember rather, that he laieth ſo much the more care and paine vpon his ſhoulders, and that he beginneth then to haue leſſe leaſure, leſſe reſt and happines in paſſing away his time. In other perſons, a fault is pardoned in youth, and growing old, they are ſuf-

fered

fred to take their eaſe. But he that is Head of a Common-wealth, bicauſe he is to trauell for all, muſt be neyther yoong nor old. For he can-not commit a fault how ſmall ſoeuer it be, without the hurt of many men, nor yet reſt from his dutie, but it will turne to the miſerie of his ſubiects. This cauſed the Philoſophers to ſay, that a Prince ought not to dedicate the Common-wealth to himſelfe, but to addict himſelf to the Common-wealth, and for the profit thereof alwaies to be diligent, vertuous, and wiſe, & ſo to gouerne his Empire, that he may be able eaſily to giue a reaſon of his charge. And bicauſe no man asketh an account of him in this life, he ought to be ſo much the more ſtirred vp to demand a ſtraighter reckoning of himſelfe, being aſſured that the time wil come, and that ſpeedily, wherein he muſt yeeld it vp before him, with whome there is no reſpect of Princes, except in this, that they ſhal haue the Iudge more rigorous againſt them, that haue abuſed greater power and authority. To begin therfore to handle the duty and office of a Prince: firſt, he muſt haue the lawe of God continually before his eies: he muſt engraue it in his ſoule, and meditate vpon the wordes and ordinances thereof, all the dayes of his life, deſiring of God to graunt him the ſpirite of vnderſtanding to conceiue them well, and according to that diuine rule to direct all his intents and actions to the glorie of that great, eternall, and Almightye Kinge of Kinges: aſwell for the ſaluation of his owne ſoule, which he ought to preferre before the rule of the whole worlde: as for the good of thoſe that are committed to his charge to gouerne, teach and iudge them. For it is moſte certaine, that of the knowledge of the truth in the Prince his hart, all good order of his Eſtate dependeth: and that his pietie is of great force to awaken his ſubiects in their dutie: namely, when they ſee him followe and cleaue to true religion without faining and diſſimulation. Therefore he muſt carefully prouide, that falſe doctrines, hereſies, blaſphemies agaynſt the name of G O D and his truth, with other offences in matters of religion, be not openly

The Prince muſt giue account to none but to God.

The firſt and principall dutie of a Prince is to haue the law of God before his eies. Pſal. 119.

The pietie of the prince is of great force with his ſubiects to ſtirre them vp to their dutie.

ly broached & sowne amongst the people, but that some publike forme of Christian religion may alwaies be seene in his kingdome, which is the sure foundation of euery well established Monarchy. But heerein that which I said before, is diligently to be noted: namely, that the Prince through wisedome craued before at the hands of God, must be well assured of his diuine, iust, and eternall will, and according to that, take order that true pietie may not be publikely violated and polluted by an vncorrected libertie. Next, we will briefly comprehend all those points, which ancient men both Philosophers and Christians haue required in an absolute and perfect Prince, in three principall duties and actions: that is, in ruling, iudging and in defending. He must rule by good lawes, and by good example; iudge by wisedome, prouidence, and iustice; and defend by prowes, care, and vigilancie. These duties, that excellent greek Orator and Philosopher *Isocrates* seemeth to haue couertly contained in these words, which he wrote to *Nicocles* the Prince: *This may prooue vnto thee that thou hast raigned well, if thou seest that the people, which is subiect vnto thee, encrease in modestie and wealth vnder thy gouernment. For good lawes, iustice, and good example of life, make subiects better, and prudence ioined with fortitude and prowes, richer.* Now that a good Prince (I call him good and iust that imploieth all his power to be such a one, being ready to spend his bloud and life for his people) may attaine to these excellent qualities, his loue, and affection towards his subiects, is very necessarie, as that which is able to preserue the indissoluble bond of mutuall good will betweene them & him, which is one of the surest meanes to maintaine great Estates and Monarchies. Next, he is to begin the good ordering of his Estate at himselfe, and reforme first of all, all disorder in his owne life and maners, & correct those things that are most secrete in his court: knowing that from thence forward he must liue as it were in an open Theater, where he is seene on euery side, so that his life will be a discipline and instruction of good or ill liuing vnto others. Therefore let him striue to excell those

The Prince must be sure that the religion he maintaineth is the iust will of God.

The duties of a Prince comprehended in three points.

Isocrates argument, whereby he prooueth the good raigne of a Prince.

A Prince must loue his subiects.

He must begin reformation at himselfe.

thoſe whom he ruleth, & to ſurmount them as far in vertues, as he ſurpaſſeth them in riches & honor. Amongſt al thoſe that followe him, he muſt alwaies haue the wiſeſt next his perſon, & cal others from al parts neere vnto him, not refuſing or contemning any man of skill & reputation. He muſt often heare them, learne of them, & being a Iudge amongſt ſuch as are leſſe skilfull, ſtriue to go beyod the beſt learned through diligence and ſtudye. By which kind of exerciſes he ſhal knowe how to gouerne the eſtate of his kingdom vprightly, & cannot but do ſuch things as are praiſe-woorthy. And foraſmuch as common tranquillity & publike quietnes is one principal end of ciuil ſocietie, the firſt duty of a good king towards his ſubiects, is to maintaine them in peace & concord. For it is vnpoſſible that a Common-wealth ſhould flouriſh in religion, iuſtice, charitie, integrity of life: briefly, in all things neceſſary for the preſeruation therof, if the ſubiects enioy not an exceeding great & aſſured peace. Let the Prince then without intermiſſion, ſeeke after the ſafeſt meanes to keepe his kingdome in quietnes & reſt: let him deliuer his ſubiects from calamitie: let him be careful of al things which may be profitable & commodious vnto them, & let him command them with mildnes, & teach them obedience by the vprightnes of his commandements. Let him not ſuffer his people to be ouer inſolent, nor yet to be troden vnder foote and oppreſſed: but let him take order, that ſuch as are moſt honeſt may be preferred to honors & offices, & that the reſt may not any way be wronged. He muſt alter thoſe ciuill lawes and cuſtoms of liuing, which being ill eſtabliſhed, are preiudiciall to his ſubiects, and ordaine all iuſt and profitable lawes, agreeing with themſelues, and ſuch as breeding but fewe ſuites among his people, may briefly iudge and decide them according to right and equitie. In this point a good Prince muſt vſe great care and diligence that iuſtice may be well adminiſtred, to the preſeruation of euery mans right, and to the puniſhment of the wicked. This is that which the ſpirite of God ſo often commandeth: namely, to *execute iudgement and righteouſ-*

He muſt haue the wiſeſt next his perſon.

The firſt dutie of a king towards his ſubiects.

Good precepts for a Prince.

What manner of lawes are to be eſtabliſhed in a Common-wealth.

Ierem. 22. 3.

nes, to deliuer the oppreſſed from the hands of the oppreſſor, not to vexe the ſtranger, the fatherles, nor the widow, to doe no violence, nor ſhed innocent blood. And theſe ſelfe ſame things muſt he cauſe to be obſerued by them that are appointed to exerciſe iuſtice in his name. Which bicauſe it was neglected by many kings, they loſt both life and kingdome, as we read of *Phillip* king of Macedonia, a very mild Prince, and of an excellent nature, who was neuertheles ſlaine by *Pauſanias*, bicauſe he delaied a long time to let him haue right and iuſtice, concerning an iniurie which an other had offered him. *Demetrius* alſo loſt his kingdome, bicauſe he could not abide to heare his ſubiects, but eſpecially for this matter. One day when many ſupplications were preſented vnto him, he put them into the plaites of his cloake, and paſſing ouer a bridge he threwe them all into the water, and would not once vouchſafe to read them: whereupon the people being filled with indignation, rebelled againſt him. On the other ſide, a good Prince ought freely, and at all howers of the day, to heare the complaints of his ſubiects, and to prouide thereafter, as one that is truly zealous of iuſtice, clemencie, and goodnes, which are rather diuine than humane qualities, and moſt proper to him that will conforme himſelfe aſmuch as may be (as it becommeth him) to that heauenlye vertue, which is alwaies iuſt and mercifull, and (as *Plutarke* ſaith) ruleth all things without compulſion, mollifieng the neceſſitie of obeying by admonition and perſwaſion of reaſon. Nothing is more conuenient for a Soueraigne than gentlenes, for a Prince than clemencie, for a King than mercie: and yet ſeueritie and rigour of iuſtice are no leſſe neceſſarie ornaments, for the diſcharge of his dutie, and the good of his ſubiects. Therfore in that which concerneth diuine and naturall right, & the puniſhment eſtabliſhed for the tranſgreſſion therof, he muſt alwaies vſe iuſtice, and beware leaſt his facilitie in granting fauor & diſpenſations, make him a promoter of euill, which (as *Seneca* ſaith) if he leaue vnpuniſhed, is transferred vnto his poſteritie. But when the Prince onely is offended through ſome

Philip loſt his life bicauſe he delaied iuſtice.

Demetrius threw the ſupplications of his ſubiects into a water.

A prince muſt execute iuſtice vpon the tranſgreſſours of the law of God and of nature.

ſome light contempt, or excuſable breach of his Edicts, it cannot but be commendable in him to vſe pardon & pitie. Theſe are thoſe ſtrong and mighty chaines, which (as *Dion* ſaid to *Dionyſius* the king of Syracuſa) will preſerue his kingdom in a happy, flouriſhing and peaceable eſtate, I meane goodnes and iuſtice. For force, feare, & the multitude of his gard, aſſure not the eſtate of a Prince ſo well, as the good wil, affection, fauour, and loue of his ſubiects, which he may obtaine by goodnes and iuſtice. They onely (ſaid *Marcus Aurelius* inſtructing his ſonne) are to hold a kingdom long time without danger, who by good behauiour and iuſt dealing imprint in the harts of their ſubiects, not a feare of their power, but a mutuall loue of their vertue. For thoſe ſubiects are to bee ſuſpected that ſerue through conſtraint and extremitie, not they that obey being mooued with reaſon and gentlenes. Theſe holie precepts were ſo well put in practice by this good Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, that all his ſubiects had very eaſie acceſſe vnto him: inſomuch that albeit he were a great Monarch, yet he neuer had any gard, no not ſo much as a Porter to his Pallace. Likewiſe king *Numa* put from him thoſe three hundred Archers, which *Romulus* vſed to haue for his gard: ſaying, that he would not diſtruſt that people which put their truſt in him, nor command ouer that people that diſtruſted him. To this purpoſe, when *Plato* ſawe the aboue-named *Dionyſius* compaſſed about with many ſouldiours of his Gard, he ſayd vnto him, What? Haſt thou committed ſo many euils, that thou ſtandeſt in neede of ſuch a Gard of armed fellowes? Nowe it is moſt certaine, that the obedience of the ſubiect ſpringeth and proceedeth from the loue of his Lord, as alſo that the loue of the Lord increaſeth through the obedience of the ſubiect. But bicauſe the wickednes of men is ſo great at this day, that they which ſtriue to be very gratious, are contemned and deſpiſed, it is very neceſſary that the Prince ſhould ſhew foorth a certaine kind of grauitie and ſeueritie, and according to the times, places, perſons, and occaſions that are offred, cauſe his pow-

When it is commendable in him to ſhew mercie.

How a Prince may preſerue his kingdome a great while without danger.

Marcus Aurelius ſtood not in feare of his ſubiects.

Numa refuſed the gard of three hundred archers which Romulus had.

Plato his ſpeech to Dionyſius concerning his gard.

Grauitie and ſeueritie requiſite in a prince.

A principle in ſtate matters.

er and the maieſtie of his commandements to be perceiued, being alwaies the ſtronger: bicauſe in matter of Eſtate a man may holde this for an vndoubted principle, that he is maiſter of the eſtate, who is maiſter of the forces. Thus the gentlenes of the Prince accompanied with ſeueritie, his bountie mingled with rigor, and his facilitie with auſteritie will be the meanes that his vertue ſhall attaine to a harmonical iuſtice, which diſtributeth vprightly that which appertaineth to euery one: reward to whome reward, & puniſhment to whome puniſhment belongeth. From theſe duties & offices of a good Prince towards his ſubiects, already mentioned, proceedeth the fatherly care which he hath of their proſperitie in the preſeruation & encreaſe of their cõmodities & riches, ſo far off is he from all headlong deſire to inuade & ſpoile them. He conſidereth wiſely, that although he hath authoritie & power ouer the goods of his ſubiects, yet not in ſuch ſort as he hath ouer his owne demaine, or as if the proprietie therof belonged to him, but only to this end to demand aide & ſuccor for the good & profit of the Common-wealth. *Homer* bringing in *Achilles* offring great iniuries to *Agamemnon*, againſt whome he was ſore incenſed, ſaith that he called him *Deuourer of the people*: and contrariwiſe, when he would in other places praiſe the king, he termeth him *Sheepheard of the people*. And truly they are vnworthy of the title of Prince, that lending their eares to ſuch as inuent new ſubſidies, impoſe them daily on their ſubiects: & hauing againſt all humanitie ſpoiled them of their goods & riches, conſume them miſerably vpon pleaſures, or cruelly in warre, when they might aſwel ſuffer their poore ſubiects to liue in peace. When *Marcus Antonius* was in Aſia, he doubled the taxe, and laid a ſecond charge vpon them, that he might haue wherewith to furniſh his immoderate expences. The Eſtates of the Countrie ſent *Hebreas* to ſhewe him howe the caſe ſtoode with them, who vſing a maruellous freedome of ſpeech, ſpake vnto him in this manner. If thou wilt haue power to laye vpon vs two taxes in one yeere, thou muſt alſo haue

The effects of harmonicall iuſtice.

What authority a Prince hath ouer his ſubiects goods.

Hebreas freedome of ſpeech in reprooving Antonius.

power

power to giue vs two Summers and two Autumns, two Harueſts and two Vintages. Further, he added this; Aſia hath paied thee 200000. Talents (that was ſix ſcore millions of gold) if all this ſumme came not into thy cofers, call them to account that haue receiued it. But if thou haſt receiued it, and yet haſt nothing left, we are caſt away and vndone. Theſe words ought to be well noted of a prudent Prince, that he may throughly conſider with himſelfe, and keepe a regiſter of all that is leauied of the poore people in his name, leaſt ſome few about him fat themſelues with the oppreſſion and ouerthrow of many, as it commonly falleth out: and let him be ſo carefull of the blood and ſubſtance of that bodie wherof he is head, that he profit all the members equally. *Ezechiel* crieth out againſt ſuch Princes as deuoure the ſubſtaunce of their Vaſſals by loanes and taxes. *Apollonius* ſaith, that the gold which is taken from ſubiects by tyrannie, is more vile than iron, bicauſe it is wet with the teares of their poore ſubiects. *Artaxerxes* ſaid, that it was a great deale more ſeemelier for the Maieſtie of a king to giue, than to take by polling, and to cloath than to vncloath; the one belonging to theeues, and not to Princes and Kings, vnles they will falſifie and ſtaine their name. King *Darius* ſent for all the gouernors of the Prouinces vnder his ſubiection, and enquired of them among other things, whether the taxes and tributes were not too exceſſiue: whereunto when they made anſwere that they thought them moderate, he preſently commanded that they ſhould raiſe but the one halfe thereof: eſteeming the loue of his ſubiects a richer treaſure, than all the heapes of gold, which he might haue gathered. We may not heere forget to propound to kings the example of that good king S. *Lewes* the ninth of that name, who was the firſt that raiſed a taxe in his kingdom, but it was onely by way of a neceſſarie ſubſidie during the warre, not vſing it as an ordinarie receite. Directing his ſpeech to *Philip* his eldeſt ſonne, and ſucceſſor, he vttered theſe words in his Teſtament, which is yet to be found in the treaſorie of France, and is regiſtred in the Chamber

Some gold more vile and baſe than iron.

Darius diminiſhed his tributs.

Lewes the 9. was the firſt that raiſed a taxe in France.

His exhortation to his eldeſt ſonne.

of accounts. Be deuout in the ſeruice of God, haue a pitifull and charitable hart towards the poore, and comfort them with thy good deedes. Obſerue the good lawes of thy kingdom: take no taxes nor beneuolences of thy ſubiects, vnles vrgent neceſſitie, & euident commoditie force thee vnto it, and then vpon a iuſt cauſe, and not vſually: if thou doeſt otherwiſe, thou ſhalt not be accounted a king, but a tyrant, &c. I leaue the reſt of the clauſes in his Teſtament. Moreouer, liberalitie wel vſed, as we haue elſ-where handled the ſame, is a very comely ornament for a Prince.

Liberalitie neceſſarie in a Prince.

Socrates ſaid, that it was the dutie of a good king to be beneficiall to his friends, and of his enimies to make good friends, to which purpoſe nothing will helpe him more than liberalitie. Neither muſt he be only liberal, but magnifical alſo and ſumptuous, prouided alwaies that of magnifical, he become not prodigal, which would ſoone make him an exactor, and in the end a tyrant. But a ſoueraigne Prince muſt eſpecially haue an eie to this, that the rewards of vertue due to woorthy men be preferred before all his gifts and good turnes, and that he recompence ſuch as haue deſerued any thing, before he giue to them that haue deſerued nothing. For an vngratefull Prince will hardly retaine an honourable and vertuous man any long time in his ſeruice. Neither is the eſtimation of a reward, and of a good-turne all one: bicauſe a reward is giuen for deſert, and a benefite by grace. Beſides, a Prince muſt be alwaies true, and as good as his promiſe, that men may giue greater credite to his bare word, than to another mans oath. For it ought to bee as an Oracle, which looſeth his dignitie, when men haue conceiued ſuch an euill opinion of him, that he may not be beleeued vnles he ſweare. And if he pawne his faith at any time, he muſt account it ſacred and inuiolable; bicauſe faith is the foundation and ſtaie of iuſtice, vpon which the eſtate of great men is grounded, as we diſcourſed elſe-where.

The difference betweene a reward and a benefit.

A King muſt be as good as his word.

The ſaying of Theopompus.

That ſaying of *Theopompus* King of Sparta, is alſo to be well noted by the Prince. When a friende of his asked him how a king might keepe his kingdome in ſafetie, he

anſwered:

anſwered: *By granting libertie to his friendes freely to tell him the truth.* He muſt take their aduice in doubtfull matters, that he may gouern his eſtate more aſſuredly, waighing and iudging of their opinions with great prudence. Neither muſt he thinke them his beſt ſeruants that praiſe all his ſayings and dooings, but thoſe that with modeſtie reprooue his faults: he muſt diſcerne wiſely betweene them that cunningly flatter him, and thoſe that loue and ſerue him faithfully, that wicked men may not be in greater credite with him than good men. For this cauſe alſo he muſt carefully enquire after his houſhold ſeruants and familiar friends, that he may knowe them well: bicauſe all other men will take him to be ſuch a one as they are with whome he conuerſeth ordinarily. *Oſiris* King of Egypt had for his Armes a Scepter with an eye in the toppe of it: noting thereby the wiſedome that ought to be in a king: namely, that it belongeth not to one that wandereth out of his way to direct others, that ſeeth not, to guide, that knoweth nothing, to teach, and that will not obeye reaſon, to command. Likewiſe in all his actions he muſt vſe reaſon as a heauenlie guide, hauing chaſed away the perturbations of his ſoule, and eſteeme it a greater and more royall matter to command himſelfe, than others. He muſt thinke that it is the true and proper office of a king not to ſubmit him-ſelfe to his pleaſures, but to containe his owne affections rather than his ſubiects. Further, he muſt vſe to take pleaſure in thoſe exerciſes, which may procure him honour, and cauſe him to appeere better to the worlde. He muſt not ſeeke for reputation in vile things, which men of baſe eſtate and naughtie behauior commonly practiſe, but follow after vertue onely, wherein wicked perſons haue no part. Let him remember alwaies that he is a King, and therefore that he muſt ſtriue to doe nothing vnwoorthie ſo high a dignitie, but continue his memorie by valiant and noble acts. This is that wherein one of the wiſe Interpreters knew wel how to inſtruct K. *Ptolemy*, who demanded of him how he might behaue himſelfe, that neither idle-

A Prince muſt diſcerne wiſelie betweene faithfull ſeruants and flatterers.

Wiſedome neceſſarie in a King.

Temperance requiſite in a Prince.

What maner of exerciſes a Prince muſt vſe.

nes nor pleasures might distract him. It is (said he) in thine owne power, as long as thou commandest ouer a great kingdome, and hast so many great affaires to manage continually, which will not suffer thee to distract thy mind vpon other matters. If priuate men, borne to vertue, are willing many times to die, that they may purchase honour: much more ought kinges to doe those thinges which will procure them honour, feare, and estimation euery where, during their life, & also through their brightnes shine a great while after their death. Moreouer, a prince must be warlike, and skilfull in warfare, prouiding carefully all things necessarie for warre, and yet he must loue peace, and vsurpe nothing that belongeth to another man contrary to right, nor enter into warre, but to repell violence in extreame necessitie. Aboue all things he must feare ciuill dissentions, as most pernitious to his Estate, and take aduice prudently concerning the meanes wherby all occasions of their entrance may be taken from his people. Heerein learning will helpe him well, and the knowledge of histories, which set before his eies the aduentures that haue befallen both small and great, and cal to his remembrance the times past, whereby he may better prouide for the time to come. Vnto which if he adde the counsell of wise men, as we haue already touched, he shall knowe more perfectly whatsoeuer concerneth the good of his estate. But aboue all he must knowe howe to make choice of men, and not thinke them wise that dispute curiously of small things, but those that speake very aptly of great matters. Neither let him account those men best, and worthiest of credite, that haue gotten most authoritie, but trie and iudge them by their profitable works: namely, if he see that they giue him wise and free counsell, according as occasions concurre, and affaires require: and then let him alwaies with speed execute those things, which by their counsell he findeth good and necessary. For the conclusion therefore of our present discourse, we will comprehend the office and dutie of a good Prince in fewe words: namely, if he serue God in sincerie-

A Prince must be skilfull in warre, and yet loue peace.

A Prince must carefully auoid ciuill dissention.

What Counsellors a Prince must chuse.

The summe of the dutie of a Prince.

tie

tie and puritie of hart, if he inquire diligently after the truth of his word, and cauſe his ſubiects to liue thereafter: if he prouide for their profit, redreſſe their miſeries, and eaſe them of oppreſſion, exaction and polling. If he be pliable to heare the requeſts & complaints of the leſt, indifferent and moderate in anſwering them, ready to diſtribute right to euery one, by propounding reward for vertue and puniſhment for vice. If he be prudent in his enterpriſes, bold in his exploits, modeſt in proſperitie, cōſtant in aduerſitie, ſtedfaſt in word, wiſe in counſail: briefly, if he gouerne in ſuch ſort, and raigne ſo well, that all his ſubiects may haue what to imitate, and ſtraungers to commend.

The ende of the fifteenth daies worke.

THE SIXTEENTH DAIES WORKE.

Of a Councell, and Counſailors of eſtate. Chap. 61.

ASER. *Iocleſian* the Emperor ſaid, *That the condition of Princes was miſerable and dangerous, bicauſe they were commonly deceiued by them whome they truſted moſt, being themſelues almoſt alwayes ſhut vp in their pallaces, and vnderſtanding no more of their affaires, thā their miniſters would declare vnto them, who conſult many times togither how they may diſguiſe the truth of their eſtate.* For this cauſe

A common miſery incident to the eſtate of princes.

Counsellors are the eies & eares of a Prince.

cause although it be necessarie for a prince to haue many eyes and eares, for which intent we say that his counsellors serue, yet he must looke himselfe as much as he can euen to the depth of his affaires. And truly it belongeth to the dombe, blind and deafe, to speake, see and heare nothing, but by the mouth, eies, and eares of other men. But in those things wherein the prince is constrained to relie vpon an other mans report, he must vse great prudence to discerne flatterers and disguisers of matters, who are not touched but only with their priuate profite, from those that are mooued with the zeale of publike benefite, and of his seruice, and vse these men in matters of counsell, which is most necessarie for the sound preseruation of al estates. And in deede there was neuer any estate but vsed counsell and counsellors in the establishing and gouernment thereof, as we may vnderstand more of you my companions, if you thinke good to discourse of this matter.

What counsellors are to be vsed by Princes.

Counsell is the anchor of the citie.

AMANA. Counsell (sayd *Socrates*) is a sacred thing, and as *Plato* calleth it, the anchor of the whole city, wherby it is fastned and stayed, as a shippe in the water. Yea, all the great and goodly exploites of armes and lawes, are nothing else but the execution of a wise councell.

The excellencie of counsell.

ARAM. Counsell (saith the same *Plato*) hath the selfsame place in a common-wealth that the soule and head hath in liuing creatures. For the vnderstanding is infused into the soule, and sight and hearing are placed in the head: so that the vnderstanding being ioined to these two goodly senses, and reduced into one, preserueth euery thing. But of thee (ACHITOB.) we expect a whole discourse vpon this matter.

All common-wealths consist chiefly of two things.

ACHITOB. All Common-wealths consist chieflie of two things, of counsell & of iudgement, according to the disposition of which, the affaires of the estate are well or ill handled. Therefore to enter into this matter here propounded, and to leaue iudgements to be considered of hereafter, we must first know that the ordinarie Councell of an estate, which the Ancients commonlie called a Senate,

nate, is the lawfull aſſemblie of counſellors of eſtate, to giue aduiſe to them that haue ſoueraigne power in euery Common-wealth. When we ſay a lawfull aſſemblie, it is to be vnderſtood of that power which is giuen vnto them by the ſoueraigne to meete togither in time and place appoynted. And where as we call them counſellors of eſtate, it is to diſtinguiſh them from other counſellors and officers, who are often called to giue aduiſe to Princes, euery one according to his vocation and qualitie, and yet are neyther counſellors of eſtate, nor ordinarie counſellours. Of this councell all the reſt of the publike gouernment dependeth, and by this all the partes of the Common-wealth are tied, vnited, and knitte togither, through that direction of religion, iuſtice, warre, treaſures, lawes, magiſtrates and maners which proceedeth from it. Therefore the Senate is very well called by *Cicero*, the ſoule, reaſon, and vnderſtanding of a Common-wealth: whereby he meaneth, that it can no more bee maintained without a councell, than a bodie with-out a ſoule, or a man without reaſon. The Hebrewes likewiſe called the councell a foundation where-upon all goodly and commendable actions are built, and without which all enterpriſes are ouerthrowen. Now foraſmuch as there hath been, and are at this day among ſundry nations, ſundry ſortes of gouernments and policies, ſo there is no leſſe difference in the eſtabliſhment of a councell in them, as alſo many alterations in the inſtitution and power thereof. And namely, among the auncient Græcians, beſide the ſeuerall councell of euery Common-wealth, there was the ſacred councell of the Amphictions, ſo called, bicauſe it was inſtituted by *Amphiction* the ſonne of *Deucalion*. This councell was as it were the generall aſſemblie of the eſtates of all Græcia, and was helde twiſe ayeere, in Spring time, and in Autumne, at Delphos in the Temple of *Apollo*, for the commoditie of the ſeate thereof, beyng as it were in the middeſt of all Græcia. The authoritie thereof was ſo great, that whatſoeuer was concluded vpon there, the Græcians obſerued and kept it inuio-

What a councel is.

The profit of a councell.

A councell or Senate is the ſoule of the common-welth.

The Hebrewes compared it to a ſoundation.

The councell of the Amphictions.

inuiolable, whether it were in matters concerning religion and pietie towards their gods, or peace and vnitie among themselues. The Lacedemonians and Messenians met togither certaine dayes in the yeere at the temple of *Diana* vpon the borders of Laconia, and there after sacrifice, consulted of their waightiest affaires. And yet both they and the rest of Græcia had certaine general councels concerning the gouernment of their estate, besides those that were particular, which they vsed daily. The Senate of thirtie counsailors established by *Lycurgus* when he reformed the Lacedemonian estate, obtained the soueraignte not long after, and of Senators became absolute lordes. *Solon* ordained amongst the Athenians, besides the Senate of 400. which was changeable euery yeere, a priuie & perpetual councell of the Areopagites, compounded of three score of the wisest, and of such as were blameles, who had the managing of those affaires that were most secret. *Romulus* the first founder of Rome, compounded the Senate of 100. of the notablest citizens: and hauing receiued the Sabines into his protection, he doubled the number of Senators, which afterward *Brutus* encreased with an other hundred. As long as the happy popular gouernement of the Romanes lasted, the Consuls, albeit in dignitie they represented a royall person, yet they had no other power but to lead the armies, to assemble the Senate, to receiue the letters of captains, and of their allies, and to present them to the Senate, to heare embassadors before the people, or before the Senate, to assemble the great estates, and to aske the people aduise concerning the creation of officers, or publishing of lawes. But the Senate disposed the reuenues of the Empire, and the common expences: appointed lieutenants to all gouernors of prouinces, determined of the triumphs, ordered religion, receiued and licenced embassadors of kings and nations, and tooke order for such as were sent to them. The punishment of all offences committed throughout Italy, which deserued publike execution, as treason, conspiracie, poysoning, wilfull murder, belonged to the Senate. If any priuate person

The Senate of the Lacedemonians.

The Senate of the Athenians.

The Senate of the Romanes.

The power of the Consuls of Rome.

The power of the Senate of Rome.

or any citie ſtood in need of ſome ſpeciall fauour, or of reprehenſion, or of ſuccour and protection, the Senate had all the charge thereof. It was forbidden vnder paine of high treaſon to preſent any requeſt to the people without aduiſe taken of the Senate. Neuertheleſſe, the ſoueraigntie alwayes belonged to the people, who might confirme or infringe the decrees of the Senate. Since that time according to the ſundry alterations of their eſtate and gouernment, the councell varied in forme. *Auguſtus* eſtabliſhed a particular councell of the wiſeſt Senators, & thoſe but few in number: and after that another ſtrict councell of *Mecenas* and *Agrippa*, with whom he decided the chiefeſt matters. In Turkie the councell is kept foure daies in a week by the Baſſaes whereſoeuer the prince ſoiourneth. Ifit be in time of peace at Conſtantinople, or in ſome other towne within his dominion: if in warre, it is kept within his pauilion. In this councell called *Diuan*, where audience is open to euery one, they conſult of embaſſages and of anſwers to be made vnto them, of matters of eſtate, and of ſoueraigntie, of the meanes how to prouide for decaied prouinces, of murders and condemnations. The ſuppliant, complainant or ſuter ſpeaketh without an aduocate, and is forced to anſwer preſently to the obiection of his aduerſarie if he be preſent, or to prooue his ſayings by witneſſes: and foorthwith the definitiue ſentence is giuen, which may not be reuoked. When the councell hath continued 7. or 8. houres, the *Baſſa Viſir* maketh true relation to the prince of all that hath been handled: if he lie it is preſent death. For the prince oftentimes liſteneth at a window, called *daungerous*, right againſt the *Diuan*, which is made in ſuch ſort, that he may heare and ſee, and not be perceiued: and although he were neuer there, yet they thinke that he is alwayes there. After he hath heard the diſcourſe and aduiſe of his councell, he ſeldome gainſaieth, but confirmeth or moderateth the ſame. Theſe things being thus ordered, they are written and regiſtred by officers appointed thereunto. Concerning his treaſure the Baſſaes meddle not there-with, but two generall treaſurers

The power of the people of Rome.

Of the councel of the Turke.

ſurers are ouer-ſeers and chiefe dealers therein, the one being of Romania, the other of Anatolia. Two Cadeliſquers haue the adminiſtration of all iuſtice, who ſit with the Baſſaes in the *Diuan*: neither doth any other ſit there but the twelue Bellerbeis, the Prince his children beyng Preſidents in their fathers abſence. The Muphtie is chief of the religion, and looketh vnto matters of conſcience.

Of the councell of the Venetians.

At Venice the generall aſſemblie of Lordes and gentlemen is called the great councell, which hath the ſoueraigne power of the eſtate, and of which the Senate and the authoritie of all their magiſtrates dependeth. Beſides this great councell and Senate compounded of threeskore perſons, there are foure other councels, that is, the councell of Sages for ſea matters, the councell of Sages for land matters, the councell of tenne, and the councell of ſeuen, where the Duke maketh the ſeuenth, and this is called the Seignorie. If there ariſe any hard matter among the Sages, it is referred to the councell of tenne, and if they be diuided, the councell of ſeuen is ioyned to the councel of tenne. But if the matter be of great waight, the Senate is called, and ſometime alſo (albeit rarely) the great councell of all the Venetian Gentlemen, in which the laſt reſolution is made.

Of the councel of Rhaguſium.

At Rhaguſium they create a Preſident from moneth to moneth, who dwelleth in the pallace, and hath twelue counſailors, which aſſembly is called the little councell. There is alſo an other councell called the councell *de Pregadie*, into which a hundreth of the ancienteſt citizens may enter. Next, there is the great councell, at which all the nobilitie aboue twentie yeeres of age are preſent.

Of the councel of Genes.

At Genes the whole common-wealth is gouerned by them that are borne of eight and twentie families: neither is any man called to beare any office whatſoeuer, vnleſſe he be of this aſſemblie, which they call an *Aggregation*. Out of this are taken foure hundreth, which make the great councell, that hath all the power and authoritie of the eſtate, and is choſen from yeere to yeere. They create the Duke and the eight gouernours of the Common-wealth, who are renued from

two

two yeeres to two yeeres. In Switzerland there are two councels in euery Canton, a little one and a great one. But if any great matter fall out, that is common to all the leagues, they hold their generall councell, called a Iourney, or a Diet. The like is vſed in Almaigne, where the Emperour can ordaine nothing that concerneth the common benefite of Germanie, or the authoritie and preſeruation of the Empire, without the counſell and conſent of all the eſtates, eſpecially of the ſeuen Electors. Hee may not of him-ſelfe vnder-take any warre at his pleaſure, neither leuie tributes, nor rayſe ſouldioures of that nation, nor call in any forraine ſouldioures. They haue alſo a councell eſtabliſhed at Spira, which is called the Imperiall chamber beyng as it were a Parliament of Almaignes for the adminiſtration of iuſtice among them. In Polonia there is an aſſemblie of eſtates euery yeere, eſpeciallie for theſe two cauſes: the one, to adminiſter iuſtice in ſoueraigntie, vnto which are brought appeales from all the iudges of the countrey: the other, to prouide for the defence and ſafetie of the Countrey againſt their next enimies, namelie, the Tartares, who make often incurſions vppon them. None is receyued for a Senatour amongſt them, if hee bee no Palatine, Biſhop, Gouernour of ſome Forte, or other Captaine, or hath not beene Embaſſadour. In Spayne there are ſeuen councels, beſides the priuie councell, which are alwayes neere the King in ſeuerall Chambers vnder one roofe, that the king may be the better infourmed of all affaires. Their names are theſe, the councell of Spayne, of the Indies, of Italie, of the lowe Countreys, of Warre, of the Order of Saint Iohn, and of the Inquiſition. In the Realme of Englande there is a priuie Councell, which neuer exceeded the number of twentie perſones. The firſt eſtabliſhment thereof was but of fifteene: although it appeareth by the concluſion of a peace made betweene *Lewes* the ninth, and *Henry* king of England, that ſeuenteene of the priuie Councell ſware vnto it, namelie, one Archbiſhop Chauncellour, one Biſhop,

The councel of Switzerland.

The councel of Germanie.

The aſſemblie of eſtates in Polonia.

Of the counſell of Spaine.

Seuen ſeuerall councels in Spaine.

Of the counſell of England.

ſix

fix earles, and fix other lordes, beſides the high Treaſurer, and the two magiſtrates, whom they call the chiefe iuſtices of England. Frō three yeeres to three yeeres they hold a parliament, where all the eſtates are called togither to deliberate about the affaires of the kingdom. But enough of ſtrangers. Let vs now come to the eſtabliſhment and inſtitution of the councell in this French Monarchie, where we ſhal ſee that it is not inferior (if it go not beyond them) in excellencie and good order to all that are alreadie ſet downe, or that euer were. Firſt we know, that the king hath all ſoueraigntie by right of the eſtate, as heretofore we haue diſcourſed. The firſt councell neere about him is the ſtrict or ſecret councell, called the councell of ſtate affaires, which is commonly held in the morning after his maieſtie is vp. None haue entrance into this, but a fewe whom the king iudgeth wiſeſt, of greateſt experience, and moſt truſtie to his maieſtie, with whome he communicateth his waightieſt affaires as they fall out, and determineth with them of ſuch principall matters as were deliberated of before in the priuie councell, and in the councell of the treaſurie, if they be ſuch as deſerue to bee brought thither. In the ſecret councell the letters of princes, of embaſſadors, of gouernors and captains are opened: reſolutions and matters agreed vpon are commended to the Secretaries of the eſtate: gifts & rewards granted with the rolles and records thereof, letters and commaundements ſigned with the kings hand. The priuie councell is compounded of diuers great perſonages called thereunto by his maieſtie, either for the nobilitie of their bloud and greatnes of their houſe, or for their woorthines, wiſedom, knowledge and experience, who haue places and deliberatiue voyces in the councell as long as it pleaſeth him. Sometime the king ſitteth among them when any great matter is in queſtion: in his abſence the firſt prince of the bloud is Preſident. The Conſtable and Chancellour, two chiefe officers of the crowne, haue great authoritie therein, the one being principall of warre, the other of iuſtice: They ſit on each ſide in equall degree, being alwayes one

Of the ſecret councell of France,

Of the priuie councell of France.

right

right before another. This councel is held either for matters belonging to the treaſurie, or for other things concerning ſtate-affaires of the kingdom, and then none enter therein but the Secretaries of the eſtate, the Treaſurer of the priuie treaſure, the Ouer-ſeers of the treaſures, appointed to take knowledge of the leuying and laying out of money, and the Secretaries belonging to the ſame: or elſe it is held for parties, that is, for the affaires of iuſtice depending of the ſoueraigntie. Then the maiſters of the Requeſts ſeruing in their turns enter therin, who bring in requeſts, informations, ſuites called thither by Iniunctiõs, and other waightie matters which the king hath reſerued to his owne knowledge, or ſuch as cannot be decided elſe where. Somtimes alſo the parties themſelues are heard, or elſe they ſpeake by Aduocates. This is greatly to be commended therein, that euery one that hath entrie into the councell (although peraduenture he hath neither deliberatiue voyce, nor place) may bring in any mans requeſt, & aduertiſe the councell of that which is profitable for the Common-wealth, that order may be taken for the ſame. And many times their counſell is firſt demaunded, then the aduice of the counſellours of eſtate, ſo that the greateſt lordes giue their opinion laſt, to the end that freedom of ſpeech may not be taken away by the authoritie of the princes, eſpecially of factious and ambitious men, who neuer ſuffer any contradictions but againſt their wils. By this means alſo they that haue conſulting voyces onely, prepare the way and make it eaſie for them that haue deliberatiue voyces to conclude of matters, and many times furniſh the councell with good and forceable reaſons; and if they erre at any time, they are brought backe againe by the reſidue without ielouſie. This priuie councel deliberateth & finally determineth (vnder the ſoueraigne will of the king) of the complaints of priuate men in matters concerning the eſtate, of the ſuites of towns and prouinces, iudgeth of the appeales made from Parliaments, conſidereth vpon extraordinary dayes of the decrees of Parliaments, concerning their order & diſcipline how it is

What matters are handled therein.

A commendable cuſtome vſed in the priuie councell of France.

kept: dealeth with the transporting of wheate & of wines: also with all marchandises either brought in or caried out of the realme, and with the impostes laid vpon them: taketh order for the currant and fineneſſe of money: hath regard to the demaines of the crowne, to lones and taxes, and other reuenues of the king, and to the chief customs, prolonging their yeeres, abating the rentes of Farmers, or discharging thē altogither, taking knowledge of their cause and of former informations, ioyning therewith the aduise of the Treasurers, & of the Generals of those charges. All matters whatsoeuer being agreed vpon & appointed to take effect, must be signed by one Secretarie at the least, and somtimes also by one of the masters of Requests before it be sealed by the Chauncellor, who ouerlooketh and examineth narrowly all matters concluded vpon: which maketh his authoritie very great, & somtimes odious. The great councell, which at the first institution therof was seldom imploied but about state-affairs, was made an ordinarie court of 17. counsellors by *Charles* the 8. and *Lewes* the 12. made it vp 20. besides the Chancellour, who was President of that court: but vnder king *Francis* another President was appointed. This coūcell had the knowledge of extraordinarie causes by way of commission sent from the priuie councell, and ordinarily of appellations made from the Marshal of the kings house. The court of Parliament was the Senate of France in old time, and erected by *Lewes* the yong according to the trueſt opinion, to giue aduise to the king: in which twelue Peeres were established, so that the name of the court of Peeres remaineth with it to this day. But *Phillip* the faire made it an ordinarie court, and granted vnto it iurisdiction and seat at Paris, but tooke from it the knowledge of state-affaires. For, as we haue alreadie declared, there are no counsellors of estate amongst all the magistrates of Fraunce, but those that are ordinarie of the priuie councel. But besides the councels specified by vs, Princes haue alwayes had a strict councel of two or three of the deareſt and truſtieſt about them, wherin the resolution of the aduises and deliberations

Of the great councell.

Of the court of Parliament.

Of the strict councell.

berations of other councels is had, yea many times of the greateſt affaires of the eſtate, before others haue deliberated of them. Neuertheles, this auncient cuſtome of calling the general eſtates of the realme togither when they ſaw it neceſſarie, hath been always obſerued by kings and princes. Our firſt progenitours the Gaules, before either Romanes or kings ruled ouer them, aſſembled togither out of Aquitane, out of the prouince of Narbone, of Lyons, and of other quarters, about the number of threeskore nations, to take aduiſe and counſell of their generall affaires. Since that tyme our ancient kings of France haue vſed oftentimes to hold the eſtates, which is the aſſemblie of all their ſubiects, or of their deputies. For to hold the eſtates is nothing elſe, but when the king communicateth his greateſt affaires with his ſubiects, taketh aduiſe and counſell of them, heareth their complaintes and griefes, and prouideth for them according to reaſon. This was called in olde time the holding of a Parliament, which name it retaineth yet in England and Scotland. But at this day the name of Parliament belongeth onely to priuate and particular courtes of Audience, conſiſting of a certaine number of Iudges eſtabliſhed by the king in ſundry of his Prouinces, and the publike and generall courtes of Audience haue taken the name of eſtates. The eſtates were aſſembled for diuers cauſes, according as matters were offred: either to demaund ſuccour and money of the people, or to take order for iuſtice, and for men of warre: or for the reuenues of the children of Fraunce, or to prouide for the gouernement of the kingdome, or for other matters. The kinges ſate amongſt them, and were Preſidentes, except at one aſſemblie, wherein was debated the nobleſt cauſe that euer was, namelie, to whome the kingdome of Fraunce belonged after the death of *Charles* the faire, whether to his coſin *Phillip de Valois*, or to *Edward* king of England his brother in lawe. King *Phillip* was not Preſident, not beyng at that time king, and beſides a partie. No doubt but the people receiue great benefit by this aſſemblie of eſtates.

What it is to hold the eſtates.

The name of parliament belongeth to priuate courtes in France.

Cauſes of the aſſemblie of eſtates.

For this good commeth vnto them, that they may drawe neere to the kings perſon, to make their complaints vnto him, to preſent him their requeſts, and to obtaine remedie and neceſſary prouiſion for redreſſe. Whereby we may eaſily iudge, that many, who haue written of the duetie of magiſtrates and ſuch like treatiſes, are greatly deceiued in maintaining this, *That the eſtates of the people are aboue the prince:* which laieth open a gappe to the rebellions of ſubiects againſt their ſoueraign, ſo that this opinion can haue no reaſon or good ground to leane vpon. For if this were true, the commó-wealth would not be a kingdom or monarchy, but a pure Ariſtocratie, as we haue declared heretofore. Yea, what ſhew of reaſon is there to maintaine this error, ſeeing euery one in particular, & al in general bowe their knees before the king, vſe humbly requeſts & ſupplications, which his maieſtie receiueth or reiecteth, as it ſeemeth beſt vnto him? But in this caſe we except a king that is captiue, beſide himſelf, or in his infancie. For that which is thé decreed by the eſtates, is authorized as from the ſoueraign power of the prince. Moreouer we may ſee what great good commeth to the king by the aſſemblie of his eſtates, in the firſt ſpeech, which maſter *Michael de l'Hoſpital* Chauncellor of France made at the laſt aſſemblie of eſtates at Orleans. Where he confuteth at large their opinion that ſay, that the king after a ſort diminiſheth his power by taking aduiſe and counſell of his ſubiects, ſeeing he is not bound ſo to doe: as alſo that he maketh himſelfe too familiar with them, which breedeth contempt, and abaſeth his roiall dignitie. But we may aunſwere them as *Theopompus* king of Sparta did his wife, who obiected this vnto him by way of reproch, that by bringing in the Ephories, and minglyng their gouernement with his, he would leaue his authoritie and power leſſe to his children than hee receiued it from his predeceſſours. Nay (ſaid this Prince vnto hir) I will leaue it greater, bicauſe it ſhall be more aſſured. The Emperour *Aurelius* ſayd as much to his mother, bicauſe hee freely heard euery one. Beſides, as we ſee that in any great perill of ſea,

The aſſembly of eſtates is not aboue the prince.

Theopompus anſwer to his wife.

ſea, or fire kindled to the daunger of publike profite, no mans ſeruice or ſuccour is reiected, how baſe ſoeuer his calling is: ſo it cannot but be profitable for the Eſtate, when it is threatned with ruine, and the affaires therof are of greateſt importance, to receiue the counſell of all that haue intereſt therein, laying the opinions in the balance, rather than the perſons from whom they come. And hereby the ſoueraigne maieſtie and prudence of a Prince is knowen, when he hath both power and skill to waigh and to iudge of their aduice that giue him counſel, and to conclude with the ſoundeſt, not the greateſt ſide. But to go forward with that which remaineth, let ſo many as haue this honour to be ordinarie counſellors to Princes, remember the ſaying of *Solon* the wiſe, *That they are not called thither to pleaſe, and to ſpeake to their liking, but to vtter the truth, and to giue them good counſell for common ſafetie: that they muſt bring with them for an aſſured and certaine foundation of their conference about ſtate-affaires, a good intent mooued with reaſon and iudgement to profite him, not with paſſions, or deſires of vain-glory, of couetouſneſſe, of emulation, of any other imperfection that leadeth them to their priuate profite: that they muſt at the entrie of the councell chamber, vnclothe themſelues of fauour towardes ſome, of hatred towardes others, and of ambition in themſelues, and aime at no other marke, than at the honour of God, and ſafetie of the Common-wealth*. To this ende they muſt neceſſarilie be furniſhed with wiſedome, iuſtice and loyaltie. As for skill and knowledge, although it be requiſite in counſellors of eſtate, namely, the knowledge of the lawes, of hiſtories, and of the eſtate of Common-wealths, yet ſound iudgement, integritie and prudence are much more neceſſarie. Aboue all things they muſt hold nothing of other Princes and Seignories, that may binde them to their ſeruice. And yet now a dayes to receiue a penſion of them is ſo common a matter (but very pernitious in any eſtate) that it is growen to a cuſtome. *Ageſilaus* would not ſo much as receiue a letter, which the king of Perſia wrote vnto him, but ſayd to his meſſenger, that if the king were friend to the Lacedemonians, he

An excellent compariſon.

The dutie and qualities of counſellors of eſtate.

Three things neceſſarie in a counſellor of eſtate.

Counſellors may not be Penſioners to forrain princes.

Example hereof in Ageſilaus.

need not write particularly to him, bicauſe he would alſo remaine his friend: but if he were their enimie, neyther letter nor any thing elſe, ſhould make him for his part otherwiſe affected. To bee ſhort, let counſellors of eſtate learne of *Plutarch*, that it is neceſſarie for them to be free from all paſſions and affections, bicauſe in giuing of counſell the mind hath moſt force towards that wherunto the will is moſt enclined. As for feare, danger, or threatnings, they muſt neuer ſtay them from doyng their duetie, but let them conſtantly propound and maintaine that which they iudge to be good and profitable for the Common-wealth. We read that the Thaſiens making warre with great vehemencie againſt the Athenians, publiſhed a decree, that whoſoeuer counſelled or ſpake at any time of concluding a peace between them, ſhould die the death. Within a while after one of the citizens conſidering what great hurt his countrey receiued by that warre, came one day into the aſſembly of the people with a halter about his necke, and cried with a loud voyce, that he was come thither to deliuer the Common-wealth by his death, that they ſhould put him to death when they would, and that for his part he gaue them counſell to abrogate that law, and to make peace: which was done, and he pardoned. *Conſidius* a Romane Senatour would neuer be from the Senate, no not when *Cæſar* ruled all by violence, and did what pleaſed him, and when none of the other Senatours came any more through feare of his force. And when *Cæſar* asked him how he durſt be there alone to ſtand againſt him: bicauſe (quoth he) my age taketh all feare from me. For hauing from hence forward ſuch a ſhort time to liue in, I am not greatly carefull to ſaue my life. If kings did correct all thoſe that giue them ill counſell, as *Solyman* did one of his Baſſaes, who was his kinſman, they would not ſo readily conſent to the paſſions of great men. This Infidell cauſed him to be hanged, bicauſe he counſelled him to put a Gentleman to death vniuſtly (which he had done) that he might enioy his wife more eaſilie. Now for the concluſion of our diſcourſe, we will here

Counſellors muſt not through feare ſhrinke from their dutie.

Examples hereof.

Conſidius anſwer to Cæſar.

Solyman hanged a wicked counſellor.

here set downe the aunswer of one of the Hebrew interpreters to king *Ptolemie*, who asked him, *To whome a Prince should trust, or commit himselfe*. To those (sayd this wise man) that loue him so entirely, that they cannot be drawen from him neither through feare, gifts or gayne: bicause he that aspireth to riches, is naturally a traitour. Let vs learne that a counsell wel instituted and compounded of good men is a most necessarie point in the establishment and preseruation of euery estate: and as the olde Prouerbe saith, Good councell is better than manie hands. Let vs learne, that all those that are called thereunto, ought to aime at nothing but at publike profite, of which the happinesse and greatnesse of the Prince dependeth, who must not contemne the counsell and seruice of the least when they can profite the Common-wealth, but heare them willingly, and satisfie their iust requests.

Good counsell better than many hands.

Of Iudgements, and of Iudges. Chap. 62.

ACHITOB. WE are now (my companions) according as the sequell of our speech requireth, to consider of Iudgements, which I affirmed in the beginning to be one of those two things whereof euery Common-wealth consisteth, and that according as they are ordained, the affaires of the estate proceed well or ill. Therfore I leaue the discourse of this matter to you.

ASER. No citie (saith *Plato*) can truly be called a city if it want iudgements well instituted, and consequently iudges to exercise them.

AMANA. Iudgements are lawfull to such as vse them aright, and Iudges are to vs the ministers of God for our good, as Saint *Paule* saith. Now let vs heare ARAM vpon this matter. Rom. 13. 4.

ARAM. As it is a very dãgerous matter for an estate to

wauer daily in deliberations, and not to be well resolued touching the affaires thereof, or after resolution to leaue them without speedy executiō: so the establishment of many good lawes and ordinances, bringeth greater peril thā profit to the same estate, if they be not seuerely obserued & kept. For the authoritie of the soueraign magistrate, in whose name they are made, is so much the more cōtemptible amongst his subiects, as they know that they are lesse obeied: as though the fault proceeded from his insufficiencie of skil to command. He that leadeth well before, is the cause why he is wel folowed: & the perfectiō of the art of a good Querie of the stable, consisteth in making the horse obedient, & in bringing him to good order: so the principall effect of the knowledge of a king is to iustruct wel his subiects in obediēce. To this purpose the establishment of good iudges ouer thē wil help well, that they may take knowledge of such as gain-say and resist the publike lawes and ordinances of his maiestie, who is to authorize their iudgements, as the chiefe sinewes of the whole body of his estate. For nothing euer caused Common-wealthes to flourish so much as the constant keeping of their countrie lawes, and the strict execution of iudgements agreeable vnto them. And (as *Cicero* saith) those estates that are neer their ouerthrow, all things beyng in a desperate case, fall into this miserable issue, that men condemned by the lawes, are restored, and iudgements giuen are cancelled: which things when they come to passe, euery one knoweth, that their ruine is at hand without all hope of safetie. Moreouer, forasmuch as the Prince knoweth that he is as it were bound and indebted for iustice, he ought to be so much the more careful that it may be rightly administred by those to whom he cōmitteth that office: especially, seeing he must answer for it himselfe before god, to whom he may not say, that he charged the consciences of his iudges therwith, & so discharged his own. Wherfore if he adorne his estate with resolute & prudent officers, who will exactly preserue the bond of the common-welth, by the seueritie of their iudgements, & vpright holding of the balance,

The common breach of lawes breedeth contempt of the magistrate.

Iudgements are the sinews of an estate.

A certain token of the ruine of an estate.

The prince stādeth bound for iustice, and must answer before God for the breach therof.

no

no doubt but all kind of publike felicitie will issue from the same. But let vs briefly consider what iudgement is, the diuision of iudgements, their administration, & what manner of Iudges ought to exercise them. Iudgement is properly that which is ordained by the Magistrate, obseruing the tenor of the law. But forasmuch as through the infinit varietie of causes, times, places, and persons, which cannot be comprehended in any lawes or statuts whatsoeuer, punishments were referred to the will and power of the Magistrates, and the dammages of ciuill matters to the conscience & religion of the Iudges; that which they determine by resolute sentences according to their opinion, is also called Iudgement, although more properly it may be called a Decree. For this cause we say, that as there are two principall pointes in euery Common-wealth, which Magistrates must haue before their eies, that is, the law and equitie: so also there is the execution of the law and the duty of the Magistrate, which consisteth either in commanding, in decreeing, or in executing. Of Iudgementes, some are called priuate, some publike, some criminall, others ciuill. Priuate iudgements are of bondages, prescriptions, Gardianships, Wardships, contracts, testaments, successions, mariages. Publike iudgements concerne hainous offences against God & man, as sacriledge, treason, restitution of monie, or other bribes taken by Magistrats, robbery of the kings treasure, forgeries, theft, wilfull and constrained murders. *Plato* speaketh at large of these in his booke of lawes, and it would be an infinite matter, and smally to our instruction, to seeke out the diuers kinds of iudgements, which either haue beene, or are among men. But this is well woorth the noting, that amongest the ancient Grecians and Romanes, all iudgements both priuat and publike, were from point to point followed, and with all rigor obserued, and they that stood against them were prosecuted and set vpon with fire and sword. Among other examples *Diodorus* rehearseth a storie of the Phocians, a people of Grecia, condemned by the iudgement of the Amphyctions in a certaine summe

What iudgement is.

Magistrats must alwaies haue the law & equitie before their eies.

The diuision of iudgements.

of

A rigorous iudgment of the Phocians.

of monie, bicauſe they had tilled a great deale of ground that was conſecrated to the gods. Which ſumme when they refuſed to paye, they pronounced their countrie as confiſcate and conſecrated to the gods: wherupon aroſe a warre, called the holie warre, made by the reſt of the Grecians againſt them, and in the ende their vtter ruine & ſubuerſion. Whoſoeuer was once accuſed of any crime before the Iudges in Lacedemonia, although he were abſolued, yet he abode a certaine time after in that eſtate of a criminall perſon, during which time enquirie might be made againe of him, and newe iudgement giuen according to his deſert. If the Ephories condemned their kings in any ſumme, yea if it were to death, their iudgements were executed with all rigor.

Of the iudgements of the Romanes.

The iudgements of the Romanes were for a long time in the hands of three Orders or Eſtates: namely, of Senators, Knights, and Tribunes of the treaſure. Neuertheles, the ſame perſons did not alwaies iudge, but the Pretors, who were annuall Iudges, and chief amongſt them, tooke a certaine number of Iudges by lot out of thoſe three Eſtates. And if they that were firſt taken were refuſed by any one of the parties, others were choſen by an after-lot, who being agreed vpon and ſworne, were diſtributed by decuries or tens.

Who were Iudges amongſt them, and how they were choſen.

There were three ſorts of Pretors, the Pretor of the Citie, who tooke knowledge of particular cauſes: namely, of ciuill and criminal matters amongſt the citizens of Rome: the Pretor eſtabliſhed for matters betweene ſtrangers & citizens: & the Pretors appointed for publike cauſes. The Senators were once the only Iudges of all proceſſes: but *Tiberius* & *Caius Gracchus* being popular perſons, to diminiſh the authority of the Senate, and to encreaſe the peoples power, ioined vnto them 300. Knights, according to the number of the Senators, & brought it ſo about, that the iudgmẽts of al cauſes were diuided betweene theſe 600. men. Vnder *Sylla* all authoritie of iudging was reſtored againe to the Senate: but *Pompey* after that brought in the Knights againe, & all iudgements were equally communicated vnto the three Orders aboue mentioned. Afterward, when

Three kinds of Pretors in Rome.

Ceſar

Cæsar was Dictator, he reduced them to two Orders only, that is, to Senators, & to Knights. *Buda* in his annotations vpon the Pandects, hath obserued many good things belonging to the Romane iudgements, which curious spirits may looke into: among the rest, of the great respect & honor that was giuen to Magistrats. Concerning which matter we may vse as a good testimony, that which we read in *Plutark*, of *Fabius Maximus* his son, who seeing a far off his father come towards him on horse-backe, & that his sergeants in regard of fatherly reuerence had not caused him to alight, commanded him to set foot on ground. Which the father presently obeied, & imbracing his sonne, made greater account of him, than if he had done otherwise. The same author writeth, that one *Vectius* was presently slaine, bicause he arose not whē the Tribune of the people passed before him. And *Valerius Maximus* saith, that the Censors did note with ignominy, & withall disfranchised a citizen of Rome, bicause he breathed & yawned a little too loud in their presence. But what? Estats & dignities were then giuen to vertue, & not to him that offred most. And often times the places of iudgement were necessarily, and as it were by force laid vpon Iudges, being more honourable than profitable, yea very incommodious to such as would discharge themselues vprightly therein. I remember an excellent iudgement giuen by *Archidamus* the Lacedemonian, when he was chosen Arbitrator to decide a certaine contention betweene two friendes. After he had brought them both into the Temple of *Diana*, and made them sweare vpon the aultar, that they shoulde obserue precisely whatsoeuer he determined, whereunto they yeelded. I iudge then (quoth he) that none of you depart out of this Temple, before you haue ended your strife. Thus were they both constrained to agree among themselues, and *Archidamus* freed from perill of loosing one of their friendships, against whome he must needes haue giuen iudgement. By this meanes he put in practice that saying of *Pittacus*, *That a man must not be Iudge or Arbitrator in the controuersie of two friendes, least by iudging profitably for one,*

Of the reuerence and honor which was giuen to Magistrates.

An excellent way to decide all controuersies betweene parties at discord.

one, he looſe the friendſhip of the other. But let vs ſpeake of our own Eſtate. In old time (as many hiſtories report) iudgements were ſo well adminiſtred in France, that ſtrangers did willingly ſubmit themſelues vnto them. *Frederick* the 2. ſubmitted to the iudgement of the king and his Parliament, the deciding of many contentions and controuerſies betweene him and Pope *Innocent* the fourth. In the time of *Phillip* the Faire, the Earle of Namure did the like, albeit that *Charles* of Valoys the kings brother, was his aduerſe partie: ſo great confidence had he in the equitie of thoſe Iudges. At the ſame time *Phillip* Prince of Tarentum willingly accepted for Iudge, the king ſitting in his Parliamét, about the controuerſie that he had with the Duke of Burgundye, for certaine charges which he ſhould defraye towardes the recouerie of the Empire of Conſtantinople. The like did the Duke of Lorraine in the ſuite which he had againſt *Guy* of Caſtillon his brother in law, for their diuiſion of lands. And in the yeere 1402. the Kinges of Caſtile and of Portingale ſent an agreement made and paſt betweene them, that it might be publiſhed and proclaimed in the Court of Parliament, to haue greater authoritie thereby. Truly theſe teſtimonies are as famous for the glorie of iuſtice vſed in France, as any that can be alleadged by the Grecians or Romanes, for the proofe of their iuſt iudgements, of the reputation of their lawes, and renowne of their Magiſtrates. But let vs conſider how farre iuſtice is fallen at this day from that ancient opinion and credite, iudgements being now brought to that length, and intangled in ſo many formalities, that it is a thing greatly to be pitied, and full of calamitie, to ſee this Realme ſo infected, as it were with a generall contagious diſeaſe, wherein ſuch an innumerable companie of men liue by that miſerable exerciſe of pleading, called *Practice. Plato* ſaith, that it is an euident token of a corrupted Eſtate, where there are many Iudges and Phiſitions: becauſe the multitude of Iudges is maintained by the vnfaithfulnes and contention of men, and the great number of Phyſitions by idlenes, daintie fare, and gluttony. There

Of the ancient reputation of iudgements in France.

The iuſtice of France fallen from the ancient glorie.

Tokens of a corrupted Eſtate.

was

was neuer any nation of which this might be more truly ſpoken than of ours, as it is notoriouſly knowne to euery one. *Paulus Æmilius* writeth, that in the beginning, Frēch men behaued themſelues ſimply and plainly in matters of iudgement, reſting in the determinations giuen by the Bailiffs and Seneſhals, who had the adminiſtration almoſt of al right and iuriſdiction, and thinking it vnſeemely and void of honeſtie, to ſeeke a farre off for right by meanes of appeale. But after that ſlanders aroſe amongſt them, and ſuites were multiplied, ſoueraigne iuſtice began to be exerciſed once a yeere, and that for a few daies togither: afterward, twice a yeere, alwaies changing the place. In the end it was determined, that the chiefe iudgements ſhould be held in a certaine place, and that a houſe ſhould be built for that purpoſe at Paris, the principall citie of the kingdome. Whereupon, in the raigne of *Phillip* the Faire, the Pallace was erected according to that greatnes and magnificence wherein you now ſee it, with hals & chambers, into which were diſtributed by certaine companies thoſe Iudges that gaue the laſt ſentence frō which no appeale might be made, both in ciuill and criminal matters. The erection of this Parliament into an ordinarie Court, doth giue vs to vnderſtand that there ſhould be one or two Preſidents. The firſt Preſident was the Earle of Burgundy, a Prince of the blood: as in the Imperiall Chamber, the Preſident is alwaies one of the Princes of the Empire. And it was a cuſtome for a certaine time, that the chiefe Preſident ſhould be a man of warre, as in deede to this day he taketh vpon him the eſtate of knight. Beſides, there were eight Clearks, and twelue Lay men, foure Princes of the blood for Requeſts, two Chambers of Inquiries, where there were eight Lay men, and eight Clearks Iudges, and foure and twentie Relators. They were called Clearks that wore long gownes, whether married or vnmarried, and the others Lay men. At this day there is the great Chamber, which is the firſt and chiefeſt, and is called the Pleading place, where firſt of all, matters belonging to the Peeres and to the King, are decided, and ordinarily

The proceeding of iuſtice in France from time to time.

The officers of the Court of Parliament in Paris.

The preſent eſtate of the Parliament.

narily those verball appellations that are made vpon the Pleas of the Aduocats, or if they cannot be readily determined, they are remitted to the Councell, for which there is a Chamber appointed. Next, there are fiue Chambers of Inquiries, wherein processes in writing are examined and determined. There also is the Tournel, or place where criminall actions are iudged, and the Treasure-chamber for causes touching the kings reuenues. There is the court of Requests, wherin chiefly matters of priuiledges belonging to the kings traine and to others, are iudged. There is the Auditorie of the maisters of Requests for the houshold, who iudge of the titles of offices: the Chamber of the Generals, of the iustice of the Releefs, and the Chancery. On the other side is the Chamber of accounts, and that of the generall Receiuers. Some of the counsellours are married, others are Ecclesiasticall persons, and are diuided by Chambers according as the Court is furnished. In the great Chamber there are for the most part foure Presidents, vnto whom the necessitie of times haue added two others, who may be suppressed when there is no need of them. In the other Chambers there are but two Presidents. Moreouer, there is one Procurator for the king, & two Aduocats, to looke to the kings prerogatiues, and to all such matters: two Scribes to collect, inroll, and to deliuer both ciuill and criminall deedes: foure Notaries and Secretaries to ease them, besides a great number of other writers. *Budeus*, a very skilfull man, and a diligent searcher out of all antiquitie, hath obserued in his first annotations vpon the Pandects, that there were three sorts of Iudges in the time of *Phillip* the Long. In the first bench, which was properly called the Parliament of Prelats and Barons, vnto whome certaine Lawyers were assistants, or other learned men, called Clearks and Lay men, three Prelats and three Barons were Presidents, and iudgment was not giuen so much by the pluralitie of voices, as by the sufficiencie of those that gaue their verdicts. He saith also, that the Lay-counsellors were taken from amongst Gentlemen and others, of whome it was not required,

Of the ancient estate of the Parliament.

quired that they ſhould be Graduats in the lawe, but it was ſufficient if they had indifferent skill in other learning, as we ſee that ſome ſhort gowned men haue. They did not then ſtudie the Romane lawes, as they haue done ſince: whereupon they haue erected at this day Vniuerſities of the lawe in the beſt Townes of France: from whence many thinke that the multitude of ſuites haue proceeded, bicauſe they learne by this meanes the occupation or craft of pleading, as the Lorde Chancellour *de l'Hoſpital* declared in his ſecond Oration which he made to the Eſtates at Orleans. We read that when *Ferdinando* king of Spaine, ſent *Pedrarias* as gouernour into the Weſt Ilands newly diſcouered, he forbad him to take any Lawyer or Aduocate with him, that he might not cary the ſeede of ſuites thither where there were none at all. *Cicero* complained of his time, that many notable decrees of lawes were corrupted and depraued by the curious heads of the Lawyers. What would he do if he were now aliue, and ſawe the great heapes and piles of bookes, with our practiſe in the lawe? If he ſawe that holie Temple of lawes ſo vilely polluted, & miſerably prophaned? Where a thouſand cauils and quiddities are continually coined by ſuch writings, according to the ſaying of that Comicall Poet: *That through craft and ſubtiltie one miſchiefe is begotten vpon another?* Moreouer, in thoſe happye daies, of which we made mention, there were few ſtatuts & edicts, bicauſe mē thought that good maners were the beſt laws, & that naturall ſence holpen with an vpright conſcience, and ioined with due experience, was the rightest rule to iudge by. But after that men became ſo skilfull in ſuites, and that offices of iuſtice, from honorable but ſmally profitable, being freely giuen to thoſe that deſerued them, came to be gainefull, free from yeelding any account of their doo'ings, and ſet foorth to ſale, as marchandice, for them that bad moſt, and offered laſt: after that men began to ſpice their ſuits with great ſummes of monie, and to forſake that ancient plainnes, which conſiſted in giuing of a fewe iunckets to the Iudges: after that profite began

Ferdinando forbad that any Lawyers ſhould go into the Weſt Indians.

The ſprings of all corruptions of iuſtice.

began to grow by determining of by-matters, and ſuch as happen before the maine cauſe, and by deciding of ſuites by Commiſſioners: after that Preſidents and Counſellors began to take delight in this, that they were followed, ſollicited, and ſought to by ſutors, contrary to the cuſtome of the Areopagites, who iudged by night, and in the darke, and contrary to the opinion of *Marcus Cato*, who ſaid, that it was not ſeemely for a man to recommend his right to the Iudges, or to pray them to commit no iniuſtice, bicauſe theſe two things ought to be deerer to the Iudges than to the parties, who can looſe but mortall and vading goods, whereas the others pawne their ſoules to hell fire that laſteth for euer: after that, gifts were receiued of both ſides againſt expreſſe prohibitions giuen out by publike lawes and ſtatutes, wherein the Switzers may ſerue vnto vs for a notable example, amongſt whom it is forbidden vnder paine of life, to take any thing either directly or indirectly for iudging: after that Aduocats began to cõſider ſleightly of cauſes, not hauing ſo much patience to end one matter, bicauſe they would ſpeedily to another: whereby they giue occaſion many tymes to their Clients to ſaye, as a Peaſant ſaide not long ſince to three famous Aduocats, whoſe counſell he had vſed: *Truly* (quoth he) *ye haue laboured faire: for ye haue left me in greater doubting than I was in before:* after they began to write in ſheetes with ſeuen or eight lines on a ſide, and to diſguiſe matters with friuolous anſwers that lay open their griefes, with contradictions, replications, admonitions: after that Proctors, who in former times were to be had for nothing, and appointed for certaine cauſes, became hirelings and perpetuall, yea at this day their offices are ſet to ſale: after that Sollicitors were ſuffered in middeſt of them all, to be, as it were the skum-gatherers of ſuites, with all that rablement of practitioners, who deuoure the ſubſtance of poore men, as Drones eate vp the hony of Bees: laſtly, after the Chancery did let looſe the bridle to all ſortes of expeditions, and went about to teach the Iudges, I ſay, after theſe things began to be practiſed, we

The Areopagites iudged by night, and in the darke.

The Switzers forbid their Iudges to take any thing for iudging.

The ſaying of a Peaſant to three Lawyers.

fell

fell into this miſerie of long ſuits, gainefull to wicked and faithleſs men, who ſeeke nothing but delaies, & very preiudiciall to good men, who many-times had rather looſe their right, than vndoe themſelues by following it ſo long time by way of iuſtice. For they commonly ſee the righteſt cauſe fruſtrated by delaies, which are granted at their pleaſure that are fauoured, and by infinite other vniuſt meanes. Sometimes many iudgements are giuen vpon one matter, and yet nothing concluded: or if there be any definitiue ſentence, it is by and by ſuſpended from execution, vpon the leaſt obiection that is made, or elſe it is called into doubt by ſome ciuill requeſt, or by a writ of error. Thrice happie were we, if we might continue in that ancient ſimplicitie and naturall goodnes, rather than after this manner to infold our ſelues in ſo many proceedings and captious ſubtleties, which haue corrupted and extinguiſhed the light of iuſtice, imprinted in the hartes and mindes of all men well borne. We ſee that ſuites are heaped vp one vpon another, and made immortall: that nothing is ſo certaine which is not made vncertaine: that no controuerſie is ſo cleare, which is not obſcured: no contract ſo ſure, which is not vndone: no ſentence or iudgement ſo aduiſedly giuen, which is not made void: all mens actions open to the ſlanders, craft, malice, redemptions, and pollings of Lawyers: the maieſtie and integritie of ancient iuſtice loſt: and laſt of all, that in the dealings of men nowe a daies, no ſhewe of vpright iuſtice, but onely a ſhadowe thereof remaineth. This euill being ſo great, and growne to ſuch extremitie, it is impoſſible but that, according to the courſe of worldlie things, the ruine thereof ſhould be at hand, or at leaſt it is to receiue ſome notable change within ſhort ſpace. For (as *Plato* ſaith) in a corrupt Commonwealth defiled with many vices, if a man ſhould thinke to bring it backe againe to hir firſt brightnes and dignitie, by correcting ſmall faults, and by curing the contagion thereof by little and litle, it were all one as if he ſhould cut off one of *Hydras* heades, in whoſe place ſeuen moe did ſpring

Of the miſerie which length of ſuits bring with it.

The great abuſe of iuſtice in France.

How a corrupt Commonwealth muſt be corrected.

ſpring vp: but that alteration and diſorder whereby all euill & vice was brought into the Common-wealth, muſt be plucked vp by the rootes. Therefore let vs not thinke it ſtrange, if they that haue the raines of the gouernment of this Eſtate in their hands, find ſo many difficulties and ſo ſmall meanes, in the reformation therof. For, as *Demades* ſaid, they gouerne nothing but the ſhipwracke of the Common-wealth. Neuertheles honeſt men, indued with ſome gifts, & with good iudgement, ought not to be diſcouraged in ſo great a ſtorme, but the more that the tempeſtuous rage thereof ſeemeth to torment the Veſſell of our Common-wealth, and that with ſuch violence, that the Patron himſelfe and the Pilotes are in a manner tired, and faint with continuall trauell, ſo much the more diligently ought the paſſengers to lend their hands, ſome to the ſailes, ſome to the tackling, and ſome to the anchor. yea now is the time (following the counſell of *Cicero* in the like caſe) that all that are endued with ſingular giftes of nature, fit for the managing of affaires, ought boldly to take vpon them publike Offices and Eſtats without feare, to the ende that all entrance may be ſhut vp againſt the wicked, who are the nouriſhers of this preſent corruption. Nowe, if thoſe three things, which *Ariſtotle* requireth in all good Iudges and Magiſtrates, did abound in them that ſhould heerafter be called to adminiſter iuſtice and iudgement: namely, a loue to the preſent Eſtate, a ſufficiencie to exerciſe thoſe duties that are required in their office, with vertue and iuſtice, we might yet ſee ſome Idea and forme of that golden age, wherein our Predeceſſors liued, we might ſee pietie and iuſtice flouriſh, to the great benefite and felicitie of this French Monarchie. Concerning that which may be further required in the duties, qualities, and conditions of good Iudges, we may be inſtructed by our other treatiſe, wherein we entreated of Counſellors of Eſtate, and alſo by calling to mind the former diſcourſes of vertue and iuſtice. I onely will adde heere, that it were very commendable and full of profite, yea neceſſarie for the Eſtate, that all the companies of

When it is lawfull to ſeeke after publike offices.

Iudges

Iudges ſhould be compounded of ſuch notable old men, as with their knowledge haue experience of many things. And in deede this title of Senator, which was giuen them in ancient time, ſignifieth an olde man: neither did the Grecians or Romanes call any to that degree, but olde men. But how can we deſire a more heauenlie ordinance than that which God himſelfe appointed, when he eſtabliſhed a Senate? Gather togither (ſaide he) three ſcore and tenne of the ancienteſt of the people, wiſe men, and ſuch as feare God. Surely in this election of Iudges, it behoooueth Kinges to vſe great prudence, and (as *Iſocrates* ſaide) to take triall of them, to knowe whether they are of good iudgement, whether they haue a ſharpe ſight in affaires, and whether they are not troubled with the change of their life, but behaue themſelues wiſely in euery eſtate, both in proſperitie and in aduerſitie: eſpecially to take good order that they be not ſuch as are ſubiect to lucre, from whence all iniuſtice proceedeth. Therfore *Cicero* would haue the contempt of temporal goods, from whence all quietnes of our mindes commeth, to be no leſſe in Magiſtrates, than in true Philoſophers. Yea, he ſaith, that they ought to be more carefull and laborious to attaine vnto it, than the others, bicauſe worldlie affaires toucheth them neerer, ſo that they haue greater cauſe to ſtand in feare of the alteration of fortune, of aduerſitie, and of pouertie. Vnto which agreeth fitly that ſaying of *Plinie* the yoonger: *That no point of Philoſophy is more excellent than to deale in publike affaires, and to do iuſtice, whereby they practice that which Philoſophers teach*. But out of queſtion, the forme and manner, which of late time hath beene vſed in calling Iudges & Officers to their charges, is ſo farre from that which we deſire heere, that in this reſpect a man may call it the mother of all corruption and iniuſtice. For when a Iudge is made, his knowledge is not examined, his integrity & vprightnes of life is not weighed his long experience is not conſidered, his age & vertue is not regarded, but only his crownes are viewed to ſee whether they are weight. Now ſince that ſuch men grew rich,

Iudges ought to be ſuch old men as haue experience ioined with their knowledge.

Magiſtrats muſt not be couetous

The chiefeſt point of Philoſophy.

A corrupt making of Iudges.

although they are found insufficient, yet they obtaine so many letters of commandement, so many Mandatums one in anothers necke, that in the end they are receiued whatsoeuer they are, to the great preiudice of the whole Common-wealth. We are therefore to wish that all valuing and sale of offices, especially of iudgement and iustice may be abolished and disanulled, that all meanes of fauor and ambition may be taken away, that the ancient and happie ordinances of our kings may be restored: especially that decree of S. *Lewes* the king, whereby he enacted, that all publike offices should be bestowed vpon the election of three persons, chosen by the Officers and Citizens of those places, to one of which so elected, the king was to giue freely without monie, the office then void. This holie ordinance hath since that time beene often renued by king *Philip* the Faire, *Charles* the Wise, *Charles* the 7. *Lewes* the 11. and *Charles* the ninth that dead is, when his Estates were held at Orleans. So that if the King and his Councell would aduisedly consider of these things in the establishing of Iudges and Magistrates in his kingdome, and would strengthen them in the execution of their iudgements, the obedience of his subiects; would be greater, and the foundation of all good order and policie more sure.

The statute of S. Lewes concerning the election of officers.

Of Seditions. Chap. 63.

ARAM. AS it is necessarie that all things which haue a beginning should end, & which encrease should diminish and waxe olde, some sooner, others later, according to the disposition of that matter whereof they are compounded, and through the influence of the heauenlie bodies, from which (nature woorking in them by hir author) this continuall and mutuall succession of generation and corruption proceedeth: so are publike estates first instituted, encreased, maintained, lessened, changed, destroied, turned & returned one frō another by the disposition of God. Those that are

No earthly thing perpetual.

are beſt grounded in religion and iuſtice, haue their power moſt aſſured, and are of longeſt continuance, but none are perpetuall, although their policie and manner of gouernment be neuer ſo good. For we ſee them al corrupt in proceſſe of time, and in the end periſh through their own vices that follow and accompanie them, being firſt mooued and ſtirred vp by nothing ſo much as by ſedition, and ciuill warre. This bringeth to light all euill that lurketh in thoſe members of the politike body that are moſt pernitious, vntill the infection be wholy ſpread, and hath taken hold of the nobleſt parts thereof, whereby it is brought to extreame miſerie without hope of remedie. Nowe, although euery one of vs haue ſufficient feeling heereof in himſelfe by his owne harme, yet we may know it better by taking occaſion vpon this ſubiect to diſcourſe of the nature of ſeditions, & of their common effects, that we may haue them in greater deteſtation, and bring euery one of vs his hart and mind to helpe this Eſtate, if there remaine neuer ſo little ſhewe or meanes whereby the ſubuerſion thereof may yet be kept backe. But I leaue the diſcourſe of this matter to you my Companions.

No Common-wealth perpetuall.

ACHITOB. All ſedition is euill and pernitious, although it ſeemeth to haue a good and honeſt cauſe. For it were better for him that is author of ſedition, to ſuffer any loſſe or iniurie, than to be the occaſion of ſo great an euill, as to raiſe ciuill warre in his countrie.

No iniurie is a ſufficient cauſe for any man to mooue ſedition.

ASER. Nature (ſaith *Empedocles*) vſeth no other meanes to deſtroy and to ouerthrow hir creatures, than diſcord and diſiunction: and ſedition (as *Thucydides* ſaith) comprehendeth in it all kind of euils. Let vs then heare AMANA, who will prooue this ſufficiently vnto vs.

AMANA. If we conſider, how God minding to puniſh *Adam* for his ingratitude and diſobedience, made his owne members rebell againſt the ſpirite, vnto which they obeied before, whereby he became captiue vnder the lawe of ſinne, no doubt but we may ſay, that after the ſame manner he chaſtiſeth Kings, Princes, and Heads of Common-wealths, that haue no care to obey his com-

The originall of all ſedition.

mandements, and to cauſe others to keepe them, by the rebellion of their owne ſubiects, not without great danger of depriuation from all authoritie by them, and of receiuing the law at their hands to whome they ſhould giue it, as it hath beene ſeene practiſed in many Eſtates and gouernments. Religion and the loue of God bringeth with it all vnion and concord, preſerueth Kingdomes and Monarchies in their integritie, and is the nurſing mother of peace and amitie amongſt them. But the contempt of religion bringeth diſcord and confuſion, ouerturneth all order, treadeth vertue vnder foote, giueth authority to vice, and ſoweth quarrels and diſſentions amongſt men, from whence ſeditions and priuate murders proceed, and in the end ciuill and open wars, which are as flaming fires to take hold of, and to conſume moſt flouriſhing Eſtates. For without doubt, if men had in them the true loue and feare of God, which cannot be without the loue of our neighbour, no ſuch effects would euer proceed from their works and actions. Politicks haue labored infinite waies to maintaine the people in peace, and to cauſe ciuill iuſtice to flouriſh. They haue made many Lawes and Edicts, many Statutes, appointed many puniſhments, to bridle the boldnes of ſeditious fellowes, to repreſſe extorſions, wrongs, and murders: but bicauſe they built without a foundation, that is, without the feare of God, all their labour taken therein was fruitles. *It is the feare of God onely that cauſeth ſwords to be broken and turned into mattocks, and ſpeares into ſiethes*, as *Iſaias* and *Micah* ſpeake: that is to ſay, which breedeth humanitie and gentlenes, mollifieth mens harts, and cauſeth them to ſuffer much to auoide ſtrife and debate; in a word, which is able to vnite in one with vs moſt ſtrange and barbarous nations. Beſides, it is the profeſſion of godlines to ſuffer, and not to offer violence, neither can it bring foorth euill effects contrarie to their cauſe. This deſerueth to be handled at large, but our preſent ſubiect leadeth vs to diſcourſe of the nature of ſeditions, and to ſet before our eies the euils that proceede thereof, both by reaſons and examples, referring the

The cauſe of vnion and concord in kingdoms.

The fruits of the contempt of religion.

Peace and concord effects of the feare of God. Iſaias.2.4. Micah.4.3.

the consideration of their causes vnto some other time heereafter. Sedition then being taken generally, is nothing else but ciuill warre, so hurtfull to all Estates and Monarchies, that it is the seede of all kinde of euils in them, euen of those that are most execrable. It engendreth and nourisheth want of reuerence towards God, disobedience to Magistrates, corruption of manners, change of lawes, contempt of iustice, and base estimation of learning and sciences. It causeth horrible reuenging, forgetfulnes of consanguinitie, parentage, & friendship, extorsions, violence, robberies, wasting of countries, sacking of townes, burning of buildings, confiscations, flights, banishments, cruell proscriptions, sauage murders, alterations and ouerthrowes of Policies, with other infinite excesses and intollerable miseries, pitifull to behold, and sorrowfull to rehearse. Sedition arreeth the father against the son, the brother against the brother, kinsman against kinsman, men of the same nation, prouince, and citie, one against another. Heerupon the fields, which before were fertile, are left vntilled, sumptuous and rich houses remaine emptie & forsaken, famous and wealthie townes stand desolate, by reason of the losse of their ancient ornaments, I meane their priuate and publike buildings, and their notable Inhabitants and Citizens. And, which is woorst of all, no man will acknowledge a Soueraigne, but euery Prouince will seeke to withdraw it selfe, and to be made a Canton. In the end, the bodie thus dismembred, and the parts thereof infected with the same poison of discord, destroy themselues: that the prophesie of Iesus Christ, who is the truth it selfe, might be fulfilled, where he saith: *That euery kingdome diuided in it selfe, shall be desolate*. Therefore *Dauid* did rather chuse a plague amongest his subiects, than warre or tumults. And *Pythagoras* sayde, that three thinges were by all meanes to be remooued: *a disease from the bodie, ignorance from the soule, and sedition from the Citie*. *Plato* also affirmeth, that no euill is woorse in a Citie than that which diuideth it, and of one maketh it two: and that nothing

What sedition is.

The fruits of sedition.

Matth. 12. 25.

2. Sam. 24. 14.

is better than that thing which tieth and vniteth it togither. Whereupon he wished, that there might be a communion, not onely of all goods, but also of that which nature hath appropriated to euery one, as of eies, eares, and hands, to the end that whosoeuer saw, heard, or did any thing, he might imploy all to common profite and vse, thereby to maintaine better the mutuall loue of Citizens, who hauing nothing priuate, would by this meanes be alwaies touched with the same ioy and griefe, praising and disliking all iointly togither the same things. There are two sorts of warre mentioned also by *Plato*, who calleth the one sedition, which is the woorst, and the other which is more gentle, is that against strangers. *Nestor*, a wise and prudent counsellour among the Grecians, said in a Councell (as *Homer* reporteth) that he which loueth ciuill war, is a most wretched, cruell, and detestable man, and vnwoorthy to liue. And truly if we looke to the examples of those fruits, which haue alwaies proceeded of ciuill wars, we shall see that they haue beene guided after a most cruel and horrible kind of hostilitie, and that their issue hath beene the losse and ouerthrow of many flourishing Common-wealths. *Thucydides* speaking of the generall dissention amongst the Grecians for diuersity of gouernments, which they sought to bring in amongst themselues, some desiring to be gouerned in a Democraty, others in an Oligarchy, rehearseth incredible euils which arose of that warre. As soone (saith he) as any insolencie was knowne to be committed in one place, others were encouraged to do woorse, to enterprise some new thing, and to shewe that they were more diligent than others, or more insolent and hot in reuenging themselues. They disguised all the euils which they committed with commendable titles, calling rashnes *Magnanimitie*, and modestie *Basenes of mind*: head-long indignation *Manlines* and *Hardines*, prudent counsell and deliberation *Coloured back-sliding*. Whereby it came to passe that whosoeuer alwaies shewed himselfe furious, was accounted a loial friend, and he that gain-said, was suspected. If any one of the contrarie faction

What communitie Plato required in his Common-welth

Two kinds of warre.

The fruits of ciuil warre among the Grecians.

on gaue any good and honeſt counſell, it was not accepted: but if they could withſtand it by any notorious deed, they had rather be reuenged ſo, then they would not giue occaſion to others to offer the like wrong to them. When any agreement was made and confirmed with a ſolemne othe, it laſted vntil one of the parties grew to be the ſtronger, that he might breake and violate the ſame, and by extreme wickednes ouercome the other, which proceeded of couetouſnes and deſire of othermens goods. Hereupon thoſe factions and part-takings were kindled, which procured infinite euils to the whole countrey of Græcia, wherein there was no quietneſſe, vntill it was quite ouerthrowen by ſeditions and ciuill warres. This is that which *Demades* obiected to the Athenians by way of reproche, that they neuer intreated of peace but in mournyng gownes, namely, after they had loſt many of their kinſfolkes and friends in battels and skirmiſhes. *Ageſilaus* king of Lacedemonia bewailed this miſerie when he ſawe ſuch cruell warres betweene the Athenians and Lacedemonians, people of one countrey, and although he had wonne a great battell neere vnto Corinth with great loſſe to his enimies, and ſmall hurt to his owne men, yet not reioicing, but rather being very ſorowfull, he vttered theſe words with a loud voyce: *O poore Græcia, how miſerable art thou to ſlay with thine owne hands ſo many of thy valiaunt men, as would haue ſufficed to diſcomfite in one battell all the Barbarians ioyned togither.* Hiſtories tell vs, that the Romanes came to that great Empire more by diſſentions and ciuill warres, which they ſowed amongſt their neighbors, than by force of armes. For after they had kindled the fire in one nation, they maintained one ſide a certaine time, vntill in the end they ouerwhelmed both the one and the other. Thus they deceiued the Carthaginians, the Aſians, the Gaules, and Græcia. Onely England was not quite ſubdued, bicauſe it knew their practiſes, and turned all domeſticall choler againſt the enemie when the danger was common. *Traian* the emperour writing to the Senate of Rome amongſt other things ſent theſe wordes: *I recommend vnto you*

Demades reprocheth the Athenians.

Ageſilaus bewaileth the ciuil diſſention of Græcia.

The prudence of Engliſhmen.

Traians letter to the Senate of Rome.

you aboue all things, friendſhip and brotherhood among your ſelues: bicauſe ye know that in great Common-wealths home-warres are more hurtfull than thoſe that are made againſt ſtrangers. For if kinſmen and neighbours had neuer begun to hate one another, & to war one vpon another, Demetrius had neuer ouerthrowen Rhodes, nor Alexander Tyrus, nor Marcellus Syracuſa, nor Scipio Numantium. And in deed the Romane Empire fell from hir greatneſſe by the ſame meanes of ciuill warre which they had long time nouriſhed among others. Yea it is certaine, that in no place part-takings full of all kind of crueltie, were ſo vſuall and ſo long time practiſed, or factions and ſeditions were more cruell than in Rome. The firſt occaſion thereof was their gouernement, wherein the people alwayes ſet themſelues againſt the Senate and the Nobilitie, the Senate ſeeking to rule without meaſure, and the people to encreaſe their libertie. During theſe diſſentions, it came to paſſe that at one time foure thouſand and fiue hundreth ſlaues and baniſhed men inuaded the Capitoll, and wanted litle of making themſelues lords of Rome. *Appian* hath written at large of their ſeditions and partialities, and ſaith that through ambition and couetouſnes one ſide daily ſought to diminiſh the authoritie of the other. He ſaith that *Martius Coriolanus* being vpon this occaſion, and in theſe diſſentions driuen out of the citie contrary to right and reaſon, went to the Volſci, and warred on their ſide againſt his countrey, being the firſt baniſhed perſon that tooke armes againſt Rome. And in deed, neither in the councell, nor in the citie, there was no ſword drawen, nor man ſlaine in ciuil ſedition, vntill *Tyberius Gracchus* fauouring the people, & making lawes in their behalf, was killed, and many others that were with him in the Capitoll neere the Temple. Whereupon hatred and rancor increaſing openly amongſt them, infinite murders followed, and many of the chiefeſt euen the Conſuls were ſlaine, the contempt of lawes and iudgements enſued, and in the end open war, armies & troupes one againſt another with incredible thefts and cruelties. At laſt *Cornelius Sylla*, one of the ſeditious perſons, ſeeking to redreſſe one

The Romane Empire decaied through ſeditions.

The original of the Romane ſeditions.

M. Coriolanus being baniſhed contrary to right, tooke armes againſt his countrey.

T. Gracchus the firſt that was ſlaine in Rome by ſedition.

one euil with another, (after theſe diſſentions had continued about 50. yeeres) made himſelf prince ouer the reſt in many things, taking vpon him the office of a Dictator, who was woont in former time to be created in the greateſt dangers of the common-wealth only for ſix moneths. But *Sylla* was choſen perpetuall Dictator, bicauſe neceſſitie ſo required, as he ſaid himſelfe. After he had practiſed much violence, he continued in quietnes like a conquerour, and was thereupon ſurnamed the *Happie*. After his death ſeditions began a freſh, and reuenging of thoſe cruelties which he had committed, vntil *Caius Cæſar* laid hold of the Seignorie and principalitie, hauing diſcomfited & ouercome *Pompey*, to whome he was before allied. For when they twaine ſought by their plat-formes and deuiſes to commaund all, they could not abide one another within a while after, *Pompey* being vnwilling to haue an equall, and *Cæſar* a ſuperiour. Afterward *Brutus* and *Caſſius* beyng mooued with deſire either of rule, or of publike libertie, ſlew *Cæſar*: whereupou the ſeditions grew greater than they were before, and the triumuirate warre was opened againſt them, which preuailing for a time, was it ſelfe diſſolued and brought to nothing. For *Octauius* only of the three remained a peaceable poſſeſſor of the Romane Empire, beyng happy in all things, and feared of all men, leauing heyres of his race to rule the Monarchie after him. *Auguſtus* beyng dead, the eſtate began vnder *Tyberius* his ſucceſſour, a voluptuous prince, to decline by little and little from the periode of hir greatneſſe, vntill in the ende there remayned no more than that which we ſee incloſed within the limites of Germanie. *Alexanders* Empire beyng the greateſt that euer was, vaniſhed away as a fire of Towe, through the diuiſion and diſorder that was amongſt his ſucceſſoures. The Empire of Conſtantinople through the part-takings of Princes, is brought vnder the tyrannous and miſerable power of an Ethnike and barbarous Turke. We read in *Ioſephus* that the kingdome of Iudæa became ſubiect and tributarie to the Romanes, through the ciuill warres between *Hircanus* and

Sylla made himſelf perpetuall Dictator.

The Romane Empire began firſt to decline vnder Tiberius.

Diuiſion ouerthrew Alexanders Empire.

The cauſe of the ruine of Conſtantinople.

The cauſe of the ſubiection of Iudæa to the Romans.

and *Aristobulus*, who were brothers. For *Pompey* being of *Hircanus* side, tooke the citie of Hierusalem, and led away *Aristobulus* and his children prisoners with him, after the countrey had suffred infinite calamities by their domestical diuisions. Which when *Onias* a holy man did wel foresee, he with-drew himselfe into a secret place, and would not take part either with the one or the other side. And being taken by *Hircanus* his men, they required him, that as once he obtained raine by his prayers in the tyme of a drought, so he would now curse *Aristobulus* and all those of his faction: but he contrarywise lifting vp his hands to heauen, vttred these wordes. *O God, king of the whole world, seeing these men among whom I stand, are thy people, and they that are assailed, thy Priests, I beseech thee humbly, that thou wouldest harken neither to these men against the other, nor to the other against these*: for which holy prayer he was stoned to death, such was the poisoned rage of this people one against an other. Was there euer any folly, or rather fury like to that of the Guelphes and Gybellines in Italy, of whome the one side held with the Pope, and the other with the Emperour? The Italians vpon no other occasion but only in fauour of these two names, entred into so extreme a quarell throughout the whole countrey, that greater crueltie could not be wrought between the Infidels and Christians, than was committed amongst them. This contention continueth yet, insomuch that murders are euery where committed in the townes, euen between naturall brethrē, yea between the father and his sonnes, without all regard either of bloud or parentage. Their goods are spoyled, their houses razed, some banished, others slain: & whilest euery one feareth least any reuenge should be layed vp in store for him, or for some other of his side, they kill many times litle infants, whom the most barbarous men in the world would spare. These two factions fought continually togither through mortall hatred, so that they could not dwell togither in one citie, but the stronger always draue out and expelled the other. They knew one another by feathers, by the fashion of their hose, by cutting of bread, slicing

Onias prayer.

Ciuil warres in Italy between the Guelphes and the Gybellines.

The great crueltie of the Guelphes and Gybellines.

By what tokens they know one another.

ſlicing of orenges, and by other markes: which is a very pernicious thing, and hath procured great deſtruction of people, and ouerthrow of townes. The Italians ſay, that this fire was firſt kindled at Piſtoya between two brethrē, the one called *Guelph*, and the other *Gibellin*, who quarelling togither, diuided the towne between them, whereupon the *Gibellins* were driuen out. This ſeparation, like to a contagious diſeaſe, vpon no other occaſion was ſpread ouer all Italy, inſomuch that afterward all that were at contention any where, were diuided into Guelphs & Gibellines. The Germains thinke that theſe names came from thir countrey and language: and that the emperor *Frederike* the ſecond, in whoſe time this diuiſion began, called his friends *Gibellines*, bicauſe he leaned vpon them, as a houſe doth vpon two ſtrong walles that keep it from falling: and thoſe that were againſt him of the faction of Pope *Gregorie* the ninth, he called Guelphs, that is to ſay, Wolues. What did England ſuffer by the deuiſion of the houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter, that gaue the white and red Roſes in their armes? Which contention although it began when *Henrie* the 4. who was duke of Lancaſter and earle of Darbie, vſurped the kingdom vpon his coſin *Richard* the ſecond, whom he cauſed to be ſlaiue in priſon, after he had compelled him to reſigne his kingly power and crowne of England, yet it was hotteſt in the raigne of king *Henry* the 6. who ſucceeding his father and grandfather, was at Paris crowned king of England and France. Afterward fauouring the houſe of Lancaſter againſt the houſe of Yorke, they that held with the red Roſe tooke armes againſt him, ſo that in the end he was depriued of his eſtate, and ſhut vp as priſoner in the Tower of Londō, where he was after that put to death. Theſe factions and ciuill warres (as *Phillip Comineus* writeth) indured about 28. yeeres, wherein there died at ſundry battels and skirmiſhes aboue 80. perſons of the bloud royall, with the flower of the nobilitie of England, beſides an infinite nūber of the valiaunteſt men and beſt warriours among the people. Many lordes were put in priſon, or baniſhed, leading

The originall of this contention.

The diuiſion of the houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter.

Henry the 6. depriued of his kingdom by the houſe of Yorke.

ding the reſt of their liues miſerably in ſtrange countreys: the ancient pollicie of the kingdom corrupted, iuſtice cõtemned, and the Iland impoueriſhed, vntill in the end the earle of Richmond ouercame king *Richard*, enioyed the kingdom quietly, and was called *Henry* the ſeuenth: hauing married *Elizabeth* daughter to *Edward* the fourth, both of them beyng the ſole heires of the families of Lancaſter and Yorke. By means of this mariage the diſſention ceaſed in England, and the red and white Roſes were ioyned togither in one armes. There was no Countrey more afflicted than Spayne, both by ciuill warres and by Neighbour-ſtates, when it was diuided into many kingdomes. The Moores ouer-ranne it on the one ſide, the French and Engliſhmen deuoured it on the other, taking part at the firſt with the diſſentions that were in Caſtile between *Don Peter* and *Don Henry*; next with the contentions that aroſe betwixt Caſtile and Portingale, which cauſed much euil to both the kingdomes. But ſince that Spaine hath been vnited, it hath extended hir dominion into Afrike, and into the New found Ilands, borne armes in Germany, and in Hungary, commanded ouer the chief Ilands of the Mediterranean ſea, ouer Naples and Sicilia, ouer Millan and Flanders. Contrarywiſe, Italy hauing in former times hir forces knit togither, obtained the Empire of the world, but being now diuided into many Seignories and Potentates that agree badly togither, and hauing ſuffred all the calamities in the world by ciuil warres, lieth open to the iniuries of ſtrangers. Through the ſame cauſe the power of Germany is greatly diminiſhed, wherin not long ſince the princes of Saxonie were banded one agaynſt an other: *Iohn Fredericke*, *Phillip* Lantgraue of Heſſe, the Duke of Wittemburg, with many free cities, rebelled againſt the Emperour: the peaſauntes roſe againſt the Nobilitie to ſet themſelues at libertie: the Anabaptiſts poſſeſſed *Munſter*, made a botcher their king, and held out the ſiege for the ſpace of two yeeres. Hungaria, which had valiauntly reſiſted the Turkes almoſt two hundreth yeeres togither, was at length ſubdued by them,

The vnion of the houſes of Lancaſter and Yorke.

Of ciuil warres in Spaine.

The great iuriſdiction of Spain.

Of ciuil diſſention in Italy.

Germany vexed with ciuil warre.

Hungaria loſt by ciuil diſſention.

them, through the diuiſions that were in the countrey, as Polonia is greatly threatned by the Moſcouite. In Perſia, after the death of king *Iacob* his two ſonnes ſtroue for the gouernement of the countrey, but the Sophie *Iſmael* commyng in the meane tyme vpon them with his new religion ſlew one of them in battell, and compelled the other to flie into Arabia, and ſo poſſeſſed the kingdome, which he left to his children. *Phillip* the eleuenth, Duke of Burgundie, eaſilie ſubdued *Dinan* and *Bouines* in the countrey of Liege, which were ſeparated onely by a riuer, after they had ouerthrowen themſelues by their diſſentions, whereas before he could not obtaine his purpoſe. And whileſt the kings of Marrocke warred one with another for the eſtate, the Gouernour of Thunis and of Telenſin made himſelfe king, renting a ſunder his two prouinces from the reſt to erect a kingdome. Concernyng Frenchmen, they haue beene often and many times moleſted with ſeditions and ciuill warres as well as others. The nobilitie of Fraunce was almoſt all ſlayne at the battell of *Fountenay* neere to Auxerre, by the ciuill warres betweene *Lotharius*, *Lewes*, and *Charles* the balde. And Champagnie loſt ſo many of the nobilitie in warre, that the Gentlewomen had this ſpeciall priuiledge graunted them, to make their husbandes noble. When king *Iohn* was priſoner in England, *Charles* his ſonne Regent of Fraunce, beyng at Paris to gather money for his raunſome, there fell ſuch a diuiſion betweene the king of Nauarre, who tooke part with the Pariſians, and the Regent, that the people vnder the guiding of *Marcel*, Prouoſt of the merchauntes, ranne to *Charles* his lodgyng, where the Marſhalles of Cleremount and Champagnie were ſlayne, euen in his chaumber and preſence, and their bodies drawen ouer the marble ſtones. The like was done to *Reignold Dacy* the kings Attorney, beſides many other murders, ſo that the Regent had much ado to ſaue himſelfe without Paris. But the foreſt factions that euer were in Fraunce, were thoſe of Burgundie and of Orleans, which cauſed a moſt grieuous & cruel ciuill war, that

Perſia was ſubdued by the diſſention of two brethren.

Dinan and Bouines ſubdued through diſſention.

Fſance much troubled with ciuil warres.

Women in Champagnie made their husbands noble.

Cruel warre betweene the houſe of Burgundie & of Orleans.

that lasted 70. yeeres, with murders, robberies, and vnspeakable cruelties. Both of them, one after another, called in the Englishmen to succor them, who afterward seazed vpon the crowne. It was a pitifull thing to see France cruelly tormented both by hir owne subiects & by strangers, to see it void of right & equitie, without magistrates, without iudgements, without lawes, which had no abiding place amongst fire and force, where violence onely raigned. All this was procured by the ambition of these two houses, each of them seeking to obtaine the gouernment of the kingdom vnder *Charles* the sixt, whose wittes fayled him. By the means of these diuisions *Henry* the fift king of England, taking to wife *Katherine* the youngest daughter of king *Charles* was put in possession of Paris by the duke of Burgundie, and proclaimed heire and Regent of Fraunce by the consent of three estates held at Troy. But the death of this *Henry* and the duke of Burgundie forsaking the alliance of the Englishmen, with the valure and good behauiour of king *Charles* the 7. as also the loue and fidelitie of the Frenchmen, restored the kingdom to that estate wherin it is at this present. Now if France hath heretofore suffred so much by ciuill warres, and domesticall seditions, if all forraine estates haue receiued so many sundry alterations, and incredible wounds by the same means, how can we looke for lesse, nay rather haue we not already seene the like or greater calamities amongst vs, through our dissentiõs & priuate quarels between certain houses contending one with another, being chiefly mooued with ambition and desire to gouerne? Why doe we not acknowledge this first cause of our miseries, that we may lay aside all hatred crept in amongst vs vnder pretence of diuersitie of religion, that we may reunite our mindes so much diuided, to the good and common quietnes of vs all, and liue vnder the obedience of our Prince with that fidelitie for which Frenchmen haue been alwais praised aboue other nations? Do not so many examples, both of auncient and later times make vs see thus much, that if we redresse not this contention, this goodly and flourishing

The cause thereof.

Henry the 5. proclaimed king of France.

Ambition and desire of gouernment the chiefe cause of the troubles in France.

floriſhing kingdom, which heretofore hath growen great by the concord and obedience of our auncestors is readie to fal into vtter ruine and ſubuerſion, through our factions, diuiſions, and part-takings? Shall this little that remaineth of the French monarchie, which in former times hath had all the empire of Germany, the kingdoms of Hungarie, Spaine and Italy, and all the bounds of the Gaules to the riuer of Rhine, vnder the obedience of hir lawes, ſhall it I ſay, be thus laid open as a praie, and that by hir owne ſubiectes, caried headlong with ſuch paſſions, that they make the way plaine and readie for ſtrangers to bring them vnder their miſerable bondage? Shall it be ſaid among our poſteritie, that our ſelues haue encouraged them to vnder-take that, which not long ſince, Spaine, Italy, England, the Lowe countreys, the Pope, the Venitians, being all ioyned togither againſt the houſe of Fraunce, durſt not take in hand after the taking of *Fraunces* the firſt, and the loſſe of that famous battell? Not one of them durſt enter into Fraunce to conquere it, knowing the lawes and nature of this Monarchie. For as a building layd vpon deepe foundations, and made of laſting ſtuffe, well knit and ioyned togither in euery part, feareth neither windes nor ſtormes, but eaſily reſiſteth all aſſaults and violence: ſo this kingdom will not eaſily admit any alteration and change, as long as all the members continue vnited and ioyned togither vpon the foundation of their lawes. Therefore let the king, princes, their councell, great and ſmall, euery one in his place take order, that God may be truly knowen, and ſincerely ſerued according to his iuſt and righteous will: that honeſt behauiour may be maintained, the authoritie of lawes kept, iuſtice adminiſtred, magiſtracie duely exerciſed, rewards and puniſhments diſtributed equally, that vertuous men may be honored, and the wicked corrected. Otherwiſe, if we cõtinue long diuided into companies, with defiances paſſing & repaſſing, if we perſiſt in our wonted inuectiues and riots, & referre not all our actions to ſome good ende, let vs not looke for leſſe than for a generall

The ancient limites of the French monarchie.

A compariſon.

Good counſell for all kings and ſoueraigne princes.

desolation and pitifull ouerthrow of our countrey, appeering already in many places thereof, or at least for some horrible mutation and change of the estate.

Of the causes that breed the change, corruption and finall ruine of Monarchies and Policies. Chap. 64.

AMANA. AS long as the Physition knoweth not the cause of his Patients disease, it is impossible for him to remedy the same, & to prescribe a medicine to the sicke partie. A disease knowen (saith the Prouerbe) is in a maner cured. So fareth it with Estates and Monarchies that are changed, marred, and in the end brought to ruine by diuers causes: which if they were wel knowen to their princes and gouernors, might easily be preuented by prudence and reason, and fit remedies then applied to those euils that dispose & lead thē to mutation, when the natural corruptiō that is in them (as euery thing hath his proper & inward corruption of which it is eaten and consumed) beginneth to spread it selfe to the best parts to marre all. Go to then (my companions) hauing seen the nature of seditions, let vs seek out the causes that stirre them vp, whereby Estates and Monarchies are changed, marred, and in the end ouerthrowen.

A disease known is almost cured.

ARAM. The diuision that is between subiects of one and the same prince, ariseth for the most part of discontentment, where-with some are mooued vpon iniurie or contempt, or else of feare that men haue of the light, or to auoyd some euil, or of great idlenesse, pouertie and neede.

The causes of diuision between subiects.

ACHITOB. There are (as I take it) two causes intermingled, which breede this franticke Feauer of our Fraunce, the one proceeding from the Estate, the other from religion. But let vs heare ASER to whome the handling of this subiect offered nowe vnto vs, belongeth.

Two causes of the franticke feauer of French diuisions.

ASER.

ASER. There is no beginning of any thing whatſoeuer ſo ſmall, which through continuance & perſeuerance is not ſoone made great and ſtrong, if vpon ſlight account thereof it be not ſtayed. Euery euill (as *Cicero* ſaith) in the firſt ſproute thereof may be eaſily ſtopped, but being inueterate, is more ſtrong and vneaſie to be ſuppreſſed. So that if it be mette withall before it appeare and breake foorth, the danger is leſſe, although it proceed firſt from the neceſſitie of naturall corruption, which is in all things that are created, and is to be ſeene euen in things without ſenſe, as Mil-dew in wheate, rottenneſſe in wood, ruſt in braſſe and iron: yea euery thing is corrupted by it own euill, howſoeuer it eſcapeth all outward harmes. Therefore as a good Phiſition preuenteth diſeaſes, and if one part be ſuddenly touched with raging payne, aſſwageth the preſent euill, and then applieth remedies to the cauſes of the diſeaſe: ſo a wiſe prince or gouernor of a Common-wealth ought to preuent as much as is poſſible the ordinarie changes of all eſtates, which ouer-take them either by outward force, or by inward diſeaſes. When they beginne, he muſt ſtay them whatſoeuer it coſt him, and then looke what the cauſes are of thoſe diſeaſes that are fartheſt from effect, and apply conuenient and apt remedies vnto them. Now it is certaine, that if a man would throughly meet with all hurtfull things, or otherwiſe cure any ſuch euill when it happeneth, hee muſt know their cauſes whereof the effect dependeth, which is the very entraunce to all good helpes and remedies what ſo-euer. Fore-ſeene miſchiefes (as the Poet ſaith) hurt not ſo much as thoſe that come vnlooked for. A wiſe man premeditateth all that may happen, but it falleth out contrary to fooles. And if we haue neuer ſo ſmall an in-ſight into the condition and ſtate of worldly thinges, wee can not in any wiſe doubt of this, that euery Common-wealth, after it is come to the toppe of perfection, which is the flouriſhing eſtate thereof, hath but a ſhort tyme of continuaunce: whether hir ouerthrowe proceedeth from the violence of hir enimies, when ſhee thinkes

Corruption is naturall in all things.

A Prince compared to a Phyſition.

To know the cauſes of euils is the readieſt way to cure them.

When Common-wealths begin to alter.

hir ſelfe ſafeſt: or whether ſhe waxe olde through long tract of tyme, and ſo ende by hir inward diſeaſes: or whether ſhe ſodainly decay and fall downe with hir owne waight by reaſon of ſome other hidden cauſe. Which chaunges of Common-wealths beyng matter ſufficient to make a great booke, we are, according to the ſequele of our diſcourſe, to conſider chiefly of the cauſes that for the moſt part ſtirre vp ſedition, and breed the alteration and finall ouerthrowe of Eſtates and Monarchies. The Philoſophers propound foure cauſes of euery thing, *the efficient*, *the materiall*, *the formall*, and the *finall cauſe*. The efficient cauſe of ſeditions is double; the one neere, the other remooued a farre off. The neere or next cauſe, are the authors of ſeditions, by whoſe counſell, direction and helpe they are ſtirred vp and brought to paſſe. By the cauſe remooued a far off, I meane thoſe things for which men are prouoked to raiſe ſeditions, and of which we are chiefly to intreat in this place. They are the matter of ſeditions againſt whome they are raiſed, as princes and magiſtrates, who are ſuperiours, and ſometime their ſubiectes, beyng inferiours. The forme of ſedition is the ſtirring vp of the people, noyſe, out-cries, batteries, murders, ciuill warre, the taking of townes, ſpoyling of countreys, burning and baniſhment. If it bee of ſubiectes towardes their lordes and ſuperiours, it is called rebellion: if betweene ſubiectes or equals, it is called a faction. The ende of ſeditions is that for which they are firſt mooued and ſtirred vp. *Ariſtotle* ſetteth down foure ends of ſeditions, namely, profit, & honor, with their contraries, loſſe & diſhonor. For men are commonly mooued to ſedition either through hope of profit & honor, or elſe through feare of loſſe and diſhonor towards themſelues or their friends, ſo that they deſire the one & ſhun the other. Vnto profit we referre riches: to honor, magiſtracie, publike offices & charges: to loſſe, pouertie: to diſhonor, cõtinual iniurie, contempt, & ſuch like means. Which things although they are reckoned among the motiues, or efficient cauſes of ſeditions, ſo farre foorth as they prouoke men

Foure cauſes of all things.

The efficient cauſes of ſeditions.

The materiall cauſe of ſeditions.

The formal cauſe.

The difference between a rebellion and a faction.

Fower final cauſes of ſeditions.

men to ſtirre vp ſeditions, yet they may bee endes alſo, bicauſe men conſpire togither, either to obtaine or to eſchew them. Therefore let vs handle the cauſes which mooue the people to murmure, and lead them from priuate and ſecret grudging, to publike and open ſedition, from which the changes, alterations, and finall ruines of eſtates and monarchies proceed. The couetouſnes of magiſtrates and gouernors ſeemeth to be a chief cauſe thereof, when they lay vpon their ſubiects great exactions, taxes, loanes, and other intollerable ſubſidies, whereby their patience is oftentimes turned into furie, and their hartes ſet vpon reuolting, are driuen forward to imitate them that forſooke *Roboam* for the ſame cauſe as the ſcripture rehearſeth. But foraſmuch as all ciuill ſocietie is appointed to the end that men might keep their goods ſafely vnder the protection and guiding of good gouernors, they that beare chief rule in eſtates ought eſpecially to prouide that not onely publike goods may be diſtributed and imploied according to common neceſſitie and profit, but alſo that euery mans priuate goods may be in ſafetie. Publike goods are the reuenues of Seignories, kingdoms and empires, demeans, taxes, tributes, confiſcations, exchetes, ſubſidies, graunts, and impoſitions brought in for the ſupply of publike neceſſitie. A man may ſay that couetouſnes, which is a wrongfull deſire of another mans goods, is committed in theſe publike reuenues, whē the mony that commeth of them, is conuerted rather to priuate than to publike vſe, by thoſe that haue the diſpoſing therof: which fault the Romans called *peculatus*, and the iudgement giuen againſt it, *Repetundarum*. Now whē ſuch goods are waſted vnprofitably, or ſuperfluouſly, princes & magiſtrates vſe to lay immoderate and ſtrange exactions vpon their ſubiects. Couetouſnes alſo is vſed in priuate goods, when the poorer or weaker ſort are ſpoiled of their owne by the mightier. The people will hardly beare this kind of vſurping, when they conſider that they are torměted by thoſe that ſhould defend them: & this dealing is ſubiect to reſtitution before God. Hiſtories are ful of changes, ſeditions

Couetouſnes a principall cauſe of ſedition.

1. King. 12. 14, 16.

Which are publike goods.

When couetouſnes is committed in publike goods.

God requireth reſtitution of oppreſſors.

and deſtructions of commō-wealths, ariſing of theſe cauſes of couetouſnes, wherof we haue alleaged many examples in our diſcourſes. Vnder *Charles* the 6. king of France great ſeditions and robberies were practiſed by the Pariſians, by reaſon of impoſts and ſubſidies that were leuied of the ſubiects. The occaſion of theſe commotions was bicauſe the farmers exacted a halfpeny of a poore woman that ſold Water creſſets. The couetouſnes, briberie, and polling vſed by the lords & nobles of Switzerland cauſed the common people to fall to mutinie, and to deliuer thēſelues out of their ſlauery & bondage by horrible maſſacres, which they made of them. Vnder *Ioel* and *Abiah* the ſonnes of *Samuel* & iudges ouer the Iſraelites, the people oppreſſed through their couetouſnes, asked a king, wherupon the eſtate of their gouernment was changed. The ſecond cauſe that breedeth the alteration & ruine of Common-wealths, is ambition, or deſire of honor, which then eſpecially mooueth men to murmure, when the vnworthy are aduanced & preferred before men of deſert. Honor is the only reward of vertue, & that which is more eſteemed of euery loftie & noble hart, than all worldly goods. Therfore it is meet that in the diſtribution of publike charges, rewards, and honors, regard be had to the qualitie, merite and ſufficiencie of men, that they may be giuen to woorthy perſons, and that ſuch as are vnfit may be put backe. Let vertue only & diligence open the gates of honor, and not mony or fauor. We ſaw before many examples of the fruits of ambition, & we taſte daily of ſome that are very bitter. The third cauſe that changeth and ouer-turneth eſtates & monarchies, is iniurie: which hapneth when they that are higheſt in authoritie, through too much inſolēcie & pride offer wrong to the honor or perſon of their inferiors. A kingdom (ſaith the wiſe man) is tranſlated frō one nation to another through the iniuſtice, iniuries & contumelies offred by ſuperiors. *Cyrus* the great reuolted frō his grandfather *Aſtyages*, ouercame him in battell, & tranſlated the monarchie of the Medes vnto the Perſiās, bicauſe of that iniurie which he offered vnto him, in caſting him

Great ſeditions began vpon a ſmall occaſion.

Couetouſnes cauſe of the death of the nobilitie in Switzerland.

1. Sam. 8. 5.

Ambition the ſecond cauſe of ſeditions.

Honor the only reward of vertue.

Onely vertue ought to open the gates of honour.

Iniurie the third cauſe of ſedition

Why Cyrus reuolted from his grandfather Aſtyages.

out

out into the fields as soone as he was borne. *Coriolanus* being vniustly banished his countrey, tooke armes, conquered a great part of the Romane dominion, and burned all to the gates of Rome, bringing their estate to such an extremitie, that it was readie to be destroyed, had not the women come towards him to pacifie him. *Childeric* king of Fraunce, caused *Bodilus* to be whipped with rods, whereupon he slew him aud his wife great with child. *Iustine* the third emperour, was slayne by *Atelius* generall of his armie, whose sonne he had murdred, and abused his wife to despite him there-with. Feare also is many times the cause of alteration and daunger to a Common-wealth, when guiltie and conuicted persones moone sedition, and rebell against the Magistrates to preuent and auoyd the punishment that is due to their faultes. *Catiline* vrged with the consideration of his manifold wicked prankes, and with the feare of iudgement conspired against his countrey, beyng assisted by *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, with many sacrilegious persones, murderers, adulterers, bankrupts and other naughtie liuers that stoode in feare of iustice by reason of their misbehauiour. Neither may any man doubt but wicked men will rather trouble the estate than stand in daunger of their liues, or hazard their goodes. For besides the assuraunce which they haue conceiued to escape the iudgement of men by this meanes, they haue this further aduauntage to fish in troubled waters: so that they are no lesse afrayd of peace than of the plague, hauing in all euentes the same resolution before their eyes that *Catiline* had, who sayd that he could not quench the fire begun in his house with water, and therefore would pull it downe and so quench it. This was one reason that mooued *Cæsar* to lay hold of the estate, bicause his enimies threatned, that as soone as he was out of his offices they would cause him to giue an accoũt how he had discharged thẽ. I would to god we had not bought as deerly the same causes of our ciuil warres. Likewise too much authoritie and power both for wealth & friendship, is dangerous in euery kinde of gouernment, so that great heede is to be

Coriolanus.

Childeric slaine by Bodilus.

Iustine 3.

Feare the fourth cause of seditions.

Catiline.

What maner of men are afraid of peace.

Feare was one cause that mooued Cæsar to seek the empire.

Excesse in authoritie & power is the fift cause of seditiõs

taken, that none grow to be vnmeaſurable great. For men are ſubiect to corruption, neither can euery one ſuſtaine wiſely the proſperitie of fortune: which cauſeth ſome to ſeeke the alteration of popular and Ariſtocraticall Common-wealths into monarchies, & others to vſurpe kingdomes & empires. This reaſon brought in the Oſtraciſme amongſt the Atheniãs, which was a baniſhmét for a time, wherby they brought downe them that ſeemed to exceed in greatnes. This they vſed (as *Plutarke* reherſeth) againſt *Themiſtocles*, *Ariſtides*, and other excellent men, fearing leaſt their authoritie, credite, and good will of all men, ſhould procure them a kingly power with the chaunge of their popular gouernment. Many kings and princes that had ſome of their friends and ſeruaunts too great, were themſelues or their children ouerthrowen by them afterward. *Tyberius* making *Seian* too mightie: *Commodus*, *Perennius*: *Theodoſius* the ſecond, *Eutropus*: *Iuſtinian*, *Belliſarius*: *Xerxes*, *Artaban*, were in danger of their eſtate. The vnmeaſurable authoritie of the Maiors of the palace, and of the Conſtables, chaunged the crowne of France from the race of *Clouis* to that of *Charles Martel*: and vpon the ſame occaſion it was afterward taken from that line, and tranſferred to another. Contempt alſo is another cauſe greatly to be feared in euery eſtate and Monarchie, as that which oftentimes breedeth their change and ouerthrow. It is very daungerous in two conſiderations eſpecially: firſt when ſome are contemned and excluded from publique offices and dignities which they deſerue, and yet ſee them wholy in the power and diſpoſition of ſome particular men. Whereupon both the one and the other are mooued to ſedition, the contemned perſones through enuie and deſire of reuenge; they that haue the great charges in their handes, through contempt of the others, whome they ſeeke vtterly to exclude, and to driue them further off from all publique honours and authorities. Secondly, contempt is verie pernitious, when inferiours contemne their ſuperiours. They are commonly deſpiſed that haue neither vertue, courage,

What the Oſtraciſme among the Athenians was.

Many kings ouerthrowen by ſuffring their ſeruants grow too great.

Contempt is the ſixt cauſe of ſeditions.

Who are moſt ſubiect to contempt.

courage, nor fortitude, that are not able to profite themselues or others, that are not laborious, painfull, nor any manner of way carefull. Where contempt is, there no obedience is to be had. This maketh the sonne disobedient to the father, the wife to the husband, the learner to the teacher, the seruant to the maister. The opinion of prudence, iustice, constancie, knowledge, goodnes, modestie, and of other vertues, nourisheth and preserueth the obedience of subiects towards their Princes, and the contrarie vices prouoke them to rebellion. Therefore as policies prosper when they are gouerned by prudent, iust, constant, valiant, and moderate men: so they are troubled with seditions through the ignorance, cowardlines, and intemperancie of Princes, or else when they are too familiar with their inferiors, or when they are suddenly lift vp from base estate, or seem too aged, or too yong, or poore, or miserable, all which things breede contempt. Wherefore this is set downe as a good rule to preserue the estate of a Monarchy: *That the Prince must procure to himselfe loue, without the contempt or hatred of any, if it may be.* For the obtaining whereof, there is no better way, than the iust distribution of rewardes. The Princes and Lords of France, bicause they were contemned by king *Lewes* the 11. who had none about him, nor fauoured any but men of lowe and base estate, gaue him battell at Montlhery (whereof the battel hath euer since retained the name) to the great perill of the Estate, and danger of the kings life, if he had not appeased the indignation and furie of the said Princes and Lords, by his great prudence and policie. Moreouer, too much encrease and vnproportionable growth is one cause that procureth the change and ruine of Common-wealths. For as the bodie is made and compounded of parts, and ought to grow by proportion, that it may keep a iust measure: so euery Common-wealth beeing compounded of orders or estates, as it were of parts, they must be maintained in concord one with another, by equall and due proportion obserued betweene each of them. For if one Estate be aduanced too much aboue another, dissen-

Contempt breedeth disobedience.

Causes that moue subiects to contemne their Princes.

A rule of Estate.

Lewes the 11. fought withall by his Nobles, bicause he contemned them.

Ouer-great inequalitie betweene Estates in a Common-wealth is the seuenth cause of seditions.

diſſention ariſeth. As long as the three Orders and Eſtats at Rome, namely, the Senators, the Knights, & the people, were caried proportionably, their policie flouriſhed: but after they dealt one againſt another through enuie, ambition, & couetouſnes; diuiſions, and part-takings began. This cauſed many to commend equalitie ſo much, calling it the nurſing mother of peace & amitie betweene ſubiects: and contrariwiſe inequalitie, the beginning of all enmities, factions, hatred, & part-taking. But ſeeing it is meete that in euery well eſtabliſhed policie there ſhould be a difference of rights and priuiledges betwixt euery eſtate, equalitie may continue, if carefull prouiſion be made, that one Eſtate go not too much before the other.

Equalitie the mother of peace.

Impunitie of offences the eight cauſe of ſeditions.

The impunitie of offences is one cauſe alſo from whence ſeditions and ciuill warres proceede, yea it is a matter of very great waight, and yet men make leaſt account thereof. We ſpake of it before, but we muſt of neceſſitie often rub vp the remembrance thereof, as the wiſe Hebrew doth by repeating ſo many times that admonition, that we *ſhould not be ſuretie for another:* not that he forbiddeth charitie towardes the poore, but that none ſhould be a meanes to let the wicked eſcape, vnles he will beare the puniſhment himſelfe. This is that word which God ſent to king *Achab*, after he had ſaued the life of *Benhadad* king of Syria, *that he made himſelfe a pledge for another man, by ſuffering the wicked to liue, and therefore that it ſhould coſt him his life.* Hitherto we haue ſeene how the couetouſnes of Princes, the ambition or deſire of honour in priuate men, iniurie, and reproch, feare in the guiltie, exceſſe of authoritie and wealth, contempt, ouer-great encreaſe, or aduancement without proportion: and laſtly, impunitie of offences, procure commonly ſeditions in Eſtates and Monarchies. Beſides all theſe, extreame pouertie and exceſſe of wealth, idlenes, and want of feare of the forraine enimie, as we haue elſe-where declared, change of Princes and lawes, too great licence of ſeditious Orators and Preachers, the naturall diſpoſition of places where men are borne, which maketh them more inclined to commotions

The meaning of this precept, *Be not ſuretie for another.*

1. King. 20. 42.

Other cauſes of ſedition.

motions and ſeditions, as Hiſtoriographers haue noted of Genes, Florence, and Flanders, with many other things may be ſaid to be cauſes of ciuill warres, of alterations, changes, and ruine of Eſtats and Policies. Among which we note that ſhame is ſometime a cauſe of change in the gouernment of Common-wealths, but it is without tumult or ſedition. Thus it fell out in Herea, a towne of Arcadia, which was gouerned popularly, where men of no account were elected Magiſtrates by others like themſelues: whereupon beeing mocked, they changed their manner of election into chuſing by lot, that ſo they might haue a more lawefull excuſe. There was ſeene not long ſince in the Councell of France ſuch a number of Maiſters of Requeſts, and of Secretaries of the Treaſure, that very ſhame cauſed them to be ſent away, bicauſe it was not meete to entreat of great and waightie matters before ſuch a multitude. Negligence likewiſe breedeth the change and ouerthrow of a politike Eſtate. There are two ſortes of negligence, the one in thoſe that call, chuſe, or receiue into any great office, ſuch men as are vnwoorthie, and care not for their charges; or that ſuffer ſuch perſons to aſcend to the chiefeſt places of Magiſtracie, that are enimies to that forme of Common-wealth, as if the chiefe men in Bearne ſhoulde chuſe an Auoyer, which office is contrarie to their manner of liuing: or if the Venetians ſhould chuſe a Duke, or the Cardinals a Pope, that were not of their religion: or if the King of Fraunce ſhould create a Conſtable or Chancellour, that liked not a Royall and Monarchicall Eſtate. The other kinde of negligence, which is much more common, is in them that are called to a dignitie, office, or Magiſtracie, and ſhewe them-ſelues retchles in that adminiſtration and exerciſe, as we ſee that moſte Biſhops and Prelats neglect the dutie of their charges, to imploie or beſtowe their tyme in worldlie affaires, for which cauſe they growe into miſliking and contempt. From hence haue proceeded great offences, and maruellous troubles, which may more eaſilye bee lamented, than taken

Shame is ſometime cauſe of alteration of Eſtates.

Negligence a cauſe of change. Two ſorts of negligence.

Biſhops neglecting their charg to deale in worldly affaires, bring themſelues into contempt.

taken away, or reformed, being ſuch abuſes as haue taken deepe roote. Moreouer, the alteration of policie is bred by other meanes by little and little, as when through diſſimulation or otherwiſe, men ſuffer ſome part, albeit neuer ſo little, of the lawe or politike Eſtate to be cut off.

An Eſtate is not changed all at one time, but by little and little.

Changes ſeldome fall out all at one time, if they are not very violent, but for the moſt part go on by litle and litle, as the ſeaſons of the yeere ſlide away ſoftly from great heates to hard froſts, and from the froſt and cold of winter, to the heate of ſommer. A lingring feuer afflicteth the patient ſo eaſily, that he hardly perceiueth himſelfe therin: but if it be ſuffered to continue without redreſſe in due time, it will turne to a hectick feuer, and ſo conſequently become incurable. So fareth it with an Eſtate and Policie, whoſe authoritie waxeth contemptible, and is loſt by little and little, when men are negligent in preuenting the ſame in due time. He that will conſider the alteration happened in France within theſe thirtie yeeres, ſhall find it to be very great, aſwell in regard of religion, as of manners and lawes, which neuertheles came by little and little, and ſo continueth ſtill, greatly threatning a change of the eſtate. Heere therefore I will diſtinguiſh betweene the chance of lawes, cuſtomes, religion, & place, which is properly but an alteration, and the change of an eſtate, which is when the ſoueraigntie goeth from one into the power of another. Diſſimilitude alſo is the cauſe many times of ſedition, and of change in the Commonwealth, which commeth to paſſe when the Inhabitants of a place are not of the ſame nation, but many ſtrangers are receiued into it, who perceiuing them-ſelues to be the ſtronger part, haue many times thruſt the naturall Citizens out of their towne: whereof *Ariſtotle* alleadgeth many examples that fell ſo out in the Grecian cities. At Sienna, at Genes, at Zurick, at Cullen, the ſtrangers being multiplied draue out the Lords of thoſe places, and ſlew moſt of them, bicauſe they were ouer-charged with exactions, euill entreated, and excluded from bearing of offices. They of Lindauia ſlew the Lords of the countrie, and

Diſſimilitude a cauſe of chang.

Examples of ſtrangers that haue expelled naturall Citizens out of their townes.

changed

changed the Ariſtocraty into a popular Eſtate: and ſo did the Inhabitants of Strausborough, who hated the Nobilitie in ſuch ſort, that they would not ſuffer any of them to enioy the great eſtates and publike charges, vnles he prooued that his grandfather was one of the baſer ſort of the people. Theſe examples mooue naturall Inhabitants many times to ouer-runne ſtrangers, when they ſee the number of them waxe ouer-great amongſt them. One example heereof we may note in the citie of Geneua, into which when many ſtrangers, aſwell Frenchmen as others retired for religion, the naturall Citizens could neuer brooke them, although they were very profitable to the citie, making it rich and populous, whereas before it was poore, and ſmally inhabited: but conſpired many times to driue them out, as namely that conſpiracie of one *Perin*, in the yeere 1556. which began to be put in execution, when *Caluine* ranne into the midſt of their naked ſwords to appeaſe the tumult, as *Beza* writeth in his life. The ſame feare mooued *Pharaoh*, when he ſawe the Hebrewes encreaſe ouer-faſt amongſt his ſubiects, to decree, that the Midwiues ſhould from that time forward, kill the male children at their birth. Now in receiuing of ſtrangers regard muſt be had to the number, that it be not ouergreat, and that their authoritie be not vnmeaſurable. For otherwiſe it is neceſſarie for trafficke ſake, and for many other publike commodities, that ſome be receiued of others. Many other kinds of diſſimilitude are found in commonwealths, as diſſimilitude of linage betweene the Nobilitie and Common-people: of offices, betweene Iudges, Treaſurers, Souldiors, Prieſts: of profeſſions, betweene Lawyers, Phiſitions, Diuines, and Philoſophers: of occupations, betweene Bakers, Butchers, Shooemakers, Painters, Smithes, Carpenters: without which diſſimilitudes no Common-wealth can conſiſt. Therefore they are not to be taken quite away, but onely the diſorder that groweth amongſt them, that ſo they may be reduced to a conuenient agreement, like to that which is betweene the diuers parts that are in the conſtitution of the world & of man.

The Inhabitants of Geneua conſpired againſt ſtrangers in their citie.

Caluine hazarded his life to appeaſe a tumult in Geneua.

Exod. 1. 16.

Diuers kinds of diſſimilitudes in Common-wealths.

We

We may alſo call a diſſimilitude, that difference which is of religions, as of the Iewes, Chriſtians, Mahomiſts, Caphrans, Armenians, Grecians, Latines, Iacobites, Ethiopians: then betweene the Chriſtians themſelues, as Catholiks, Lutherans, Zuinglians, and Caluinists. Many haue ſaid, and are yet of this opinion, that the chiefe cauſe of ciuill warres in France proceedeth from this diuerſitie of religion. And to ſay truth, there is nothing that carieth men away with ſuch vehement paſſions, as zeale of religion, for which they fight more willingly thā for their liues, goods, wiues, and children. Through the diuerſitie heereof they that are neereſt of kinne looſe their naturall loue, they that are of the ſame country and language, perſecute one another as mortall enimies, and ſundry nations abhorre one another for the ſame. Theſe things are too well knowne amongſt vs to require proofs thereof. And truly in reſpect of ſedition and tumult, nothing is more dangerous, than for ſubiects to be diuided in opinion, whether it be in matters of eſtate, or of lawes and cuſtoms, or for religion. For if they be of diuers opinions, ſome labour for peace, and ſeeke to make others agree vnto it, who wil neuer agree amongſt themſelues. And in truth it is a very hard matter to maintaine publike exerciſes of any religion whatſoeuer, when it is contrary to the religion of the people, or of the moſt of them, who many times cannot be kept within compaſſe neither by lawes nor Magiſtrats, vnleſſe the force appointed to keepe them in bee very great. For we ſaw that *Thomas*, Emperour of Conſtantinople, was cruelly ſlaine by the people amidſt a great congregation in the Church, bicauſe he went about to pull downe Images. But I am of this opinion (yet readye to yeeld to a better iudgement) that if men were honeſt and vpright, and walked in their calling holily, they would neuer fight among themſelues for religion. And if there had beene no other cauſe mingled therwith in our ciuill wars, we ſhould not haue had experiēce of thoſe miſeries which daily ouer-whelme vs. The authoritie of a holie and free Councell may by the grace of God end all theſe diſſentions:

Whether diuerſitie of religion be a cauſe of ciuill warre.

Diuerſitie of opinion among ſubiects, dangerous in an Eſtate.

Thomas Emperour of Conſtantinople ſlaine for pulling downe of Images.

ons: in the meane time let euery one seeke by good life and amendment of manners, to serue for a light to those that are out of the way, laying aside all part-takings, forgetting all iniuries, and taking vp againe our first vnitie, concord,& friendship. Yea I doubt not, but that a Prince embracing with a true zeale the opinion of his religion, and neglecting the contrarye, would abolish it without force or constraint, if God maintain it not. For the minds of men resolued in a religion, are more confirmed therin if they be resisted, but shrinke of themselues if compulsion be not vsed. Now for the end and conclusion of our discourse, laying a part the causes of seditions and ciuil wars, which bring alteration, and ouerthrow many times to Estates and Monarchies, whereof we haue particularly intreated, we will heere comprehend, and reduce to a certaine number the causes of the changes of all Commonwealths: namely, when the posteritie of Princes faileth, and the greatest amongst them enter into ciuill warre for the Estate: when most of the subiects are extreme poore, and a few exceeding rich: when the diuision of offices and honors are vnequall: or else through extreame ambition and desire of commanding: through the reuenge of iniuries: through the crueltie and oppression of tyrants: through the feare of chasticement, which some haue that deserue it: through the change of lawes and religion: through the greedie desire that some haue to enioy at wil those pleasures which they seeke after: lastly, through the expulsion of such as defile the places of honor with excessiue and beastly pleasures. All these things breede the change, corruption, and finall ouerthrow of flourishing Estates and great Monarchies, and therefore all Princes, Gouernors, and politike Rulers ought carefully to looke vnto them.

The causes that breede the change of all Commonwealths.

The ende of the sixteenth daies worke.

THE SEVENTEENTH DAIES WORKE.

Of the preſeruation of Eſtats and Monarchies, and of remedies to keepe them from ſedition.
Chap. 65.

Why Wiſedom is giuen of God.

ASER. WIſedome (ſaith *Lactantius*) is giuen of God to all men, that euery one according to his abilitie and capacitie might ſeeke after things vnknowne, and examine that which he knoweth. And we muſt not thinke, that ſuch as haue gone before vs many yeeres and ages, did ſo poſſeſſe and vſe hir, that ſhe is now leſſe forceable in vs. She cannot be wholy poſſeſſed, no more than the light of the Sunne: and as the Sunne is the light of our eies, ſo is wiſedome the light of mans hart.

Wiſd. 6. 21. If your delight thē (ſaith the wiſe man) be in thrones and ſcepters, O kings of the people, honor wiſedome, that ye may raigne for euer.

The praiſe of wiſedome. Truly ſhe is neceſſarie prouiſion for them that would raigne, that they may do it woorthily, and ſafely maintaine their eſtate: yea ſhe is no leſſe requiſite in euery calling. For ſhe illuminateth and ſharpneth the diſcourſe of reaſon by the knowledge of things, ſhe ruleth and conducteth the will to that which is the true and onely Good. Therefore ſeeing that wiſedome, which is aſmuch to ſay in regard of vs, as the ſearching out of the truth, is both offered, and needefull for all men, euery one ought to be ſtirred vp to imbrace it with a burning zeale and affection, that he may bring foorth the fruits of perfect

perfect charitie, by applying it (next after the seruice of God) to the common profite of men. Which thing, seeing it hath prouoked our yong and vnexperienced yeeres to vtter our former Morall and Politicall discourses, and to handle yesterday the causes that breede change and ruine to Estates and Monarchies, although such high matters surpasseth the capacitie of our vnderstanding, yet let vs (my Companions) follow with the same zeale our venturous enterprise, and as we haue profited in the schoole of this selfe same wisedome, let vs enter into the consideration of those meanes and remedies that are contrary to the causes of corruption in policies, and that may serue to their preseruation. Albeit they may be knowne by the same causes that corrupt them, seeing contrary effects proceede from contrary causes, and corruption is contrary to preseruation. But the vnderstanding of this matter will be more cleare and profitable heereby, to them that will take the benefite thereof.

Contrary causes bring foorth contrary effects.

AMANA. If all callings were content with their owne fortune and goods, if they would abstaine from other mens goods, and from offering them wrong, if they would be more intentiue to amend their owne life, than to reprehend others, and submit them-selues willingly to the obedience of their Magistrats, lawes, and ordinances, I thinke it would be a meane to cause euery Monarchie to flourishe and to continue happie a longe time.

ARAM. Equalitie (said *Solon*) neuer breedeth sedition in the gouernment of a Common-wealth, but is the nursing mother of peace and concord, and the maintainer of loue, whereby the vnitie of subiects is preserued. But as *the graue and destruction are neuer glutted* (according to the saying of the wise man) *so mens eies are neuer satisfied.* But the discourse of this matter heere propounded belongeth to thee ACHITOB. Prou. 27. 20.

ACHITOB. That great louer of knowledge and vertue, *Ptolomy* king of Egypt, as he feasted one day seuen Embassadors of the best and most flourishing Common-

wealthes in his time, reaſoned with them about their gouernments, that hee might knowe which of them had the beſt policie, and was furniſhed with the beſt lawes and moſte commendable cuſtomes. The diſputation was long, and the matter throughly debated amonge them with manye reaſons. But *Ptolomy* being deſirous to bee inſtructed by them in the beſt and rareſt pointes, neceſſarye for the preſeruation of an Eſtate, prayed them to propounde euerye one three of thoſe cuſtomes and laweſ that were moſte perfect in his Common-wealth. The Embaſſadour of the Romanes beganne, and ſayde: *Wee haue the Temples in great reſpect and reuerence: wee are very obedient to our Gouernours: and we puniſh wicked men and euill liuers ſeuerely.* The Carthaginian Embaſſadour ſaid: *In the Common-wealth of Carthage, the Nobles neuer ceaſe fighting, nor the Common-people and Artificers labouring, nor the Philoſophers teaching.* The Sicilian ſayd: *In our Common-wealth iuſtice is exactly kept, merchandiſe exerciſed with truth, and all men account themſelues equall.* The Rhodian ſayd: *At Rhodes old men are honeſt, yoong men ſhamefaſt, and women ſolitarie, and of fewe wordes.* The Athenian ſayd: *In our Common-wealth rich men are not ſuffered to be diuided into factions, nor poore men to be idle, nor the Gouernours to be ignorant.* The Lacedemonian ſayd: *In Sparta enuie raigneth not, for all are equall, nor couetouſnes, for all goods are common, nor ſlouth, for all labour.* In *our Common-wealth* (ſayd the Embaſſadour of the Sicyonians) *voyages are not permitted, that they ſhoulde not bring home newe faſhions at their returne: Phyſitions are not ſuffered, leaſt they ſhould kill the ſound: nor Orators to take vpon them the defence of cauſes and ſuites.* If all theſe good cuſtomes were iointly kept in any one Eſtate, I doubt not but the greatnes of it might be continued long, and all cauſes of ſeditions cut off. But to ſpeake more plainly and particularly, and to handle the preſeruation of Monarchies and Common-wealths, with the remedies that keepe them from ſedition, I ſaye firſt that *Horace*, that moſt learned Poet, had reaſon to beginne his Satyres

Choice cuſtoms of ſeuen flouriſhing Eſtates.

or

or profitable ſpeeches with thoſe men that are neuer contented, conſidering that the diſcontentment of mortall men is the fountaine and ſpringe of all vices. For I praie you, what vice is not grounded vpon an vnſatiable deſire of hauing, as may appeere in all them that can-not content them-ſelues with their preſent eſtate, nor appoint an ende in that which they haue, but place it alwayes in that which they would haue. Couetouſnes committeth robberies, executeth murders, exerciſeth ſpoyling, cauſeth battells, breedeth ſchiſmes, hindreth reformation, and the generall Councell, cloaketh abuſes, nouriſheth ignorance, asketh vniuſtlie, receiueth diſhoneſtlie, diſſolueth bargaines, breaketh fayth, peruerteth iudgementes, and to conclude, it ouer-turneth and confoundeth all right, both diuine and humane. Therefore couetouſnes is very fitlie called an vnquenchable fire, an inſatiable deſire, a bottomleſſe gulfe. So that the contentation both of ſoueraigne Magiſtrates, and of ſuch as are vnderneath them, and their moderate affections whereby they ſeeke not to inuade and to poſſeſſe other mens right, nor to heape vp treaſures and riches, but direct their trauell to common profite onely, to gouerne prudently, and to order as it becommeth them whatſoeuer is vnder their authoritie: this I ſaie is a ſtronge bonde to keepe euerie Common-wealth in a flouriſhing Eſtate, and an vnconquerable bulwarke againſt all ſedition. Manie Princes beeing deſirous to extende their limits vniuſtlie, and to conquere newe Eſtates, haue oftentymes loſte or diminiſhed their owne dominion, beſides the burthenſome calamities, which they haue brought vppon their people. And when they placed vnder them couetous Gouernours and Magiſtrates, that were ſlaues to their purſes, the ruine, or great trouble at leaſt of their Eſtates followed after. Therefore *Iethro* ſayde to *Moſes*: *Prouide thou amonge all the people, men of courage, fearing God, men dealing truly, hating couetouſnes: and appoint ſuch ouer them to bee Rulers ouer*

Diſcontentment is the ſpring of all vices.

The effects of couetouſnes.

The contented mind of Magiſtrats is the firſt meane to preſerue an Eſtate.

Exod.18.21.

thouſands, ouer hundreds, ouer fifties, ouer tennes, to iudge the people at all times. Tiberius Nero knowing that his ſubiects were naturally giuen to tender greatly their owne profite, would not ſend any to ſucceede (as the cuſtome was before) and to take the place of the Gouernors and Lieutenants of his Prouinces, vnles the other were dead. For (ſaid he) when they perceiue that they draw neere the end of their office, the double their polling, and a newe Gouernour doth as much: whereas other-wiſe, when they are once full gorged and ſatisfied, they are at the leaſt occaſioned thereby to ceaſe from rauening, and to eaſe their people: namely, when they know that they ſhall alwaies enioy their power and authoritie. The cuſtome that *Aurelius Seuerus* vſed, is much more praiſe-woorthie. For when he ſent Gouernours into the Prouinces, he cauſed their names to be publiſhed many daies before, to the end that whoſoeuer knew any thing in them woorthie of reprehenſion, he ſhould giue notice thereof: and they that reported truly, were promoted to honour by him, and ſlanderers grieuouſly puniſhed. He gaue to all Magiſtrates gold, ſiluer, ſeruants, and all neceſſary things, yea Concubines alſo, to the ende that in their charges they ſhould not be conſtrained by neceſſitie to commit iniuſtice, or to extort vpon the people. Moreouer, the modeſtie of Magiſtrats in commanding, ſerueth for a good remedie to retaine their ſubiects within their dutie, eſpecially if to bring thē forward the better, they adde to their commandemēts gentle perſwaſions grounded vpon liuely reaſons, & holy admonitions, whereby they ſeeme willing rather to inſtruct their people, than by force to compell them to obedience. Thou ſhalt gouerne thy kingdome very well (ſaid one of the Interpreters of *Ptolemy*) if imitating the gentlenes of God in all things, thou vſeſt patience and long ſuffering. That is alſo one point that greatly ſtaieth the alteration and change of Common-wealthes, when both great and ſmall are contented with that eſtate whereunto they are called, and are not carried awaye with ambition, to deſire higher degrees

Why Tiberius would not change his Lieutenants.

A notable cuſtome vſed by Seuerus in making vnder-gouernors.

The ſecond meane to preſerue an Eſtate.

The third meane.

degrees of honor than their condition deserueth. Againe, they ought not to respect their owne valure and desert so much, as to thinke that great estats and honors are a due and necessary reward for their vertue: and that vpon their deniall, they haue iust cause to make some commotion in the Common-wealth. But let them rather consider that the Prince holdeth his soueraigntie of God, and of the ancient lawes of the Estate, and that al his subiects in respect of him are but as a set of counters, whereof he maketh one to be one in value nowe, then to stande for a thousand, by and by for a hundred thousand, and afterward for nothing. If we haue lesse fauour and grace, we shall be lesse enuied, which alwaies taketh holde of the greatest. Exact and precise obseruation of iustice is no lesse necessarie for the preseruation of Estates and Monarchies, as we haue else-where discoursed: and it ought to be exercised not only vpon the simple people, but also vpon Magistrates when they abuse their calling and dignitie. For when their faultes are vnpunished and winked at to the oppression of the meaner sort, they are easily induced to murmure and to mooue sedition. *Aristotle* approoued not this custome in Lacedemonia, that the power of the Senators was perpetuall during their life, and that they were exempted from correction, and from yeelding an account of their dooings, bicause (as he said) to appoint perpetuall Magistrats, is to kindle the fire of sedition in the Common-wealth. But this is contrary to the opinion of *Plato*, and of many Politicks, albeit there is no want of arguments and excellent reasons, aswell on their side who would haue Magistrates annuall, as on theirs that would haue them perpetuall. But as contrarie Estates ought to be gouerned by contrarie meanes, so it is necessarie that in a Monarchie some offices should be perpetuall, and other mutable. And if neede be, generall Commissioners may be appointed, as it was practiced in the time of *Lewes* the ninth, and of *Phillip* the Faire. To this purpose *Buda* complaineth, bicause the Commissioners had no authoritie ouer the Magistrates of France, especially ouer the

Of whome a Prince holdeth his soueraigntie.

Subiects compared to a set of counters.

The fourth meane.

Magistrats must be punished aswell as the Common people.

Aristotle misliked perpetuall Magistrates.

Generall Commissioners requisite in a Monarchy.

Parliaments, as also bicause they were not perpetuall. He maketh a goodlie discourse of them, and sheweth what manner of men ought to be chosen thereunto. The

The fift meane.

speedie punishment of wicked and condemned persons, all delaie set aside, is a good remedie to preserue policies.

Delay in punishing the wicked, is dangerous.

For when they see that for their offences and mischieuous dealings they are daily taken, examined, put to the torture, condemned, and executed, according to their deserts, if before their execution they haue any leasure and respit through the negligence of Magistrates, they seeke by all meanes to moouesedition and trouble in the Common-wealth, hoping thereby to saue their liues, and to auoide that punishment vnto which their consciences iudge them to be indebted.

The sixt meane.

The equall proportion and measure of all and euery particular part in a Politike bodie, according to the degrees of callings and persons, is necessarie for the preseruation of Estates and Monarchies, that there may be equalitie not of thinges, but of proportions, and that degrees may be kept. As for example, albeit the Diuine, Lawyer, Captaine, Counsellor, Treasurer, differ one from another, yet they must of necessitie agree, and be made equall, not in their calling, but by a like proportion, that euerie one may execute his office without the hinderaunce of another.

Geometricall proportion ought to be obserued in Common-wealths.

Therefore *Plato* saide, that the publike Estate is in good case, if it be instituted according to Geometricall proportion, and all benefites bestowed accordingly. If the Kinge giue the office of Chauncellourship to a wise and learned man that loueth iustice and publike quietnes: the office of Constableshippe, or of the Marshalshippe of Fraunce, to good Captaines, and such as are experienced in State affayres: the gouernment of the Church to a Diuine of good life and manners, and one that is well skild in Ecclesiasticall gouernement: the office of iustice to an honest Lawyer: the keeping of the treasure to a Treasurer of an vpright conscience. Then if euerie one keepe his owne place, and performeth his dutie without encroching vppon another,

Vpon what men publike charges are to be bestowed.

or

or hindering of him, to the ende that publike conuenience and agreement may not be troubled, this order wil make an equalitie betweene vnlike persons. For we find two sortes of equalitie: namely equalitie of quantitie, and of proportion. Equalitie of quantitie is requisite in commutatiue iustice, that euery one may take as much as he ought. Equalitie of proportion is requisite in distributiue iustice, and in rewarding men according to their desert. This equalitie (sayth *Plato*) giueth the greatest honours to them that excell most in vertue, and the lesser places of dignitie to such as are inferior in vertue and learning, distributing to both that which belongeth vnto them by reason. Besides, the meanes alleadged already by vs for the preseruation of Estates and Monarchies, *Aristotle* setteth downe these that followe. Let nothing (sayth he) be doone against the lawes and customes, which, as before we discoursed, are the chaines and bondes of all Empires, Powers, and Common-wealthes. Let remedie bee vsed against the beginning of an euill, howe small soeuer it bee. For often-times of a small occasion, as it were of one sparkle, a great fire of troubles is kindeled in the Common-wealth. And as great stormes and tempestes proceede from exhalations and vapours that are not seene: so seditions and ciuill warres beginne for the most part of verie light matters, which a man woulde neuer thinke shoulde haue such an issue. Let no credite be giuen to craftie and suttle deuices, inuented to deceiue Common-wealthes withall. These are meanes commonly practised by forraine and domesticall enimies to Estates, who thereby disguise the truth of matters: whereof we haue had good experience in France, when in the Councell of our Princes information hath beene giuen cleane contrarie to the truth: insomuch that we haue felt the cruell hand of strangers before euer we would haue beleeued that they had taken horse in their owne countrie. And therefore amongest such nourishers of our miseries, this prouerbe is rife: *That a lie is alwaies good how little a while soeuer it be beleeued*. Let

Two sorts of equalitie.

The seuenth meane.

The eight.

The beginning of euils must be staied.

The ninth.

The tenth. thoſe that are placed in the offices of Magiſtracie, behaue themſelues modeſtly both towards thoſe that deale not at all in publike affaires, and towards them that meddle therewith: offering no iniurie to the one ſort, and liuing friendly with the other. The eleuenth. Let them that are to care for the ſafetie of the Eſtate, watch alwaies, and ſtand vpon their gard, and often times propound cauſes of feare, to make the ſubiects more attentiue and heedefull to that which they ſhould doe. The twelfth. Let there be no contentions or quarrels betweene the Nobles, and let others be preuented that are not yet ioined to thoſe diſſentions, before they enter into them. This is the chiefeſt thing at this day, whereunto our kings and Princes ought eſpecially to looke. For amongeſt their traines there is nothing but leagues and part-takings, from which nothing will proceede in the end but trouble and hurt to their Eſtate. Therefore they muſt take away all occaſions of hatred and quarrelling, & remooue ſuch farre from their Court that loue contentions: bicauſe that as quarrellers of themſelues tarye not long in ſeruice, ſo by their meanes Princes looſe other good ſeruants. And if they will not, or are afraid to put them from the Court, at leaſt-wiſe let them take knowledge of all their enmities, factions, and diſcontentments that are amongſt them, and labour to end them, not in outward ſhew onely, but by ſome good effect. Let them content ſuch as are not well pleaſed, if they can iuſtly doe it: let them grant meanes of ſafetie to them that ſay they haue cauſe to diſtruſt others: and let them reconcile profeſſed enimies. But aboue all things, let not the Prince make himſelfe a partie in the contentions of his ſubiects, if the occaſion of their ſtrife be not grounded vpon the Eſtate. For in ſteede of keeping to himſelfe the place of ſoueraigne Iudge, he ſhall be onely the chiefe of a faction, and ſo bring his eſtate and life into danger. The thirteenth. The puniſhment of rebels is one meane alſo to preſerue Eſtates and Common-wealths, & to preuent ſeditions, whereby they are altered and changed. But regard muſt be had (according to the counſell of *Hippocrates*) that medicines be not applied

Contentious perſons muſt be remooued from the Court.

Princes muſt labour by all meanes to end the contentions of their ſubiects.

They muſt not be parties in their ſubiects quarrels.

applied to incurable diseases. For when all the people, or the most of them are culpable, to punish all, is as much as to ouerthrow the common-wealth. It is also a good mean and most vsuall for the auoiding of seditions, to take from the people their armour, and to haue fortresses fenced and furnished with all things necessarie for them. For the neglecting of this giueth occasion to troublesome heads, and to such as desire nouelties to execute their wicked purposes, and to trouble the estate: and the libertie of armour maketh them more fierce and insolent therein. Moreouer we may comprehend that which is requisite and necessarie for the preseruation of euery good Common-wealth vnder fiue things: namely, let it be loued faithfully, defended manfully, adorned with nobilitie, ordred profitably, and gouerned prudently. It is naturally ingrafted into euery liuing creature, to loue that place where it tooke beginning. The sauage beastes (saith *Cassiodorus*) loue woods and forests: birds loue the ayre: fishes the sea and riuers: men loue the originall place of their birth and being: in a worde, both men and beastes loue those places where they purpose to liue and to continue long. He that is more in loue (saith *Aristotle*) with his priuate profite, than with publike wealth, looseth the name of a good citizen, and taketh vnto him the name of a wicked subiect. Therfore euery one both great and small ought to dedicate all good gifts in them to the benefit of their country, louing their fellow-subiects, & exercising their charges & callings faithfully. It is their dutie also manfully to defend the common-wealth against all forraine incursions: and he that defendeth his countrey, defendeth himselfe and his. He that refuseth to die (as *Cicero* saith) in the defence of his countrey, dieth togither with it: which being ouerthrowen, the inhabitants are therewithall destroyed. No man therefore ought to feare daunger in defence of his countrey: and it is better to die for many than with many. They that die (said *Iustinian* the emperour) in the defence of their Common-wealth, liue alwaies by glorie. Therefore euery one ought to arme himselfe with manhood,

The fourteenth.

Fiue necessary things for the preseruation of euery common-wealth.

All liuing creatures loue the place of their birth.

It is the dutie of euery subiect to defend his countrey.

hood, which is one kind of Heroicall fortitude, as the morall Philoſophers ſay, that he may be ſeruiceable for the ſafegard of his countrey in time of need, and of a iuſt war.

The nobilitie is the ornament of a Common-wealth.

The nobilitie is the ornament of euery Common-wealth. For commonly the nobles are of greater abilitie, of better behauior & more ciuill than the common people, than artificers, and men of baſe eſtate, bicauſe they haue beene brought vp from their infancie in al ciuilitie and amongſt men of honor. Moreouer to haue a noble hart & inuincible to reſiſt the enimie, great to exerciſe liberalitie, curteous and honeſt in talk, bold to execute, gentle to forgiue, are graces & vertues proceeding from honeſtie, which are not ſo commonly found among men of baſe condition, as among thoſe that come of good & ancient ſtocks. For this cauſe there was in Rome a law called *proſapia*, that is to ſay, the law of linage, wherby it was ordained, that they which deſcended from the race of the *Fuluians*, *Torquates*, & *Fabritians*, ſhould haue the Conſulſhip, when it ſo fell out, that the Senate diſagreed about the election of Conſuls. In like maner they that came of *Lycurgus* in Lacedæmon, of *Cato* in Vtica, of *Thucidides* in Galatia, were not onely priuiledged in their own Prouinces, but alſo greatly honoured of all nations. The defence and preſeruation of the countrey belongeth chiefly to the nobles, as they that haue greater vſe and practiſe of weapons, than the common people haue, whom God & nature haue ſubiected to them, that they ſhould be their defendors & protectors. In this ſort then is the Common-wealth decked and adorned of the nobilitie, & by their means honored of neighbor-friends, and feared of hir enimies. Next it muſt be ordred profitably. Where no order is, there is all confuſiō. And therfore as a good father of a familie taketh order in his houſe, and a Pilote in his ſhip: ſo the magiſtrate muſt appoint an order in his citie & common-wealth. For all communitie is confuſion, if by order it be not brought to vnitie. Order is the due diſpoſition of all things. The order of the heauens, times & ſeaſons teacheth vs among other things the wiſdom of the Creator, who hath appointed all diuine, ce-

Of the law *proſapia*.

To whom the defence of a countrey chiefly belongeth.

What order is.

leſtiall

leſtiall and earthly things by a wonderful diſpoſitiō. Neither doth any thing make magiſtrates of common-welths more admired & commended, than the good order which they eſtabliſh in them. The end of all good order tendeth to profit, as the end of confuſion to loſſe and deſtruction. And if profit be to be conſidered in any thing, it is chiefly to be thought vpon in a politike body. *The more common & generall a good thing is* (ſaith *Ariſtotle*) *ſo much the more is it to be eſteemed aboue another.* Therefore if it be a good thing and cōmendable to appoint a profitable order in a houſe or ſhip: it is a great deale better, yea moſt excellent, to order a Common-wealth profitably. Laſt of all a Common-wealth muſt be gouerned prudently. Gouernment preſuppoſeth order, bicauſe no man can rightly and duly gouerne without order. Gouernement is a right diſpoſition of thoſe thinges of which a man taketh charge vpon him to bring them to a conuenient ende. Euery Monarch, Emperour, King, Prince, Lord, Magiſtrate, Prelate, Iudge and ſuch like, may bee called a Gouernour: in whom wiſedome, patience, and diligence are neceſſarilie required for the diſcharge of their dueties. Neither may ignoraunce or any errour be receyued for ſufficient excuſe of him that hath taken vpon him a publike charge, and much leſſe if he required and ſought for it himſelfe. Yea he may bee charged with the leaſt fault, eſpeciallie when it concerneth the eſtate, or ſome great matter wherein the Common-wealth hath intereſt. For this cauſe wee ſayd, that the Common-wealth muſt bee gouerned with Prudence. But Prudence (ſayth *Ariſtotle*) preſuppoſeth wiſedome, and is the right reaſon of thinges that are to bee done. Without Prudence (ſaith *Xenophon*) wee can haue no vſe at all of vertue. For in the adminiſtration eyther of priuate or publique matters, wee can come to no good ende, without the direction of Prudence, which teacheth vs to prouide for thinges to come, to order thinges preſent, and to call to minde thinges paſt. Wee haue heretofore diſcourſed more at large both of that vertue, and alſo of o-

The end of order.

What gouernment is.

Ignorance is no ſufficient excuſe for a magiſtrate.

What prudence is.

thers

thers requiſite in euery magiſtrate for the faithfull execution of his charge. Whereunto we wil adde this thing only, that euery gouernor muſt remember, that lordſhip, empire, kingdom, maieſtie, dominion and power are rather heathen than chriſtian wordes: and that the empire of a chriſtian prince is nothing elſe but a iuſt adminiſtration, protection and meane to do good. Therfore when he beholdeth an innumerable multitude of his ſubiectes, he is to thinke that ſo many millions of men depend of his carefulnes, not to do with them what pleaſeth him, but to labour and trauell to make them better than when he receiued them. And in all things wherein the ſafetie of the common-wealth conſiſteth, whether it be in preuenting the cauſes of change therein, or in redreſſing ſeditions which trouble it, he muſt always reſolue with himſelfe to bring his purpoſe to paſſe, how difficult ſoeuer the way be, releaſing rather ſomewhat of the extremitie of right, (as *Lucius Papinius* ſaid) ſeeing the quietnes and ſafetie of the people is the chiefeſt, and moſt vpright lawe among men that can be. So that when the Common-wealth is in danger or in neceſſitie, we muſt freely beſtow vpon that bloud and name, which is commō to vs with all the members of the politike body, whatſoeuer cannot bee kept backe without violating that common kindred, and the eſtate of the common-wealth. So that if he hinder publike benefit, and hurt the eſtate, it is not to be called right any longer, as *Appius Claudius* ſaid, ſpeaking of the authoritie of the Tribunes among the people of Rome. And it is a point of true and naturall prudence ſometime to giue place to the times, but to neceſſitie always. A good Pilote neuer oppoſeth himſelfe wilfully againſt a tempeſt, but ſtriketh ſaile and keepeth himſelfe ſtill: then waighing his anchors, he floteth ſafely vpon the waues, which not long before were ſwollen and lift vp to drowne him. If a man ſtriue againſt a tempeſt and againſt heauen, doth he not euen blindfold caſt himſelfe downe headlong, and as it were deſperately ſeeke his owne deſtruction? Now if all theſe things hetherto mentioned by vs be diligently obſerued,

What a chriſtian empire is.

We muſt ſpare no coſt to help the common-wealth.

ſerued, there is no doubt (God proſpering all) but that the preſeruation of Eſtates and Monarchies, with good remedies to keepe them from trouble and ſedition will follow after.

Of the Harmonie and agreement that ought to be in the diſſimilitude or vnlike callings of ſubiects, by reaſon of the duetie and office of euery eſtate. Chap. 66.

ACHITOB. WE ſaw before (my companions) that a citie or ciuill company is nothing elſe but a multitude of men vnlike in eſtates or conditions, which communicate togither in one place their artes, occupations, workes and exerciſes, that they may liue the better, & are obedient to the ſame lawes and magiſtrates. We learned alſo, that of ſuch a diſſimilitude an harmonicall agreement ariſeth by due proportion of one towards another in their diuers orders & eſtates, euen as the harmonie in muſicke conſiſteth of vnequall voyces or ſounds agreeing equally togither. I am of opinion therefore, that to prouoke euery one particularly to ſeeke after and to practiſe this apt agreement, we are to conſider ſeuerally of all the principall partes that are in a politike body well ordred, and to handle the ſeuerall dutie and office of euery one of them. But I leaue the diſcourſe of this matter to you.

ASER. As there is but one Lord, one faith, one Baptiſme, one God and father of all, which is aboue all and through all, and in vs all: ſo all that beleeue in him ought to be one, and to haue but one hart and one ſoule, euery one referring his giftes and graces to the exerciſe of perfect charitie. Ephe. 4. 5. 6.

AMANA. Oh how happy a thing is it to ſee one flock guided vnder one God and one king in one religion and policie? Although they be many mẽbers, yet they make but one bodie, of which euery one hath a like eare. But let

vs heare ARAM diſcourſe at large vpō that which is here propounded vnto vs.

ARAM. As we ſee that in the body of this vniuerſall frame, there is (as the Philoſophers ſay) matter, forme, priuation, ſimplicitie, mixture, ſubſtaunce, quantitie, action and paſſion, and that the whole world being compounded of vnlike elementes, of earth, water, ayre and fire, is notwithſtanding preſerued by an Analogie and proportion, which they haue togither: and as we ſee in a mans body, head, hands, feete, eyes, noſe, eares: in a houſe, the husband, wife, children, maſter, ſeruaunts: in a politike body, magiſtrates, nobles, common people, artificers; and that euery body mingled with heate, cold, drie and moyſt, is preſerued by the ſame reaſon of analogie and proportion which they haue togither: So is it in euery common-wealth well appointed and ordred, which conſiſting of many and ſundry ſubiects, is maintained by their vnitie, being brought to be of one conſent & wil, and to communicate their works, artes and exerciſes together for common benefit & profit. For euery one is beſt in his own arte, neither can all men do all things. And if it be a very hard matter to bee excellent in any one vocation, it is impoſſible to excel in al, & to exerciſe them duly. Now we ſay that ſixe things are neceſſarily required to frame a happy citie & ciuil ſocietie, namely, ſacrifices, iudgements, armes, riches, artes, and Aliments: vnto which ſixe things and works, ſix ſortes of men are anſwerable, Paſtors, magiſtrates, nobles, burgeſſes, artificers, and husbandmen. Therfore to begin the particular handling of the dutie & office of theſe callings, and that as briefly as I can, we are firſt to note, that neuer any nation in all the world was ſo barbarous, or ſo farre eſtranged from ciuilitie, that did not acknowledge and adore ſome diuine nature, and vſe ſome kind of ſacrifices, and ſo conſequently that had not ſome prieſts to exerciſe them, & ſome proper ceremonies. *Ariſtotle* in his Politikes ſaith expreſly, that it is a neceſſary thing to haue prieſts in euery city, to take care of the worſhip of the gods and of ſacrifices. Euery worke that we do

All things ſtand by proportion.

Six ſundry callings of men neceſſary in euery good common-wealth.

No nation but adoreth ſome diuinitie.

The ſacrifices of Chriſtians.

do (saith *Augustine*) to be ioyned neerer to God by a holy societie, is a sacrifice. There are three general sorts of sacrifices: the first is the sacrifice of the soule, which we offer to God by contrition, deuotion, contemplation and prayer: the second is of the body, which we offer to God by fasting, abstinence, or by suffring martyrdom to maintain his law, iustice and truth. The third sacrifice is of outward goods, whē we offer them vnto him in the works of charitie according to his holy ordinance. So that if sacrifices and priests always took place among the Barbarians, much more careful ought they to be to maintaine this diuine mysterie, that adore and perfectly know God. And as men haue liued vnder three lawes, the law of Nature, the written law, and the law of Grace, so there were sacrifices and priests vnder euery one of them. *Melchizedech* liued vnder the law of Nature, *Aaron* vnder the written lawe, and vnder the law of Grace, vnder which we liue at this present, Iesus Christ that great and eternall Priest and Sacrificer, who hath offered himselfe a sacrifice for our redemption, and hath left vs his disciples and Apostles, and their successours to be our pastors in the guiding of our soules vnder his Testament and new couenaunt, which is the infallible rule of his holy and iust will. Therefore let them that boast, that they are called of God to such an excellent charge, looke to discharge themselues faithfully, by teaching the truth and leading a life agreeable to their doctrine. Otherwise, if they sit in the chaire of pestilence (as *Dauid* speaketh) let them looke for a horrible iudgement of God vpō their soules, when he shall say vnto them by way of reproch; that in this world they sate in their pōtificall seates, as the Scribes and Pharisies did long since in the chaire of *Moses*. *Their watchmen* (saith *Esay* speaking of euil pastors) *are all blinde: they haue no knowledge, they are dumbe dogs: they cannot barke: they lie and sleepe, and delight in sleeping. These greedie dogs can neuer haue enough, & these sheepheards cannot vnderstand: for they all looke to their owne way, euery one for his aduantage, & for his owne purpose.* But contrarywise, *A Pastor* (saith Saint *Paule*) *must be vnreprooueable,*

Three sorts of sacrifices.

Of priests and pastors.

Wherein the office of true pastors consisteth.

Esa. 56. 10. 11.

Against dumbe dogs and couetous sheepheards.

Tit. 1. 7. 8. 9.

as

The qualities of a good paſtor.

as Gods ſteward, not froward, not angry, not giuen to wine, no ſtriker, not giuen to filthie lucre, but harberous, one that loueth goodneſſe: wiſe, righteous, holy, temperate, holding faſt the faithfull worde according to doctrine, that he alſo may be able to exhort with wholeſome doctrine, and improoue them that ſay againſt it.

1. Pet. 5. 2. 3.

Feede the flocke of Chriſt, which dependeth vppon you (ſaith Saint *Peter*) *caring for it, not by conſtraint, but willingly, not for filthie lucre, but of a ready minde: not as though yee were lordes ouer Gods heritage, but that ye may be enſamples to the flocke.* Therefore if Paſtors preach the Goſpell, giue example of good life by their workes, fight againſt the enimies of the truth with the weapons of charitie, prayers, perſwaſions, teſtimonies of the holy ſcripture: if they remooue from them couetouſneſſe, pride, diſſoluteneſſe, and ſuperfluitie of expences, and walke in this ſort in their vocation, the firſt place of honour is due to them amongſt men, and a greater and vnſpeakable prepared for them in heauen. The ſecond thing that is neceſſarie in euery Common-wealth and citie, are iudgements, and conſequently magiſtrates to execute them. But bicauſe we diſcourſed at large of this matter before, we will not ſtand long vpon it, but comprehend in few wordes the whole duetie and office of a good magiſtrate, which conſiſteth in foure things: In taking nothing vniuſtly from any body, in giuing to euery one his owne, in deſpiſing his owne profit, and in preſeruing publike profite. He performeth theſe duties perfectly by the diſtribution of iuſtice into ſeuen partes: *by procuring that God may be worſhipped, that reuerence be giuen to ſuperiours, that concord be amongſt equals, that diſcipline bee vſed towards inferiours, patience towardes enimies, mercy towards the poore, and that integritie of life proceede from himſelfe.* Nowe let vs conſider of Armes, and of Nobles. Armes (as *Varro* ſaith) are all warlike inſtrumentes, ſeruing both to ſet vpon our enimies, and to defend our ſelues from their aſſaultes and enterpriſes. They are neceſſarie in a Common-wealth and citie for theſe three cauſes, to reſiſt the outward force of enimies, and to keepe them in feare: to repreſſe naughtie citizens, both by

Vices to be auoided in a paſtor.

The dutie of a good magiſtrate conſiſteth in foure things.

Iuſtice diſtributed into 7. parts.

Of armes and of the neceſſitie of them.

by compelling them to obey magiſtrates and lawes, and by puniſhing the guiltie: and laſt of all, to defend the libertie of ſubiects. The exerciſe and vſe of armes, warres and battels, hath from all antiquitie been committed to the noble men. Nobilitie (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) is a glittering excellencie proceeding from aunceſtors, and an honour that commeth from an auncient linage and ſtocke. What nobilitie is.

Or, (according to *Boetius Seuerinus*) nobilitie is a prayſe that proceedeth from the deſerts of our Elders, and forefathers. Many make three kindes of Nobilitie: one that is bred of vertue and of excellent deedes: the ſecond that proceedeth from the knowledge of honeſt diſciplines and true ſciences: and the third that commeth from the ſcutchions and armes of our aunceſtors, or from riches. But to ſpeake truely, there is no right Nobilitie, but that which ſpringeth of vertue, and good conditions. For as he is a thiefe that ſtealeth, and he vniuſt that doth vniuſtly: ſo he is a vile and baſe perſon, that dealeth vilanouſly. He boaſteth in vaine of his great linage, and ſeeketh to be eſteemed for the nobilitie and vertue of his aunceſtours, that hath no goodneſſe in him, nor commendable qualitie of his owne to ioine with thoſe of his predeceſſors. Let no man pleaſe himſelfe too much (ſaith *Agapetus*) in the nobilitie of his anceſtors, for all men haue dung for their ſtock from whence they come: both they that are pricked vp in purple and fine linnen, & they that are afflicted with pouertie and ſickneſſe: as well they that are decked with crownes, as they that lie naked vpon the ſtrawe. Let vs not therfore brag of our earthly race, but let vs glory in the integritie of maners. Although vice be in one that commeth of noble blond, yet is it always lothſome and infamous: yea it doth ſo much the more appeere ſhameful & odious, as it is ioyned with greater nobilitie. But vertue is the very liuely colour & ornament of nobilitie, and cauſeth it to be honored for loue of it ſelfe only. *All kings and princes* (ſaith *Plato*) *came of ſlaues, and all ſlaues of kings. What profite is there* (ſaith *Macrine* the Emperour writing to the Senate of Rome) *in nobilitie, if the hart of a prince be not repleniſhed with bountie*

Three kinds of nobilitie.

Which is right nobilitie.

Macrines letter to the Senate of Rome touching nobilitie.

bountie and gentlenes towards his ſubiectes? The goods of fortune come oftentimes to the vnworthie, but the vertue of the ſoule always maketh a man worthie of the greateſt praiſe. Nobilitie, riches and ſuch like, come from without a man, & are ſubiect to corruption: but iuſtice, bountie, and other vertues, are not only wonderfull bicauſe they come from the ſoule, but procure alſo to him that hath them & vſeth them vertuouſly, a perfection of all felicitie. Yea it is far better and more commendable in a man, to leaue to his poſteritie a good beginning of nobilitie by vertue, than to defame by villanie & wicked behauior that praiſe which he hath receiued frõ his predeceſſors. Therefore we ought not to be puft vp with pride bicauſe we come of a great race, ſeeing that honour belongeth more to our progenitors thã to vs, if we be not noble by our owne vertue. Is not one God (as *Malachie* ſaith) father of vs all? He made the firſt kings of a poore & baſe ſtock, to teach vs, that men ought not through arrogancie, & vaine boaſting of their nobilitie, eſteeme themſelues better than others, but ſo far forth only as his holy gifts and graces are more abundantly in them. *Saule* was choſen king as he was ſeeking his fathers aſſes: *Dauid*, whẽ he was a ſheepheard, and the yongeſt of his brethren. The brier and the roſe came of one and the ſame roote: ſo noble-men and vile perſons came of one maſſe and lumpe. The brier is reiected bicauſe it pricketh, & the roſe for hir good ſmel is eſteemed and held in mens hands. So he that maketh himſelfe vile through vice, ought to be reiected, and he that is odoriferous and ſmelleth ſweetly by good vertues and noble actions, ought to bee eſteemed, honoured and accounted noble of what race & ſtocke ſoeuer he commeth. True it is, that ancient nobilitie ioined with excellent vertue, is very commendable among men, eſpecially in euery monarchie wel eſtabliſhed, of which the nobilitie is the chiefeſt pillar, being appointed by God, and approoued by the law of man, for their fidelitie towardes their kings, and defence of their ſubiects, wherein the true dutie and office of noble-men conſiſteth. Riches are the fourth thing neceſſary in euery common-welth, and conſequently citizens, who commonly poſſeſſe them, and are ſetled

Malach. 2.10.

When nobilitie of birth is to be eſteemed.

Of riches and burgeſſes.

ſetled from all antiquitie in towns, hauing rents, reuenues and poſſeſſions, and being as it were the ſtrong pillars of cities, and of the whole political body. *Cicero* ſaith, that riches are the ſinews of battels. For as the whole body of a man feeleth & moueth by the ſinewes: ſo the body of the common-wealth receiueth ſtrength & power by riches, to gather men of war togither in defence of hir libertie. For this cauſe *Ariſtotle* in his plat-forme of a happy common-welth requireth abundance of wealth and money to help publike affairs at home, & warlike matters abroad. And in another place he ſaith, that a happy life conſiſteth in the perfect vſe of vertue, aſſiſted with bodily & external goods, as with inſtruments that ſerue to execute honeſt actions wel & vertuouſly. It is certain that gold & ſiluer in reſpect of the ſoule, are neither good nor ill, but by good vſage they are made profitable for this life, & the abuſe of them is hurtful both to the body & ſoule. And in deed riches of their own nature are not to be condemned. *Abraham*, *Lot*, *Iacob*, & *Iob* were rich & holy men. *Ioſephus* writeth that neuer any king, either of the Hebrews, or of any other nation, left ſo great riches to his ſucceſſor, as *Dauid* did to *Salomon*. For he left him to build the temple withal, 10000. talents of gold, & 100000. of ſiluer, beſide infinite ſtore of ſtuffe, of wonderful coſt and value, which he had cauſed to be prepared & made readie. The ſumptuouſneſſe of that Temple, as it is deſcribed by this Hiſtoriographer, is wonderfull. He ſaith that it was made and finiſhed in ſeuen yeeres by 80000. Maſons, 3200. Ouerſeers, & 30000. Hebrewes that hewed wood in the foreſt, and 70000. others that brought ſtones and ſuch like matter for the worke. If the riches of the Romane Empire had not been great, I meane both the publique and priuate wealth, it is certaine, that it had not ſo long time maintained it ſelfe in ſuch a glorious and flouriſhing eſtate, as the like was neuer before, cauſing the fartheſt and moſt vnknowen nations to ſtand in feare of hir weapons. Hereof wee haue good proofe by that which we read of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, who ordinarily defrayed the charges of 44. Legions, which

Riches are the ſinewes of war.

They are neceſſary in a Common-wealth.

The exceeding riches that Dauid left to Salomon.

The number of workmen about Salomons temple.

Auguſtus maintained yeerely 44. legions of ſouldiors.

amounted yeerely to twelue millions of gold. But the Romane empire was then come to the top of hir greatneſſe, hauing for hir bounds the riuer of Euphrates on the East ſide, the Oceã ſea on the Weſt, on the South ſide the fruitfull region of Africa, and on the North ſide the riuers of Rhine and Danubius. At this day 50. kingdoms & eſtates are diuided out of that monarchy. Therfore if the citizens of the common-wealth poſſeſſe riches, if they imploy thé vpon good workes, and that liberally for the tuition, defence and ſetting foorth of their countrey, they behaue themſelues like good citizens, borne to do good, and to profit the Common-wealth. The fift thing neceſſary in euery good Common-wealth and citie, are occupations and conſequently craftſ-men. An arte is a habite of working according to right reaſon, as *Ariſtotle* ſaith. Or elſe an arte is the knowledge of ſome certain thing gotten by vſe, inſtruction or reaſon, tending to neceſſary vſes for mans life. Some artes conſiſt in Speculation, and others in practiſe. We call Speculation Theoricall, that is to ſay, Speculatiue: and Action practicall, that is to ſay, Actiue. This word Artificer is deriued of the worde Arte. Nowe bicauſe that nature is moſt perfect next to God, the neerer that arte approcheth to nature, the better and perfecter it is, as appeereth in images and pictures: ſo that arte is nothing elſe but an imitation of nature. Thoſe Artes that are commonly called Mechanicall, or handy-craftes, whereby they differ from liberall Artes, of which we haue alreadie diſcourſed, are of diuers ſortes. For the better vnderſtanding of them wee will preſuppoſe that man hath need of three temporall things for the maintenaunce of this life, namely, of *Alimentes*, *Houſes*, and *Clothing*. He ſtandeth in neede of Alimentes to reſtore the conſumption of radicall moyſture, waſted away by naturall heate, (as the weeke conſumeth the oyle in the Lampe) I ſaye to reſtore it agayne by moyſt nouriſhment, as by breade, wine, fleſh, and other aliments, without which a man could not liue. Theſe nutrimentes are prouided and prepared by men of Occupations, as by Butchers, Fiſhmongers, Bakers,

The limites of the Romane Empire in the time of Auguſtus.

Of Artes and Artificers.

What an Arte or occupatió is.

Arte is an imitation of nature.

Three things neceſſary for the life of man.

The vſe of Aliments.

Bakers, Cookes, Vintners, and other handycraftſ-men, which ſerue and looke to the prouiſion of victuals. Next, mẽ haue need of houſes, that euery one may haue his priuate place of refuge to keep his body, familie, & goods vnder couert: & theſe are edifices and frames erected by the arte of building, & made by Maſons, Carpenters, Geometricians, Sawyers, Ioiners, & other handycrafts that are occupied in caruing. Likewiſe a city, in reſpect both of ornament & of defence, ſtandeth in need of wals, towers, bulwarks, rampires, andother things of defence, as alſo of temples and other common places: all which cannot be made without the artes of building and of Maſonry. The third thing which men ſtand in need of, are garments to clothe themſelues withall, to preſerue natural heat, and to keep out external cold: & theſe are prouided by Mercers, Drapers, Tailors, Hoſiers, & ſuch like. Beſides the abouenamed things we ſtand in need of armour & of horſes to defend our libertie, and for our greater commoditie: and ſo conſequently Armorers, Glazers, Sadlers, Spur-makers, Smithes and ſuch like, are neceſſarie. Likewiſe for the preſeruation and recouerie of our health, we muſt honor the Phyſition, Chirurgion, Apothecarie, Drug-ſeller and ſuch like. The dutie and office of all artificers, is to auoyd idlenes, ſlooth, and negligence, and eſpecially to vſe no deceit in their artes, but to referre the end of their labours more to common profite than to their priuate gaine. And for the auoiding of Ingroſſers, it is very expedient that the craftſ-men ſhould be diuided into diuers parts of the city, and not placed all on a rowe in one quarter therof, as they do in the townes of Afrike, and in many cities of Europe. For beſides the diſcommodities in great townes, when euery quarter hath not in it ſuch artificers as are commonly neceſſary, it is to be feared that there wil be amongſt thẽ Ingroſſers to fore-ſtall the merchandiſe and wares: or elſe iealouſie and quarels are to be feared, if one ſell better cheape than another, euen before his eyes that refuſed to take that money. It is true, that ſuch artificers as are leaſt required, as men that liue by the hammer, may be ranged

The vſe of houſes.

The vſe of garments.

The dutie of all artificers.

Artificers of one Science, ought not to dwell all togither.

in one quarter, that thereby they may be ſeparated from men of learning and quietnes. The ſixt and laſt thing neceſſary in a Common-wealth remaineth to be conſidered of, namely, Aliments, and conſequently labourers. We haue already ſpoken of Aliments: but as for that which concerneth husbandry eſpecially, there is no other arte, that doth more awaken the minde of man, that raiſeth his ſences more, that affoordeth greater pleaſure, or is more neceſſarie and profitable for the life of man, than husbandry. Moreouer nothing ſauoureth of greater antiquitie, nothing doth better diſcouer the greatnes of the works of God, nothing doth caſt forth more liuely marks and beames of a wonderful diuinitie, than husbandry. For moſt of other arts were inuented long time after man was created of God, and augmented ſince by the induſtrie of many. Onely husbandry gaue ſufficient teſtimonie of it ſelf, & of the incomprehenſible power of God, when preſently after the creation of the elements there came out of the bowels of the earth all kinds of herbes and plants garniſhed with their proper vertues for the ſeruice & commoditie of man. Man himſelf alſo by a diuine and natural inſtinct hath been from the beginning more enclined and diſpoſed to the tillage of the earth, than to any other ſtudie & vocation whatſoeuer: as we read of our firſt fathers who commonly called themſelues Laborers of the earth, and feeders of cattell. Husbandry and the countrey life were ſo much commended & eſteemed of the auncients, that many of them haue written ſundry bookes therof in Greek & Latin: and many monarchs haue heretofore left their great palaces, & contemned their purple robes and diademes, that they might giue themſelues to the manuring of countrey cómodities. *Cyrus* was neuer better pleaſed and contented, than whē he might be dreſſing of ſome goodly piece of ground, and ſetting of a certaine number of trees checker-wiſe. *Diocleſian* forſook the ſcepter of his empire, that he might with-draw himſelfe into the fields, and trim with his owne hands, trees, graffs, ſeuerall plots of ground, and gardens. Beſides in husbandry and the countrey

Of Aliments & labourers.

The prayſe of husbandry.

The antiquitie therof.

Men haue been always more inclined to huſbandry than to any other vocation.

Princes haue forſaken their diademes to fall to husbandry.

Cyrus.

Diocleſian.

countrey life, profite aboundeth with pleasure and gaine with delight. As for profite it is very euident. For a good husbandman is alwais prouided of bread, wine, flesh, fruit, wood, and other Aliments. And concerning pleasure, it is incredible to one that hath skill and will to consider of the maruels of nature, besides a thousand delights, with exercises as pleasaunt and profitable for his health as can be. And that benefit which is most excellent and chiefest of all, I meane tranquillitie of mind may more easily bee obtained by the Muses darlings, and louers of knowledge in the midst of the open fields and pleasaunt sound of waters, than amongst the noise of suites & dissentions wherwith cities are replenished. It belongeth to the dutie of labourers to liue in their simplicitie, and to do their endeuor in tilling the fields. For the performing hereof they stand in need of 3. things: of skill to know the nature of the soile, and the seasons of sowing and gathering: of will to be diligent and carefull to continue in their countrey labour: and lastly, of abilitie to prouide oxen, horses, cattell, & other instruments of husbandrie. By this discourse therefore we may see what things are most requisite and necessarie for the institution of a happy common-wealth, and that no man is so industrious, wittie or prudent, that of himselfe without the helpe of another he can liue without societie, and minister to himselfe all necessary things. For this cause the fellowship of many togither was found out, that by teaching, iudging, defending, giuing, taking, changing, seruing and communicating their works and exercises one with an other, they might liue well and commodiously togither. Which thing will vndoubtedly come to passe in euery Common-wealth, when euery one walking in his vocation, directeth his will and worke to the seruice of God, his prince and countrey.

Profit and pleasure are ioyned togither in husbandry.

The countrey fitter for students than the citie.

The dutie of husbandmen.

Three things necessary for them.

Of Peace, and of Warre. Chap. 67.

ARAM. IVstinian the Emperor in the Preface of his Institutions saith: That it is necessarie for the imperial maiesty to haue respect to two times, namely, of peace and of warre, that it may be prouided against all euents either of the one or the other. Lawes and good politike statutes are necessary for it in time of peace, that the Prouinces may be quietly gouerned: but in time of warre it must alwayes haue armour readie and conuenient forces, to helpe friends, to resist enimies, and to containe disobedient subiectes within compasse. Nowe hauing hitherto intreated of that policie, which chiefly respecteth the tyme of peace, we must hereafter (my companions) referre to our discourses that small knowledge which we haue of warlike discipline. And first I thinke we must oppose these times of peace and warre one agaynst the other, and consider of their cleane contrary effectes, that we may bee so much the more easily ledde and perswaded to desire and procure that which is best and most profitable for euery estate and monarchie. Therefore I propounde vnto you this matter to discourse vpon.

Euery commonwealth must be always prouided against all euents both of peace & warre.

ACHITOB. *If it be possible, as much as in you is* (saith the Apostle) *haue peace with all men: and let the peace of God rule in your hartes, to the which ye are called in one body*. For truely without peace all riches is but pouertie, all mirth but mourning, all life but death. But no man can perfectly know the benefit of peace, that hath had no triall of the burthen of warre.

Rom.12.18. Col.3.15.

ASER. *If ye walke in my ordinaunces* (saith the eternall God) *I will send peace in the land: but if ye will not obey me, but despise mine ordinaunces, I will send a sword vpon you, that shall auenge the quarell of my couenaunt, and ye shall be deliuered into the hand of the enimie*. Now let vs heare AMANA discourse vpon that which is here propounded vnto vs.

Leuit.26.3.6. 14.15.25.

AMANA. *Lycurgus* entring into the gouernement of the

the Lacedemonians, and finding their Eſtate greatly corrupted, determined with himſelfe to change their whole Policie. For he thought that if he ſhould onely make ſome particular lawes and ordinances, it would doe no more good, than a ſlender medicine would profit a corrupt bodie full of many diſeaſes, before order were taken for the purging, reſoluing, and conſuming of the euill humors, that a new forme and rule of life might afterward be preſcribed. His enterpriſe although great and difficult, yet fell out very well, and his lawes were receiued & approoued of the people, after a little force and feare wherwith at firſt they were reſtrained. But this law-maker referred all his lawes to warre and to victorie, and kept his ſubiects in continuall exerciſe of Armes, not ſuffering them to learne any other ſcience or handi-craft, vnto which he appointed the Ilotes onely, who were men brought in ſubiection by the right of warre. Whereby *Lycurgus* ſeemeth to haue beene of this mind, that force ought to be miſtres in all worldly matters, and that other things ſerue to no purpoſe if they want Armes, which by a certaine right of warre that ſhall alwaies continue amongſt men, bring in ſubiection to Conquerours the perſons & goods of thoſe whome they ouercome. It ſeemeth alſo he thought, that there was neuer any true peace amongſt men, but onely in name, and that all Princes and people liue in continuall diſtruſt one of another, and doe nothing elſe for the moſt part but watch how to ſurprize each other, (as *Plutark* elegantly ſetteth it out) notwithſtanding all leagues and goodly agreements that paſſe betweene them. *Numa Pompilius*, ſecond king of the Romanes, cleane contrary to *Lycurgus*, was ſo farre in loue with peace, and referred all his lawes in ſuch ſort thereunto, that during his raigne, there was neither warre, nor ciuil diſſention, nor any motion of noueltie in the gouernment of the Commonwealth. Much leſſe was there any enmitie or enuie conceiued againſt him particularly, or conſpiracie againſt his perſon through deſire of ruling, but all occaſions of war being extinguiſhed and remooued, the Temple of *Ianus*

Lycurgus referred all his lawes to warre, appointing the Ilotes onely to deale with occupations.

Numa referred all his lawes to peace.

was

The keeping of Ianus Temple ſhut, was a ſigne of peace among the Romanes.

was continually kept ſhut for the ſpace of fortie yeeres, which was a ſigne of peace amongeſt the Romanes. For not onely at Rome the people were tractable through the example of the iuſtice, clemencie, & goodnes of king *Numa*, but alſo in the townes round about there was a maruellous alteration of manners: inſomuch that as the beames of a cleare Sunne are diſperſed abroad, ſo there was ſhedde in the hartes of men a ſecrete deſire to liue in peace, to labour the grounde, to bring vppe their children quietly, and to ſerue and honour their gods. And *Plutarke* writeth in his life, that in his time there was nothing but feaſtes, plaies, ſacrifices, and bankets throughout all Italy: ſo that a man might ſay, that the wiſedome of *Numa* was a liuely fountaine of all goodnes and honeſtie, out of which many riuers iſſued to water all Italy, and that his peaceable prudence was communicated as it were from hande to hande vnto the whole worlde. Nowe, although theſe two men haue beene greatly praiſed and commended for ſundrie rare vertues, yet all men approoue not the extremities which they followed in this forme of gouernment. For as he is pernitions that mooueth and continueth warre onely to ſubdue his neighbours, to inlarge the borders of his countrie, and to vſurpe other mens right, which ſauoureth more of brutiſhnes, than of humanitie: ſo a long peace bringeth with it many diſcommodities, making men inſolent commonly through too great proſperitie, as alſo nice, lauiſh, and effeminate, through abundance of wealth and idlenes. Therefore *Plato*, *Ariſtotle* and *Polybius* reprooue *Lycurgus*, bicauſe he propounded onely the exerciſe of the vertue of warre to his Citizens, which is the leaſt of thoſe foure, that are neceſſarie for the eſtabliſhment and preſeruation of euery Empire: ſaying, that all his lawes were wel ordained to make men valiant, but not iuſt, temperat, and prudent. On the other ſide, they that are too much affected to peace and quietnes, weaken themſelues by little and little before they be aware, and by their example mollifie the courage of youth, whereby they lie open to

The diſcommodities of a long peace.

the

the iniuries of thoſe that will inuade them, and ſo looſe their libertie, not being able to defend their perſons and goods. But as the world is compounded of 4. elements, by whoſe mixture it is ſo made, that it is both ſeene and touched, & withall is preſerued in ſuch loue & concord, that it cannot be diſſolued by any other thā by him that made it: ſo euery publike Eſtate muſt be eſtabliſhed by 4. vertues, by whoſe harmony & agreement it is preſerued. And as the fire & the earth were firſt created to make the whol frame ſubiect to ſight & feeling, and then the water & the aire mingled with them, that the diſſimilitude of thoſe extreames might be tempered according to proportion: ſo fortitude and iuſtice are firſt required in the ordaining of Common-wealths, bicauſe they cannot continue without law and ſtrength, and next prudence and temperance being ioined with them, moderate the rigour and remiſnes of both. Againe, as by theſe natures of which all things are made, being diſperſed aboue and beneath, and on all ſides, the world is preſerued and continued, ſo that light things are kept from aſcending through the waight of heauy things, & contrariwiſe heauy things held aloft, that they fal not: ſo by theſe 4. vertues diſperſed amongſt men, a Common-wealth wel inſtituted & guided by diſcipline, is maintained. And although by reaſon of the varietie and change of humane affaires it cannot continue ſo long, & ſo adorned as the worlde, yet it will abide many yeeres. Moreouer, as the elements are bred one of another, & alter to & fro, going into, & returning continually from the firſt matter, which receiueth them into it ſelfe, for which cauſe they cannot be ſeene ſimple, but mixed: wherupon ariſeth ſuch a tēperature of al things, that they wither not by drougth, nor burne with heate, neither are ouer-whelmed with too great moiſture, nor grow ſtiff with exceſſiue cold: ſo theſe vertues whereby cities are inſtituted, muſt be mingled one with another, & agree togither for their mutuall preſeruation, wiſedome beeing Preſident ouer them in which they are all contained. For they cannot maintaine them-ſelues one without another, nor keepe their

Excellent comparisons betweene the compoſition of the world, and of euery happy Common-wealth.

How the vertues are knit togither and depend one of another.

their vigor and dignitie. Iuſtice without temperance is rigour: fortitude ſeparated from iuſtice is raſhnes and crueltie, and without prudence iuſtice is but craft and futtletie. To conclude, temperance without fortitude ought rather to be called cowardlines and nicenes: whereby we ſee that they are ſo interlaced, and depend in ſuch ſort one of another, that they cannot be ſeparated. If it fal out otherwiſe, that eſtate wherein ſuch diſorder taketh place, muſt of neceſſitie be vtterly ouerthrowne or changed. Out of theſe learned Philoſophicall diſcourſes we will draw a very good leſſon: namely, that in euery Eſtate wel inſtituted for continuance, this temperature of the foure vertues muſt neceſſarily be kept, that men may be inſtructed howe to gouerne themſelues well both in time of peace and of warre, and obſerue ſuch a moderation therein, that knowing how to deale in both times, they may be ready and fit for warre when neceſſity vrgeth, hauing this end before them to attaine to peace, which muſt alwaies be preferred, as reſt is before trauell, and good before euill, as we ſhal eaſily vnderſtand by conſidering their contrary effects. It is certaine that Philoſophie is beſt exerciſed in time of peace. For when there is no trouble of war, the ſpirite is quiet, and fit for euery honeſt kind of reſt, ſo that arts and ſciences go well forward, lawes are in force, iuſtice flouriſheth, vertue ſheweth hir effects better, vice languiſheth, the zeale of pietie encreaſeth, the diſcipline of the Church is authoriſed, both the noble and meane man preſerueth and augmenteth his wealth, trade and trafficke is free: briefly, euery one receiueth good & commoditie, and ſo conſequently the whole bodie of the Common-wealth. But if we looke to thoſe effects, which the time of warre commonly bringeth foorth, the deſire of hauing is awakened, couetouſnes encreaſeth, iuſtice falleth to the ground, force and violence beareth ſway, ſpoiling raigneth, riot is ſet at libertie, wicked men are in authoritie, good men oppreſſed, innocencie troden vnder foote, maidens and wiues defloured, countries waſted, houſes burnt, Churches deſtroied, tombs broken downe, goods

Peace is to be preferred before warre.

The effects of peace.

The effects of warre.

goods ſpoiled, murders committed, all vertue baniſhed from among men, vice honoured, the lawes contemned and broken, the ſeruice of God forſaken, the eſtate of the Church derided, the nobilitie and people burdened with infinite charges and coſtes, all kinde of trade hindered: briefly, there is no calamitie or miſerie that aboundeth not in the Common-wealth in time of warre. We may iudge that kingdome happie, wherein the Prince is obedient to the lawe of God and nature, Magiſtrates to the Prince, priuate men to Magiſtrates, children to their fathers, ſeruants to their maiſters, and ſubiects being linked in loue one with another, & all of them with their Prince, enioy the ſweetenes of peace, and true quietnes of mind. But warre is cleane contrary thereunto, and ſouldiors are ſworne enimies to that kind of life. For war maketh men barbarous, mutinous, and cruell, as peace maketh them curteous, and tractable. We read that Engliſhmen were in times paſt ſo ſeditious and vntameable, that not onely their Princes could not do what they would, but alſo the Engliſh merchants were of neceſſity lodged apart by them ſelues. For ſo the towne of Antwarpe was conſtrained to do, where there was one houſe common for all merchant ſtrangers, except Engliſhmen, who had a houſe by themſelues, bicauſe they could not abide to be ioined with others. The chiefe cauſe of that ſtrang qualitie was bicauſe their countrie bordered vpon two Eſtates and Nations that were their enimies: namely, vpon the Frenchmen and Scots, with whome they had continuall warre: but ſince they concluded a peace, and ioined in league with France and Scotland, they became very mild and ciuill. And contrariwiſe the Frenchmen, who were inferiour to no nation whatſoeuer, in curteſie & humanitie, are greatly changed from their naturall diſpoſition, and become ſauage ſince the ciuill warres began. The like (as *Plutarke* ſaith) happened to the Inhabitants of Sicilia, who by meanes of continuall warre grew to be like brute beaſtes. *Archidamus* king of Lacedemonia, knowing well the effects of peace and warre heere briefly touched by vs, and hearing

What kingdom is happie.

Warre maketh men cruell, and peace gentle.

hearing that the Elians ſent ſuccors to the Archadians to warre againſt him, tooke occaſion to write vnto them after the Laconicall manner, in ſteede of a long diſcourſe. *Archidamus* to the Elians: *Peace is a goodly thing.* And another time he gaue a notable teſtimonie how farre he preferred peace before warre, when he made this anſwer to one that commended him, bicauſe hee had obtained a battell againſt the fore-ſaid Archadians: *It had beene better if we had ouercome them by prudence rather than by force.* The ſelfe ſame reaſon of louing peace, and of abhorring the breakers thereof, was the cauſe why *Cato* in a full Senate oppoſed himſelfe againſt the requeſt which *Cæſars* friendes made, that the people ſhould offer ſacrifices by way of thankſ-giuing to the gods, for the notable victories which he had gotten againſt the Germanes, of whom he had ſurprized and diſcomfited 300000. I am (ſaid *Cato*) rather of this opinion, that he ſhould be deliuered into their hands whome he hath wronged without cauſe by violating the peace, which they had with the people of Rome, that they may puniſh him as they thinke good, to the ende that the whole fault of breaking faith and promiſe with them, may be caſt vpon him alone, and not be laid vpon the citie, which is no cauſe at all thereof. And to ſay truth, wiſe men are greatly to feare all beginnings of warre. For being in the end growne to ſome ripenes, after that ſome men wanting experience in worldly affaires, haue raſhly and vnskilfully ſowne the ſeede thereof, hardly can the greateſt and wiſeſt kings plucke it vp againe without great labour and perill. Therefore they that are too deſirous and haſtie to begin warre, peruert the order of reaſon: bicauſe they beginne by execution and force, which ought to be laſt, after due conſultation. But he deſerueth greater honour and praiſe that procureth peace, and winneth the enimies harts by loue, than he that obtaineth victorie by ſhedding their blood cruelly. For this onely reaſon (ſaith *Cicero*) we muſt begin warre, that we may liue in peace, and not receiue wrong: but this muſt be done after we haue required ſatisfaction for the iniurie offred.

Archidamus letter to the Elians.

Cato miſliked Cæſar for breaking of peace.

Wherefore and when we muſt begin warre.

offered. It was for theſe conſiderations that *Phocion*, that great Athenian Captaine laboured to ſtoppe the warre, which the people of Athens had determined to make againſt the Macedonians, at the perſwaſion of *Leoſthenes*. And being demanded when he would counſell the Athenians to make warre, when I ſee (quoth he) that the yong men are fully reſolued not to leaue their rankes, that rich men contribute monie willingly, and Oratours abſtaine from robbing the Common-wealth. Neuertheles the armie was leauied againſt his counſell, and many woondering at the greatnes and beautie thereof, asked him howe he liked that preparation. It is faire for one brunt ſaid *Phocion*, but I feare the returne and continuance of the warre: bicauſe I ſee not that the citie hath any other meanes to get monie, or other Veſſels and men of warre, beſide theſe. And his foreſight was approoued by the euent. For although *Leoſthenes* proſpered in the beginning of his enterpriſe (whereupon *Phocion* being demanded whether he woulde not gladly haue doone all thoſe great and excellent things, anſwered that he would, but not haue omitted that counſell which he gaue) yet in the end he was ſlaine in that voyage, the Grecian armie ouerthrowne by *Antipater* and *Craterus* two Macedonians, and the citie of Athens brought to that extremitie, that it was conſtrained to ſende a blanke for capitulations of peace, and to receiue within it a garriſon of ſtrangers. Thus it falleth out commonly to thoſe that ſeeke for war by all meanes, either by right or wrong. Euerie Prince that deſireth it in that manner, ſtirreth vppe againſt himſelfe both the hatred and weapons of his neighbours, he vexeth and greeueth his ſubiects vnwoorthily, ſeeking rather to rule ouer them by violence, than to gaine their good will by iuſtice: he quite ouer-throweth his Countrie, preferring dominion, and greatnes of his owne glorie, before the benefite, quietnes, and ſafetie thereof: and often-times he diminiſheth his owne authoritie, and is brought in ſubiection to his enimies, whilſt he laboreth to poſſeſſe another mans right by force. *Auguſtus* the Emperour

Phocion diſſwaded the Athenians from warre.

The fruits of vniuſt warre.

When a warre is lawfull.

perour ſaid, that to haue a good and lawfull warre, it muſt be commended by the Gods, and iuſtified by the Philoſophers. And *Ælius Spartianus* affirmeth, that *Traian* only of all the Romane Emperors was neuer ouercome in battell, bicauſe he vndertooke no war, except the cauſe thereof was very iuſt. But we may ſay, that no warre betweene Chriſtians is ſo iuſtified, but that ſtill there remaineth ſome cauſe of ſcruple. The teſtimonie of *Antigonus* the elder, wherein he accuſeth himſelfe, is very notable to ſhewe what great wickednes and iniuſtice is in warre, when he vſed this ſpeech to a Philoſopher that offered and dedicated vnto him a treatiſe, which he had made of iuſtice. *Thou art a foole, my friend, to come and tel me of iuſtice, when thou ſeeſt me beate downe other mens townes.* *Cæſar* anſwered little leſſe to *Metellus* a Tribune of the people, who being deſirous to keepe him from taking the monie that was in the common treaſurie, alleadged vnto him the lawes that forbad it: to whome this Monarch replied, that the time of warre, and the time of lawes were twaine. Moreouer, we ſee that famine and the peſtilence commonly follow war. For the abundance of all things being waſted, want of victuals muſt of neceſſitie ſucceede, whereupon many diſeaſes grow. Briefly, it bringeth with it nothing but a heape of all euils and miſeries, and eaſily draweth and allureth the violence and euill diſpoſition of many to followe the ſtate of the time. For they that deſire a change, are very glad of ſuch an occaſion to ground their plat-formes vpon: which they could not doe in time of peace, bicauſe men are then of a better iudgement and affection, aſwell in publike as in priuate matters. But whatſoeuer we haue ſpoken of the miſeries that followe warre, warlike diſcipline muſt not be ſuffered to degenerate in a Commonwealth well eſtabliſhed: ſeeing there is neuer want of euill neighbours that are deſirous to incroach vppon other mens borders, and ſeeing the lawes, iuſtice, ſubiects, and the whole ſtate, are vnder the protection of Armes, as it were vnder a mightie buckler. And foraſmuch as the defence of our life, & purſuite of theeues is warranted both

Traian neuer vndertooke vniuſt warre.

Antigonus teſtimonie of the iniuſtice of warre.

Cæſar.

Famine and the plague follow warre.

Malcontents are glad of war.

Cauſes why the exercise of arms muſt alwaies continue.

by

by the lawe of God, of nature, and of man, it followeth that the ſubiects muſt needes be trained vp in feates of Armes, both defenſiue and offenſiue, that they may be a buckler to the good, and a barre to the bad. Wherein the example of *Auguſtus* is very notable, who in time of an aſſured peace would not diſſolue and diſmiſſe the fortie legions, but ſent them to the Prouinces & borders of thoſe nations that were moſt barbarous to keepe them in warlike diſcipline, and withall to take away as neere as he could all occaſion of ciuill warre. Whereof *Conſtantine* the Great had ſorrowfull experience, when he diſcharged his bands of ſouldiours, whereby he opened the gates vnto his enimies, who after that inuaded the Romane Empire on all ſides. For the concluſion therfore of our diſcourſe, let vs learn to deſire peace rather than war, the one being a certaine ſigne of the bleſſing of God vpon his people, and the other of his wrath and malediction. Let the Prince thinke with himſelfe (as *Traian* wrote to the Senate) that he is called not to warre, but to gouerne: not to kill his enimies, but to roote out vices: not ſomuch to goe foorth to warre, as to tarie in the Common-wealth: not to take another mans goods from him, but to doe iuſtice to euery one, eſpecially conſidering, that in warre a Prince can fight but in the place of one, at which time he is wanting to many in the Common-wealth. And yet bicauſe the ſwoord is put into the Magiſtrates hand, for the preſeruation of publike peace, he cannot imploie or vſe it better than in reſiſting, breaking, and beating downe their attempts, that tyrannically ſeeke to trouble it, being ledde with ambition and deſire to enlarge their bounds with other mens right. Nowe, bicauſe the greater part of Potentates and neighbour Princes direct their purpoſes to this marke, it is very expedient and neceſſarie in euery well ordered Eſtate, that the youth, eſpecially the Nobilitie ſhould be trained vppe and exerciſed in feates of Armes, to the ende that in time of neceſſitie, and for common profite, they may be apt and readie to ſerue their Prince and Country.

Auguſtus kept 40. legions in continuall exerciſe of warlike diſcipline.

Conſtantine the Great.

Good conſiderations for a Prince.

Of the ancient Diſcipline and order of Warre. Chap. 68.

AMANA. BVt following our purpoſe, which is to diſcourſe of the ſtate of warre, according to the ſmall experience that our age affoordeth, and our ſtudie hath gathered, wee are nowe to ſpeake (my Companions) of warlike diſcipline, which for the excellent order thereof vſed in ancient time, is ſo much the more woorthie to be noted, as ours is to be contemned, for the great diſorder that is ſeene in it. Therefore I leaue the handeling of this matter to you.

ARAM. Diſcipline among ſouldiors is the cauſe that order is kept in all matters of warre, which procureth in armies obedience and victorie.

ACHITOB. The vnbrideled licence that is vſed nowe adaies amonge ſouldiours, breedeth ſuch boldnes in them, that all warlike diſcipline is ſupplanted thereby. But let vs heare ASER diſcourſe of this matter.

ASER. If we appoint to euery one (ſaith *Socrates* in *Plato*) his ſeuerall arte whereunto he is apteſt by nature, and which he muſt vſe all his life time, forſaking all other trades, to the ende that obſeruing opportunities, he may diſcharge it the better, there is no doubt but that in warlike diſcipline, which is a great deale more excellent than any other trade, greater leaſure, greater cunning and practiſe is neceſſarily required. For if a man take a target, or ſome other warrelike weapon and inſtrument in his hande, he is not by and by fit to fight, much leſſe of ſufficient courage to ſerue manfully, if he be not long before prepared there-vnto by ſound reaſons and reſolutions. It is no woorke of an hower, or of a daie, to perſwade men, that if they will get praiſe, they muſt ſettle them-ſelues to ſuſtaine all trauels, to aſſaie all perils, and to holde this opinion conſtantly, that it is more to be

It is not the weapon that maketh a warriour.

bee desired to die fighting in a good and iust quarrell, than to escape with life by flying away. But that which breedeth and nourisheth such thoughts in mens harts, is the good education and institution of youth in the discipline of vertue, and in the knowledge of Fortitude and Magnanimitie, which are inseparably followed of honor and immortall glorie: whereby all feare of enimies is taken away, and watching, trauelling, suffering, obeying, well liked of, that they may bring to passe their noble enterprises. The Assyrians, Persians, Grecians, and Romanes, whose deedes of Armes are almost incredible, had alwaies in singular recommēdation the maintenance of warlike discipline: but their chiefe desire was to imprint these three things in the hartes of their souldiours, *Willingnes*, *Reuerence*, and *Obedience*, of which things the happie conduct of all warre dependeth. They that were well brought vp and instructed in vertue, could not want good will to execute vertuous actions. Those Heads and Leaders of armies that were well chosen, and had wisedome and experience, did by their woonderfull vertue prouoke euery one to reuerence them. Moreouer, this Maxime of warre was diligently practised of the Heads: namely, to make their souldiours more deuout and obedient to their commandemēts, than affectionated to any other thing, howe gainefull soeuer it were. At this daie, as the former education and instruction is wanting, so the Heades and Captaines are insufficient. And from thence proceedeth the disorder and disobedience of men of warre, whereuppon losse of the battell, and destruction of the armie followeth in steede of victorie. But that we may beginne to consider of this ancient warrelike discipline, wee will heere onely waigh the order of the Romane armies and battels, who excelled all Nations in feates of Armes: and then wee will looke into that great obedience and seuere rule of liuing, that was obserued among the men of warre. We shall not finde in all the Romayne Histories anye battayle of greater or more importaunce betweene the people of

From whence valure proceedeth.

Three things necessarily required in men of warre.

Good will commeth from good institution.

Reuerence from the wisedome and experience of Captaines.

Obedience is wrought in them by the diligence of the Heads.

Rome, and any other nation, than that which they had with the Latines, when *Torquatus* and *Decius* were Conſuls. For as the Latins by looſing the battel were brought into bondage, ſo ſhould the Romanes haue beene, if they had not woonne it. *Titus Liuius* is of this opinion, who maketh both the armies in all reſpectes alike, both for number, vertue, reſolution and order, and putteth the difference onely in the vertue of the Captaines, which he ſuppoſeth was greater on the Romanes ſide, & ſo conſequently cauſe of their victory. The likenes & equalitie of theſe two hoſts proceeded of this, bicauſe they had long time followed & practiſed feates of armes togither, vſing the ſame order, language, & weapons; & keeping the ſelfe ſame maner of ordring their battels, inſomuch that both their orders & their Captaines had the ſame names. Now this was the order of the Romane army. Their whole hoſt was diuided into three principall parts, whereof the firſt conſiſted of pike-men, the ſecond of the chiefe gentlemen & Lordes, the third was called the rereward, & euery part was chiefly compounded of foot-men, being accompanied with a certaine number of horſemen. Their battels being ordered in this ſort, they placed pike-men in the foreward, right behind them were the noblemen, and in the third place behind they appointed their rereward, which they called by the name of *Triarij*. They had alſo certaine troups of horſemen, both on the right & left ſide of euery part of their army, whom they called wings, in reſpect of the place which they had, bicauſe they ſeemed to be the wings of that body. They ſet the foreward cloſe togither in the fore-front, that it might both breake in vpon the enimy, & ſuſtaine the on-ſet. The battel, bicauſe it was not to fight firſt, but to ſuccour the fore-ward when it was either put to the woorſt or driuen backe, was not ioined ſo cloſe, but kept their ranks wider aſunder, ſo that it might without diſorder to it ſelfe receiue the foreward within it, if by any miſhap or breach of aray, it ſhould be conſtrained to retire. The rereward had their ranks farther diſtant one from another than the battel, that it might be able to receiue

The vertue of the Captaines is much in war.

The ancient order of the Romane armie.

The Romanes diuided their armie into three parts.

ceiue within it both the foreward and the battell when neede required. Their battels then being thus ranged, they began the skirmish, and if their pikemen were driuen backe and vanquished, they retired into the distances and void spaces of the noble-men. Then both of them being knit togither in one, made one bodie of two battels, and so began the fight againe. But if they both being ioined togither were put to the worst, they gathered themselues togither in the wide and large rankes that were left for them in the rereward of the *Triarij*. And then these three parts ioined in one renued the fight, and so either lost or woonne the battell, being vnable to repaire them-selues againe. Therefore when the rereward entered into the conflict, the armie was in danger: whereupon arose that prouerbe, *Res redacta est ad Triarios*, which is asmuch to say in English, as *the matter is brought to the Rereward*, & to the extremitie. Now the Captaines of these our times, hauing forsaken all order of ancient discipline, make no account of this ordinance of warre, although if it be well considered, it will be found a matter of great importance. For he that ordreth his host so that he may repaire himself thrice in one battell, must haue fortune his enimie three sundry times before he can loose it, and be vtterly ouerthrowne. Whereas he that trusteth onely to the first encounter, as the most do at this day, offereth himselfe rashly vnto danger and losse. For one onely disorder, one smal vertue may cary the victorie from him. Now that which hindreth our armies from repairing themselues thrice, is the lack of skil to gather one battel into another. We also appoint onely a foreward and a maine battel for the most part, & lay the hope & strength of the armie vpon the horsemen: wheras the Ancients made most account of the footmen. So that if the horse-men receiuing the onset should haue the repulse, and their aray broken, the rest were easie to be delt withall: beside, that commonly the foote-men are disordred by their owne horsemen, being compelled to retire. For this cause the Switzers, called by some maisters of these late warres, when they purpose to fight, especially

The benefite of this Romane order.

The wiſedome of the Switzers fighting on the Frenchmens ſide.

on the Frenchmens ſide, are very carefull to haue the horſemen on the one ſide, and not to followe next after them, to the ende that being wide of them, if by miſhap they ſhould be repulſed, yet they might not ouer-runne and diſorder them. And this hath beene often-times noted, that the Frenchmen according to the aduantage or diſcommoditie of the firſt brunt giuen by their foreward or battell, haue been partakers of the like iſſue and euent afterward: ſo that if they were put to the woorſt in the firſt encounter, their enimie was in a manner aſſured of the victorie. This cauſed *Titus Liuius* to write in many places, that Frenchmen in the beginning of a battell are more than men, but in the ende leſſe than women.

Frenchmen looſing the firſt encounter, looſe alſo the victorie.

Some armies are furious, and yet keepe good order.

But that which cauſeth them to breake their order ſo quickly, may be better knowne, if we ſet downe heere two kindes of armies, the one where there is furie and order, as there was in the Romane armie, in which, according to the teſtimonie of all hiſtories, good order through continuance of time had planted ſuch a warlike diſcipline, that nothing was doone among them but by rule. They did neither eate, nor ſleepe, nor deale in any other warlike or priuate action, without the appointment of the Conſul, or Head of the armie. So that all vertue being thus ſetled amongſt them, they exerciſed their furie by meanes, and as time and occaſion ſerued: neither could any difficultie ariſe, that could quaile their reſolution well begunne, or cauſe them to be diſcouraged, by reaſon of their good order, which refreſhed them and ſtrengthened their courage that was nouriſhed with the hope of victorie, which is neuer wanting as long as good orders are truly obſerued. But in the other kind of armie where furie beareth ſway, and not order, as it falleth out often in the French armies, if victorie doth not followe their firſt aſſaie. For their furie, wherein their hope conſiſted, is not ſuccoured with ſetled vertue, neither haue they any other confidence but in their furie, ſo that as ſoone as they are ſomewhat cooled, and ſee neuer ſo little diſorder and breach of aray, they are preſently diſcomfited.

Good order in armies is neuer without hope of victorie.

In the French armies is furie without order.

ted. Contrariwiſe, the Romanes being leſſe afraid of perils, bicauſe of their good order, fought firmely and reſolutely togither without any diſtruſt of the victorie, being as courageous and vertuous in the ende as in the beginning: yea the harder they were charged with weapons, the more were they inflamed and ſet on fire. Moreouer, concerning their warlike diſcipline, it may eaſily be knowne by that ſpeech which *Titus Liuius* rehearſeth of *Papirius Curſor*, who complained of the corruption that began to growe in their armie, for the which he would haue puniſhed *Fabius* Generall of the horſemen. *No man* (ſaith he) *beareth any reuerence either to men, or to the gods. The Edicts of the Captaine, of the Coronell, and of the Soothſaiers, are not obſerued. The ſouldiours goe wandering vppe and downe like vagabonds, both in countries that are at peace with vs, and alſo in our enimies lands: they diſcharge themſelues at their pleaſure, and forget their oath. The Enſignes are deſolate, and not followed. Beſides, they ioine not togither as they are commanded, nor conſider whether it be by day or by night, whether in a place of aduantage, or of diſaduantage. They fight without the Captaines commandement; they keepe not their rankes and ſignes. Briefly, whereas war was woont to be ſolemne and ſacred, it is diſordered, inconſiderate, and guided at all aduenture, after the manner of theeuery.* But as long as warlike diſcipline tooke place among the ancient Romanes, their campe was a ſchole of honor, of ſobriety, of chaſtity, of iuſtice, & of all vertue, ſo that no man might reuenge his owne iniuries, or proceed of himſelf peremptorily. They knew not what it was to liue at diſcretion, much leſſe to go a foraging, to rob, ſteale, beate or murder, as men do now a daies. And as touching obedience towards their Captaines, it was very wonderfull. For they feared not to preferre it before the ſafetie of their owne liues, and before all victorie. At the battell of Cannas the Romane knights ſeeing the Conſull alight and certaine others with him bicauſe he was hurt, and thinking that he had commanded them all to doe ſo, they preſently left their horſes, which was the cauſe of their ouerthrow. And this did *Hannibal* then declare with a loude voice,

The ancient warlike diſcipline of the Romanes.

What manner of campe the ancient Romanes had.

Of the ancient obedience of ſouldiors to their captains.

ſaying: I would not deſire rather to haue them deliuered to me bound, than as they be. The executions that were ſhewed vpon the diſobedient and offenders were ful of rigour, and the qualitie of their puniſhments maruellous ſtrange. For the Heads of armies ſometime ſticked not to cauſe a whole legion to paſſe through the pikes, (which conſiſted of 6000. footemen, & 500. horſemen) for ſome notable fault committed by them. But among all their terrible executions, the tithing of armies was moſt ſeuere, when euery tenth man throughout a whole hoſte was by lot put to death. No kinde of puniſhment could be found that was more fearefull for the correcting of a multitude than this, which they practiſed eſpecially when the chiefe author, and they that were the procurers of ſome notorious fact, were not knowne. For then it had beene too much to haue chaſticed the whole companie: and if ſome had beene corrected, and others left vnpuniſhed, innocents peraduenture ſhould haue ſuffered, and the guiltie eſcaped ſcot-free. Whereas by tithing they that were puniſhed, could not complaine but of the lot: and the reſt were kept in feare, leaſt the like faults ſhould fall out againe amongſt them. Whereupon they obſerued one another, that as many as did not their dutie might bee knowne and chaſticed. The Captaines and Heads of armies were no leſſe rigorouſly handeled by them that had the ſoueraigntie of the Eſtate, if they did capitulate, or make any agreement with the enimies, to the detriment and diſaduantage of the Common-wealth. For they ſent them backe againe naked, and not the Heads onely, but alſo all that had any charge in the armie, and conſented to the compoſition, that the enimies might returne vpon their Heades all the ſinne of breaking that oath which they had taken, and that appointment which they had ſworne to. The Emperour *Aurelius* laboured earneſtly to bring in againe the ancient diſcipline of warre, and to cauſe it to be ſtrictly obſerued: whereof his letter is a ſufficient teſtimonie, being written by him to a Tribune of warre, in theſe words. *If thou wilt be a Tribune, or rather if thou*

Of the execution that was ſhewed vpon ſouldiors that offended.

The tithing of armies was moſt ſeuere.

How Captaines were puniſhed if they offended

Aurelius letter to a Tribune touching warlike diſcipline.

thou wilt liue, restraine the ſouldiours hands, that none ſteale another mans henne, or touch his ſheepe. Let no man take a grape, or ſpoyle and treade downe the corne. Let no man exact of his Oaſt oyle, ſalt, or wood: but let euery one be content with his allowance. Let them inrich themſelues with the praie of their enimies, and not with the teares of our ſubiectes. Let their armour be glazed and cleane: their hoſe and ſhooes good and ſtrong. Let new apparell driue away the olde: and let them keepe their wages in their purſe, and not ſpend it in tauernes. Let them lay aſide bracelets and rings. Let euery one dreſſe his owne horſe, and one helpe another. Let the Phyſitions and Chirurgions looke to them without money, and let Sooth-ſayers haue nothing giuen them. Let them liue chaſtly in their Oaſts houſes: and let ſuch as are mutinous and giuen to quarelling, be puniſhed and corrected. Let thē trench their campe euery day as if they were neere their enimy. Behold ſurely an excellent forme of warlike diſcipline expreſſed in few words, which is ſo farre from our behauiour, that the people in theſe dayes would thinke they were fauourably delt withall, if the ſouldiours tooke no more from them, but that which this emperor forbiddeth his to take vpon paine of life. And truely the vnmeaſurable licence that is granted them, cauſeth the ſouldior to enter into the field onely to ſpoile and rob, and to eſchew the fight. And in ſtead of helping one another, and taking care euery one of his owne horſe, there is not a ſouldiour ſo begger-like, but will haue his foure Lackeis: ſo that a thouſand ſouldiors in theſe dayes will be more chargeable to the people, than twentie thouſand that are well ordered would be. If a Romane ſouldiour had committed adulterie with his Oaſts wife, *Aurelius* cauſed him to be torne in ſunder with two trees bowed downe one againſt another. It was death alſo to take an egge. If hee went out of his ranke whileſt the armie marched, he had the baſtonnado. Oftentimes for one ſimple fault a whole Legion was diſcharged and the captaine ſeuerely puniſhed: and yet for all this rigor, the ſouldiors loued the Emperour as their father. He alſo gaue them their pay well and truly, and rewarded liberally ſuch as did their duetie. This is the way

The corruption of warlike diſcipline in theſe dayes.

Aurelius puniſhed adulterie and theft committed by his ſouldiors, with death.

to

True payment of ſouldiors redreſſeth many diſorders amongſt them.

to redreſſe ſo many diſorders and calamities as are ſeene in our armies, and to reſtore in ſome ſort that warrelike diſcipline which is aboliſhed. For ſouldiours alleage this as an excuſe for all their wicked deedes, *that they are not payd*, and many would not bee payd, that ſo they might cloke their robberies. When the ſmall taxe, and ſince that the payment of fiftie thouſand footemen, was layed vpon the ſubiects, the king promiſed to imploy that mony vpon no other vſe, than vpó the paiment of his men of war, as alſo to keepe that money apart from his ordinary receipts. But bicauſe this is not duely obſerued, the people are doubly vexed: for they pay their money, and yet are polled on all ſides. Notwithſtanding all theſe ordinarie charges, the poore peſants would thinke themſelues happie if they were diſcharged by erecting victualing tents for the men of warre, as they haue been forced to doe of late yeeres. Now what good iſſue can be hoped for, when the ſouldiors through an vnbrideled licence, ſack, ſpoile, and burne the poore ſubiects? This hath alwayes been ſeene, that houſes, families, kingdoms and Empires, haue come to ruine and pouertie, bicauſe the poore were contemned and the ſubiects giuen ouer to the robberies of ſouldiors.

The vnrulines of the Pretorian ſouldiors.

The immoderate licence of the Pretorian ſouldiours (who were to the emperors as the Ianitzaries are to the Turke) and of other men of warre was no ſmall helpe to ouerthrowe the Romane Empire. For taking vpon them to elect Emperours at their pleaſure, one was choſen in one armie and an other elſe-where, and preſently murdered by thoſe that had elected them. Their inſolencie alſo cauſed ſeditions and ciuill warres, whereupon thoſe kingdoms and countreys that were vnder the Romane obedience, reuolted. And it commeth to paſſe oftentimes, that their vnruly behauiour incenſeth the people in ſuch ſort againſt them, that their deſtruction followeth. As it happened to all the Frenchmen that were in the Ile of Sicilia, in the yeere 1281. vpon Eaſter day, at the firſt peale to Euenſong, at what time they were all put to death by a ſecret conſpiracie for their inſolencies and whoredoms: whereupon

upon this prouerbe doth yet remaine amongſt vs, *The Sicilian Euenſong*. There is no corner of this kingdom where the people being halfe mad through the iniuries receiued from the men of warre, haue not committed infinite and cruell maſſacres. We may not here forget to propound the wiſe and warlike diſcipline of *Bellizarius*, lieutenaunt generall to the Emperor *Iuſtinian*, who for valure and temperance was equall to the ancient Romanes (as hiſtories teſtifie of him) which was the cauſe that he reconquered all Italy poſſeſſed by the Barbariãs. Not long ſince during the warre of Piemont (which was a very ſchoole of vertue, and of warrelike knowledge) the peſaunt, husbandman, and artificer, were ſuffered quietly at their worke, the warre continuing betweene warriours onely for the poſſeſſion, and not the ruine of the countrey. And as the people were then glad to receiue amongſt them ſuch armies, ſo they diſpaire no leſſe at this day, bicauſe all warlike diſcipline, all policie both diuine and humane, is in ſuch ſort extinguiſhed, yea all kind of humanitie and ſocietie which is to be ſeen amongſt barbarous people, that it is lawfull for Frenchmen to ſacke, ſpoile, and put to ranſome Frenchmen that are many times of the ſame ſide, faith and condition, and that without puniſhment. But let vs not looke for proſperitie and good ſucceſſe in our enterpriſes, before there be ſome other order and diſcipline obſerued.

The Sicilian Euenſong.

Bellizarius.

The mild warre of Piemont.

The crueltie of theſe late French warres.

The ende of the ſeuenteenth dayes worke.

THE EIGHTEENTH DAIES WORKE.

Of the office and dutie of a Generall. Chap. 69.

ASER. THoſe men commonly proſper in their affairs that vnderſtand them throughly, and manage them well & diligently: conſidering aduiſedly what hath beene heretofore, that they may in ſome ſort iudge of that which is to come, bicauſe all worldly things haue euermore ſome agreement with the ages paſt. Which commeth of this, that beyng the works of men, they haue had, and will alwayes haue like formes, and therfore muſt of neceſſitie haue like effectes. But the cauſe of the good or euill ſucceſſe of men (in reſpect of mans nature) conſiſteth in this, that the meanes and maner of proceeding iumpe with the time, wherein the very condition therof, and the occaſion offred, is diligently to be obſerued. And if this conſideration taketh place in all priuate affaires, it is much more neceſſarie in warre, wherein a light fault oftentimes procureth loſſe & ouerthrow to a whole armie, whoſe good or ill happe dependeth of the head and leader therof, according as he is either woorthy or vnwoorthy of his charge. My opinion therfore is (my companions) that we alleage in this place whatſoeuer we know belongeth to his duetie and office. I propound now the diſcourſe of this matter to you.

Time and occaſion are diligently to be waighed in all matters.

The good or ill ſucceſſe of an army dependeth of the captaine.

AMANA. Men diſdaine commonly to obey ſuch as know

know not how to commaund well. Therfore euery Generall of an armie ought to labour carefully, that men may behold and see a certaine greatnes, magnanimitie & constancie in all his doings.

ARAM. A Generall must be had in estimation of his souldiors, and of that reputation, that they may giue credite to his prudence: otherwise an army doth quickly become rebellious, and troublesome to be guided. But let vs learne more amply of ACHITOB whatsoeuer concerneth this matter.

ACHITOB. *Lamachus* a great Athenian captain sayd, that no man must offend twise in warre, bicause the faults are of so great waight, that for the most part they bring with thē the ouerthrow of the state, or losse of life to those that commit them, and therefore that it was a hard and daungerous matter to haue experience thereof. So that Prudence gotten by vse ought to bee hastened forward, bicause it is deerly bought, & so long a cōming, that oftentimes death preuenteth it. It must be hastned forward by the diligent enquirie of those things that haue fallen out both before & since our time, that we may become wise by other mens perils. For this cause it is very necessarie, that whosoeuer taketh vpon him the honor of guiding an armie, should exercise his minde as much in science, and in the knowledge of histories, as he doth his body in all martiall actes, that so he may diligently obserue the deedes of famous personages, see how they gouerned themselues in warres, and examine the causes of their victory, thereby to flie the one and to follow the other. And bicause it is against reason, that a well armed man should obey him that is vnarmed, or that they should take the rudder out of the Pilots hand to saue the ship in a storme, that haue no skill in sea-faring matters; it is very requisite that whosoeuer vndertaketh to commaund an army, should first haue gotten a good report of all men for his valure and greatnesse of courage, whereby his authoritie will be reuerenced, as being bestowed vpō one that is woorthy of it: forasmuch as titles of dignitie do not honor men, but men are an ornament

A captaine must not offend twise in warre.

Prudence gotten by vse must be hastened forward by knowledge.

No man ought to be generall before he haue obtained the renowne of a valiant man.

nament to titles. Now if ſouldiors haue conceiued a good opinion of the deſert and valure of their captaine, it will be as a ſharpe ſpur to pricke them forward in well doing, and cauſe them to honor & to loue his commandements. For true zeale of vertue, that is to ſay, the deſire to imitate it, is not imprinted in mens harts, but through a ſingular good will & reuerence towards that partie that worketh the impreſſion. It was not then without good cauſe, that the anciẽts greatly eſteemed the dignity of a General, being ioined with prowes, knowledge & experience: ſeeing the happy or vnhappy euents of warre ordinarily depend therof (next to the chief cauſe proceeding frõ God) as we ſhewed yeſterday what *Titus Liuius* wrote of the battel between the Romans & the Latins. For this reaſon *Cimon* a great mã of Athens ſaid, that he had rather haue an armie of Harts guided by a Lion, than an armie of Lions hauing a Hart for their captaine. Now if we deſire to vnderſtand in few words what maner of mẽ are moſt woorthy of ſuch charges, we may learne it by the anſwere that one of the wiſe Interpreters made to *Ptolomie* concerning this matter: *They* (ſaid he) *that excell in proweſſe and iuſtice, and preferre the ſafetie of mens liues before victorie.* But to diſcourſe more particularly of the dutie and office of the head of an armie, *Valerius Coruinus* Generall of the Romans againſt the Samnites, to whom he was redy to giue battell, incouraged his ſouldiors to do well in few words, and taught euery one how he ſhould proceed to obtaine the place and degree of a captaine. *A man muſt conſider well* (quoth he vnto them) *vnder whoſe conduction he entreth into battell: whether vnder one that can cauſe himſelfe to be heard as if hee were ſome goodly Oratour, that hath a braue tongue, but otherwiſe is a Nouice and vnskilfull in all points of warre, or vnder ſuch a one as hath skill himſelfe to handle his weapon, to marche firſt before the enſignes, and to doe his duetie in the hotteſt of the fight. I would not, Souldiours, that yee ſhould follow my wordes, but my deeds. I ſet before you an example ioyned with inſtruction and diſcipline, as he that hath gotten three Conſulſhips with this arme, not without exceeding prayſe.* Hereby we learne, that the ancient

Cimon preferred an army of Harts before an army of Lions.

What captains are woorthieſt of their charge.

Coruinus Oration to his ſouldiors.

ent captaines and Heads of armies had this laudable cuſtome to make Orations *to their men of warre*, thereby to make them more courageous, as appeereth in all hiſtories both Greeke and Latin. This faſhion is now loſt togither with the reſt of warlike diſcipline: at leaſt wiſe there is no account made of it in France, whereupon it commeth to paſſe, that many great men are but badly followed and ſerued in warre. For as he that ſtandeth in neede of the faithfull ſeruice of men ought to winne them rather by gentleneſſe and good turnes, than by authoritie and rigour: ſo he that would haue prompt and reſolute ſouldiours for warre, that hee may vſe their ſeruice in tyme of neede, muſt make much of them, and allure them to his obedience by liberalitie, and by good and gracious ſpeeches. For in truth they muſt be good friends and affectionate ſeruitours vnto a man, that ſetting all excuſes aſide (of which there is neuer any want) are to fight for him: they muſt neither be enuious at his proſperitie, nor traiterous in his aduerſitie. And there is no doubt but that in a matter of great importaunce, the graue exhortations of a Generall, grounded vpon good reaſons and examples greatly encourage and harten a whole armie, in ſo much that it will make them as hardie as Lions, that before were as fearefull as ſheepe. Moreouer, if he that is eſteemed and iudged to be valiaunt and noble-minded, ſheweth foorth effectes aunſwerable thereunto, he doubteth the courage and ſtrength of his armie: as contrarywiſe, the leaſt ſhew of cowardlineſſe, diſcouragement or aſtoniſhment ſhewed by him, draweth after it the vtter ruine of his ſouldiours. But to returne to the duetie and office of a good Captaine of an armie, as the beſt worke that a man can doe, is firſt to bee honeſt and vertuous: and than to take order that himſelfe and his familie may haue aboundantly all things neceſſarie for this life: ſo euery wiſe and well aduiſed leader of men of warre, muſt diſpoſe and prepare himſelfe to the ſame ende, and foreſee that nothing be wanting vnto them, neither munitiós of warre, nor victuals. He muſt not thinke to make new pro-

Captains vſed in old time to make Orations to their ſouldiors.

Captains ought to make much of their ſouldiors.

The benefit of making Oratiós to ſouldiors.

A good captain muſt be alwayes furniſhed with munitions and victuals.

prouiſion when neceſſitie vrgeth him, but euen than when he is beſt furniſhed, he muſt bee carefull for the time to come. Wherby taking away all occaſió of cõplaining from the ſouldior, he ſhall be better beloued and obeyed, and more feared and redoubted of his enimies. To this purpoſe *Cyrus* ſaid to his chiefe men of warre: *My friends I reioyce greatly that you and your men are contented that ye haue abundance of all things, and that we haue wherewith to do good to euery one according to his vertue. Notwithſtanding we muſt conſider what were the principall cauſes of theſe good things, and if yee looke narowly ye ſhall find, that watching, trauell, continuance in labor, and diligence haue giuẽ vs theſe riches. Therfore ye muſt ſhew your ſelues vertuous alſo hereafter, holding this for certaine, that ye ſhall obtaine great ſtore of riches and contentation of mind by obedience, conſtancie, vertue, ſuſtaining of trauell, and by courage in vertuous and perillous enterpriſes.* Moreouer a good captaine of an armie muſt be very carefull, that he neuer ſuffer his hoſt to be idle, but cauſe his ſouldiors either to annoy the enimie, or to doe themſelues good. It is a burthenſome thing to nouriſh an idle body, much more a whole family, but eſpecially an armie, and not to keepe them occupied. His meaning that warreth of neceſſitie, or through ambition, is to get or to keep that which is gotten, and to proceed in ſuch ſort, that he may in-rich, and not impouerish his countrey. Therfore both for conquering, and for the maintenance and preſeruation of that which is his owne already, he muſt neceſſarily beware of vnprofitable expences, and do all things for common commoditie. So that who ſo-euer would throughly put in practiſe theſe two points, he had need to follow that cuſtome, which the ancient Romanes vſed, namely, at the beginning to make them ſhort and terrible, as we vſe to ſay. For entring into the field with great power and ſtrength, they diſpatched their warre ſpeedily within few dayes: inſomuch that all their iourneis made againſt the Latines, Samnites, & Tuſcans were ended, ſome in ſix, others in ten, and the longeſt in twentie dayes. And although afterward they were conſtrained to keep the fields a longer time, by reaſon of the diſtance

Cyrus Oration to his captains.

A good captain muſt neuer ſuffer his army to be idle.

Warre ought to be ſpeedily ended.

distance of places and countreys, yet they did not therefore giue ouer the following of their first purpose, but ended as soone as they could, their enterprises of warre by quick battels, according as place and time suffred. True it is, that a prudent captaine must be skilfull to take the enimie at aduantage: but if it be so that he cannot, the better and more vertuous man he thinks himselfe and those that follow him to be, so much the more paines is required of him for his owne and their preseruation, as men vse to keep safely those things which they account deerest, and to lay them vp in a sure place. The dignitie of a Head of an armie, is in truth greatly to be accounted of, especially when it is ioyned with prowesse and experience, the chief point whereof is to saue him that must saue all the rest. Therefore *Timotheus* an Athenian captaine, (and *Chares* also an other captaine) shewed one day openly vnto the Athenians, the skarres of many woundes which he had receiued in his body, and his shield also that was spoyled and thrust through with many pushes of a pike: but now (quoth he) I am of another minde. For when I besieged the citie of Samos I was very much ashamed that an arrowe shotte from the walles fell harde by me, being then too venturous a yong man, and hazarding my selfe more rashly than became the Head of so great an armie. And yet when it greatly profiteth the whole enterprise, and is a matter of no small importance, that the Generall of the armie should put his life in daunger, then he must yeeld, and imploy his person, not sparing himselfe, or giuing place to their wordes who say, that a good and wise captaine ought to die of age, or at least to be olde. But where small benefit ariseth if he prosper well, and contrarywise, an vniuersall losse and generall hurt to all, if any thing but well betide him, no wise man will require it, or be of the opinion, that he should venture himselfe as a common souldiour doth, whereby he being the Generall should be in daunger of destruction. And yet in the meane while he must not be lesse carefull ouer the safetie of those valiaunt men that follow him, or thrust them into danger but very warily,

A good captain must not be ouer venturous.

A General must not rashly hazard himselfe.

When he ought to venture himselfe.

Antoninus preferred the life of one citizen before the death of a thouland enimies.

warily, remembring the saying of that good emperor *Antoninus, that he had rather saue one citizen, thã put a thousand enimies to death*. The answer of *Scipio* was very like it, whẽ he was earnestly requested by the souldiours at the siege of Numantia to gine an assault. *I had rather* (quoth he) *haue the life of one Romane, than the death of all the Numantines*. He vsed also to say, that all things ought to be assaied in warre before the sword be taken in hand. And in deed there is no greater victory than that which is gotten without sheding of bloud. *Sylla*, *Tiberius*, *Caligula* and *Nero* had no skill, but to commaund and to kill: but that good *Augustus*, *Titus* and *Traian*, were always ready to sollicite, to request, and to agree by forgiuing. *Augustus* also said, that although a prince were mightie, yet if hee were wise, hee would neuer giue battell vnlesse there were more apparant profite in the victorie, than losse if the enimie should ouercome. And in deede he neuer gaue battell but vpon necessitie. We reade of that great captaine *Narses*, who subdued the Gothes, vanquished the Bactrians, and ouercame the Germaines, that he neuer gaue his enimies battell, but he wept in the Temple the night before. *Theodosius* the Emperor suffred not his men to assault any towne, nor to lay siege vnto it before tenne dayes were past, causing this proclamation to be made vnto them, that hee graunted these tenne daies to the ende they might accept and taste of his clemencie before they had experience of his power. It is a common saying, that it is not enough for a Captaine to know how to leade his men well to the fight, vnlesse he foresee also the meanes to retire and to saue them in tyme of neede. And it is no lesse fault in a Captaine to fall into an inconuenience vnlooked for, than through too much mistrust to let slippe an occasion of doyng some great exploite when it is offred. For want of experience breedeth rashnesse in the one, and taketh away boldnesse from the other. Neither must a good captaine onely vse present occasion well, but hee must also iudge wisely of that which is to come, distrusting alwayes the doubtfull issue of all enterprises of warre. For this cause

Scipio would haue all wayes tried before the sword were vsed in warre.

When Augustus would haue battell giuen.

Narses alwayes wept the night before he gaue battell.

Two faults to be eschewed of euery captain.

A good General must alwayes feare the worst.

cauſe the ancient Generals of armies, both Greekes and Latines neuer marched but in armour, nor incamped, although they were farre from their enimies, but they cloſed their campe round about with a trench. And when *Leonidas* was demanded the reaſon hereof, he aunſwered, *bicauſe as the ſea hath his ſandes, gulfes, and rocks, ſo hath war his, among which none is more perillous and hurtful than this of, I had not thought it.* Among other things neceſſary in a captaine, the knowledge of nature, and of the ſituation of places is very requiſite: which is to know how the mountaines are lift vp, how the valleis hang, how the Champian fields are couched togither, and to know the nature and courſe of riuers, & the bredth of mariſhes. This is profitable in two reſpects. Firſt a man learneth thereby to know his owne countrey, & ſo to be more skilful to defend it. Secondly, hauing by that means had good practiſe of the ſeat of that countrey, he may eaſily conceiue the ſituation of another place, of which ſometime he muſt neceſſarily conſider. So that if a General be wanting herein, he is deſtitute of the chief vertue which a good captain ought to haue. For it is that which teacheth him to find out the enimy, to encamp himſelf, to guide an hoſt, to ſet his men in aray for the battell, and to take the aduauntage at the ſiege of a towne. Among other great praiſes that authors giue to *Philopæmenus* prince of the Acheans, they forget not this, that in time of peace he ſtudied diligẽtly how he might war more skilfully. And when he was in the fields with his friends, he would ſtand ſtil many times and conferre with them, vſing ſuch like ſpeeches: *If the enimie were in this mountaine and we here with our campe, who ſhould haue the aduantage, & how might we ſeeke him out, marching on in battell? If we would retire, how ſhould we do? If they retired, how ſhould we folow thẽ?* Thus in the way he ſet before them all the chances that might happen to a campe: then he would heare their opinions, and after ſet down his own, confirming it with reaſons. This he did ſo well, that by reaſon of theſe continual diſputations and cogitations, no hinderance could befall him when he guided an army, which he could not redreſſe. *Xenophõ* ſheweth

I had not thought it, a dangerous ſpeech in a captaine.

A good captain muſt haue skill to diſcerne the ſituation of places.

The benefit of Geometry in a General.

Philopæmenus in time of peace ſtudied the diſcipline of war.

in *Cyrus* his life, that being ready to set forward in that voyage which he vndertooke against the king of Armenia he said familiarly to his men, that this iourny was but one of those huntings which they had so often practised with him. He willed those whom he sent to lye in ambush vpon the mountaines, to remember when and how they went to pitch their nets vpon the small hils: and to those that went to begin the skirmish, he sayd, that they resembled such as went to rouze a beast out of his denne, to driue him to their nets. This noble Prince shewed well that his exercise of hunting was not vnprofitable vnto him (as in deede it is a true paterne of warre) but that it did helpe him greatly to iudge of the nature and seate of those places which he frequented in his countreys. And bicause all landes are like in some things, the perfect knowledge of one countrey (which often vse of hunting bringeth) may helpe one to iudge well of an other. *Publius Decius* Tribune of the souldioures in the armie which *Cornelius* the Consull led against the Samnites, beholding the Romane host brought into a valley where they might easily be enclosed of the enimies, went to the Consull and sayd, Doe you marke, O *Cornelius*, the toppe of this mountaine aboue our enimie? It is the fortresse of our hope and safetie if we make haste to take it, seeyng the blind Sammites haue forsaken it. We see then how profitable, yea how necessarie it is for a captaine to know the beyng and nature of countreys, which helpeth a mā much in that principall point touched before by me, namely, to compel his enimies to fight when he perceiueth that he is the stronger, and hath the aduantage of them: & if he be the weaker, to keep himself from such places where he may be cōpelled therunto. This is that wherby *Caius Marius*, who was sixe times Consull, got the renowne to be one of the greatest captains in his time. For although he were Generall of many armies, and fought three great battels, yet was he so warie in all his enterprises, that hee neuer gaue his enimies occasion to set vpon him, and to force him to fight. And that was a notable aunswere which he made

Cyrus resembleth his going to warre to hunting.

Hunting is an image of warre.

P. Decius.

C. Marius neuer gaue his enimies occasion to force him to fight.

to

to the Generall of his enimies, who willed him to come out of his campe to battell, if he were ſuch a great captain as men reported him to be. Not ſo (quoth he) but if thou art the great captaine compell me to it whether I will or no. This is one thing alſo wherein the Head of an armie muſt be very vigilant, that all ſecrecies be cloſely kept among the captaines of his hoſt. For great affaires neuer haue good ſucceſſe when they are diſcouered before they take effect. To this purpoſe *Suetonius* ſaith, that no man euer heard *Iulius Cæſar* ſay, *To morrow we will do that, and to day this thing: but, we will doe this nowe, and as for to morrow we will conſider what is then to be done*. And *Plutarke* ſaith in his treatiſe of Policie, that *Lucius Metellus* beyng demanded by a Captaine of his when hee would giue battell, ſayde, *If I were ſure that my ſhirte knew the leaſt thought in my hart, I woulde preſently burne it, and neuer weare any other.* Therefore affaires of warre may be handled and debated of by many, but the reſolution of them muſt be done ſecretly, and knowen of few men: otherwiſe they would be ſooner diſcloſed and publiſhed, than concluded. Notwithſtanding it is very neceſſarie, that the General ſhould oftentymes call a councell, ſo that it be of expert and ancient men, and of ſuch as are prudent and voyde of raſhneſſe. But in all caſes of neceſſitie a man muſt not ſtand long in ſeeking for reaſon, but ſuddenly ſet vpon them. For many tymes ſundry captaines haue vndone themſelues in warres vpon no other occaſion, but bicauſe they lingred in taking counſel, when they ſhould without loſſe of tyme haue wrought ſome notable enterpriſe: Moreouer, for the inſtruction and patterne of the dutie and office of a good Head and captaine of an armie, we can alleage none more woorthy to be imitated than *Cato* of Vtica, a Conſul of Rome, who had the guiding of a legion when he firſt tooke charge vpon him. For from that tyme forward he thought, that it was not roial or magnificall to be vertuous alone, being but one body: & therfore he ſtudied to make all that were vnder his charge like himſelfe. Which that he might bring to paſſe, he took not frō them

The captains of an armie muſt be very ſecret.

I. Cæſar very ſecret in tyme of warre.

L. Metellus.

Affaires of warre muſt be debated by many, but concluded by few.

Vrgent occaſions in warre require ſhort deliberation.

Cato a notable paterne for all captains to follow.

the feare of his authoritie, but added reaſon thereunto, ſhewing and teaching them their dutie in euery point, and alwayes ioyning to his exhortations reward, for thoſe that did well, and puniſhment for ſuch as did euill. So that it was hard to ſay, whether he had made them more apt for peace or for warre, more valiant or more iuſt, bicauſe they were ſo ſtout and eger againſt their enimies, and ſo gentle and gracious to their friends, ſo feareful to do euil, and ſo ready to obtaine honor. The vertue of *Pompey* is alſo worthy to be followed of euery great captain, for the temperance that was in him, for his skil in armes, eloquence in ſpeech, fidelitie in word, as alſo bicauſe he was to be ſpoken with, and ſo louingly entertained euery one. And if with theſe things the example of the ſame *Cato* be followed in his prudent liberalitie, and diuiſion of the ſpoils and riches of the enimies, that captaine that ſo behaueth himſelf ſhal deſerue eternal praiſe, and pleaſe all thoſe that follow him. For when this vertuous captaine had taken many townes in Spaine, he neuer reſerued more for himſelfe than what he did eate and drinke there. He deliuered to euery one of his ſouldiors a pound waight of ſiluer, ſaying that it was better that many ſhould returne to their houſes from the warre with ſiluer, than a few with gold: and as for the captains he ſayd, that during their charges and gouernements they ſhould not grow and increaſe in any thing but in honor and glory. For the concluſion therefore of our ſpeech, we note, that a Generall of an army deſirous to bee obeyed (which is neceſſarie) muſt behaue himſelfe ſo, that his ſouldiors may thinke him woorthy to prouide and care for their neceſſary affaires. Which thing will come to paſſe, when they ſee that hé is courageous & carefull, that he keepeth his place and the maieſtie of his degree well, that he puniſheth offenders, and laboureth not his men in vaine, but is liberall, and performeth his promiſes made vnto them.

Pompey.

How Cato diuided the ſpoiles.

Of

Of the choice of Souldiors, of the maner how to exhort them to fight, and how victory is to be vſed. Chap. 70.

ACHITOB.

AGamemnon generall Captaine of the Grecians before Troy, ſpeaking of *Achilles*, and being grieued bicauſe he refuſed to ſuccour them, hauing been offended by him, ſayd, *That a man beloued of God, is in the place of many men in a campe, and far better than a whole company that is vnruly, and cannot be gouerned but with great paine and care.* This reaſon was the cauſe that good men heretofore were greatly honored in war, and much ſought after by great captaines, bicauſe they were very religious, and vndertooke nothing before they had prayed to their gods, and offered ſacrifices after the maner of their countrey. Alſo after they had done ſome great exploite, they were not ſlouthful to giue thē thanks, by offrings and hymnes ſong to their praiſe. But all theſe good conſiderations haue no more place amongſt vs, than the reſt of their warlike diſcipline, principally in that no regard is had what maner of men are to be vſed in ſeruice, but onely how a great number may be had. And many times he that is knowen to be a bold murderer, and giuen ouer to all wickedneſſe, ſhall be preferred to an office before an honeſt man: and which is more, we deſpiſe our owne countrey-men, whome the welfare of our countrey concerneth as well as our ſelues, and rather truſt ſtrangers and hirelings, who ſeeke nothing but deſtruction, ſo that we our ſelues alſo bewaile, but too late, the miſchiefes that haue light vpon vs. For this cauſe I propound vnto you (my companions) to diſcourſe vpon, the election and choiſe which is to be conſidered of, in taking ſuch men of war to whom a man may ſafely commit himſelf: & if you thinke good, you may ſpeak ſomwhat alſo of the maner of exhortatiō to fight vſed by the ancients, bicauſe I touched it by the way in my former diſcourſe: & laſtly how victory ought to bee vſed, which commonly followeth good

One godly man in a campe is in place of many.

Souldiors ought to begin their war with prayer, and end with praiſe & thankſgiuing.

order and discipline of war, wherof we haue hitherto discourſed.

Why a man muſt vſe his own ſubiectes in warre.

ASER. Foraſmuch as the chiefe force of an armie conſiſteth in the ſincere and conſtant good will of the ſouldiors towards him for whom they fight, it is not to be ſought for elſe-where than in his owne naturall ſubiects, to whome proſperitie and good ſucceſſe is common with the Prince.

AMANA. *My friends* (quoth *Cyrus* to his men of war) *I haue choſen you, not bicauſe I haue had proofe heretofore of your manhood, but bicauſe from my yong yeeres I haue known you ready to doe thoſe things, which we in this countrey account honeſt, and to eſchew all diſhoneſtie.* This cannot be truely ſaid of ſtrangers neuer ſeen before, who come out of their countrey to inrich themſelues with the ouerthrow of their neighbours. But it belongeth to thee ARAM to handle this matter here propounded vnto vs.

ARAM. If we conſider diligently of the cauſes, from whence came the ruine of the Romane Empire, we ſhall find, that thoſe meanes which the wiſeſt Emperors inuented for the ſafetie and preſeruation thereof, turned in the end to the deſtruction of it. Firſt the ordinary armies placed by *Auguſtus* neere to Rome, & in the borders of his eſtate, ouerthrew many of his ſucceſſors, & euen the empire it ſelf, which they would ſomtimes ſet to ſale, & deliuer vp to him that gaue moſt for it. Next, the tranſlation of the empire, which *Conſtantine* the great made from Rome to Bizantiũ, afterward called by his name *Conſtantinople*, therby to make it more ſure againſt the Perſians & other people of Aſia, greatly haſtned forward the ouerthrow of the ſame. For when he caried thither the chief ſtrength and wealth of Rome, & diuided the empire into the Eaſt and Weſt, he weakned it very much, ſo that the Weſt was firſt deſtroyed, and then the Eaſt: which if they had continued vnited and knit togither, might for a long time, and in a maner for euer, haue reſiſted all inuaſions. Thirdly, when the Emperours thought to ſtrengthen themſelues with ſtrange, hired, & forrain power, called to their ſuccour, as

Three cauſes from whence proceeded the ruine of the Romane empire.

The diuiſion of the empire weakened the ſame.

namely,

namely the Gothes, thereby weakening their owne forces and naturall ſtrength of the Empire, they put ere they were aware, Rome and Italy, and conſequently the other Prouinces into the hands of the Barbarians. Yea we find, that the greateſt calamities that euer happened to Common-wealths diuided, was when the Citizens were ſeuered among themſelues, and called in ſtrangers to helpe them, who vſing often to goe that way, at the laſt made themſelues maiſters ouer them. The Germanes called by the *Sequani* to their ſuccour againſt thoſe of Autun, compelled them to deliuer halfe their land vnto them: and at length they droone away all the naturall people of the countrie, and became Lordes of the greateſt part of the Gaules territorie. But not to go ſo farre off, it is high time for vs to grow wiſe by our owne perill. The factions of the houſes of Orleans and of Burgundy, called in the Engliſhmen into France, who by this meane ſette ſuch footing therein, that they poſſeſſed a great part therof a long time after. What lacked in our time why the Frenchmen blinded & caried away with partialities (and God grant they may throughly knowe it) did not bring their countrie to that extremitie of miſeries, as to ſubmit it to the ſeruice and ſlauerie of a ſtrange yoke, vnder the colour of begging helpe at their handes? What letted why there was not plaied among vs, of vs, and by vs, the cruelleſt & moſt ſorrowfull tragedie that euer was, when men came hither from all quarters to behold the ſight? Would not a man haue thought, that both great and ſmall had wittingly purpoſed to ouer-throw the goodlieſt & moſt noble kingdome of the world, and themſelues withall, and ſo in the end haue ſhamefully loſt the glorie and renowne, which their Anceſtors had woorthily gotten for them? Now, if any good hap hath turned this tempeſt from vs againſt our wils, at the leaſt let vs call to mind the danger whereinto we had willingly caſt our ſelues, and let vs not forget the admonition that was giuen vs by thoſe barbarous fellowes, whoſe Captaines and Counſellors asked vs why we called them in, when a little before their departure out of

Dangerous to an Eſtate to call in forraine ſuccours.

As appeereth by the *Sequani*.

By the Frenchmen.

this

this kingdome, they were complained vnto for the extorſions and cruelties which their men practiſed. *What thinke you* (ſaid they) *is the intent and purpoſe of our men in following vs, but to enrich themſelues with your ouerthrow? Agree among your ſelues, and neuer call vs more, except ye minde to taſte of that which ſhall be woorſe.* But let vs enter into the particular conſideration of the perill and hurt that commeth by forraine and mercenarie ſouldiours, that we may knowe whome wee ought rather to vſe. The armes where-with a Prince defendeth his Countrie, are either his owne, or hired of ſtrangers, or ſent to his ſuccour by ſome Prince his friend, or elſe mingled of both togither. They that maintaine, that it is neceſſarie for the proſperitie and preſeruation of euerie happie Common-wealth, not to vſe forraine helpe, ſay, that hired force and ſuccour of ſtrangers is woorth nothing, but rather dangerous, and that if a Prince thinke to ground the aſſurance of his Eſtate vpon forraine force, he cannot ſafely doe it. For they agree not eaſily togither, they doe all for profite, and will be neither well ordered nor obedient. On the other ſide, they are not ouer-faithfull, they are all in their brauerie amonge friendes, but hartleſſe amonge enimies. They neither feare God, nor are faithfull to men. The reaſon heereof is this, bicauſe no loue, nor anye other occaſion holdeth them but paie, and hope of ſpoyle. Which is no ſufficient cauſe to mooue them to die willingly in his ſeruice, whoſe ſubiectes they are not, and whoſe ruine they deſire, rather than his increaſe. The laſt deſtruction of Italy came by no other thing, than bicauſe it truſted a longe time to forraine and hyred forces, which brought ſome thinges to paſſe for ſome men, but as ſoone as another ſtranger came, they ſhewed what they were. Heereuppon it came, that Kinge *Charles* the eight eaſily ouer-ranne all Italy with chalke, as we vſe to ſpeake, that is to ſaye, that without reſiſtance he ſent before to take vp his lodging, bicauſe they that ſhoulde haue withſtoode him, and were called in to keepe the Countrie, did of their owne accord take his parte. But there

The end that forraine ſouldiours propound to themſelues.

Reaſons why forraine force is woorth nothing.

The cauſe of the laſt deſtruction of Italy.

there is a further matter. Strange hired Captaines either are excellent men, or haue nothing in them. If they be valiant, the Prince is not to truſt them. For out of doubt they will ſeeke to make themſelues great, either by his ouerthrowe that is their Maiſter, or by deſtroying others againſt his will. And if the Captaines haue no valure in them, he cannot hope for any thing but for the cauſe of his owne perdition. Succour is moſte hurtfull to an Eſtate, when ſome Potentate is called in with his forces for aide and defence. Thoſe ſouldiours may well be good and profitable for themſelues, but are alwaies hurtfull to ſuch as call them in. For if a man looſe the fielde, he is ouer-throwne: if he winne it, he is their priſoner. Such ſuccour is a great deale more to bee feared, than hired ſtrength, which obeieth the Prince that calleth them, and requireth their helpe. But when a man receiueth in an armie vnited, and accuſtomed to obeye the Captaine that conducteth and bringeth them in, his deſtruction is alreadie prepared, and cannot be auoided, who openeth the doore of his owne houſe to let in an enimie ſtronger than himſelfe. Therefore it were expedient for euerye Prince to trye all waies before he haue recourſe to ſuch men for helpe and ſuccour. And whoſoeuer ſhall reade and conſider well the times that are paſt, and runne ouer the preſent ſtate of things, he ſhall ſee, that whereas one proſpered well, an infinite number were deceiued and abuſed. For a Common-wealth, or an ambitious Prince, coulde not wiſh to haue a better occaſion whereby to get the poſſeſſion of a Citie, Seignorie, or Prouince, than when hee is required to ſend his armie to defende it. But what? The ambition, deſire of reuenge, or ſome other affection of men is ſo great, that to accompliſh once their preſent will, they forget all dutie, and caſt behind them the care of all danger and inconuenience whatſoeuer, that may light vppon them. The Herules, Gothes, and Lumbards by theſe meanes became Lordes of Italy: the Frenchmen of the Gaules Countrye, the Engliſhmen of greate Britaine,

The diſcommoditie of bringing in hired Captaines.

Dangerous for a Prince to call in a Potentate to ſuccour him.

Examples of the change of Eſtats by meanes of forraine ſuccour.

taine, the Scots of Scotland after they had driuen out the Britons and Picts, who called them in for ſuccour. The Turks made themſelues Lords of the Eaſt Empire, and of the kingdom of Hungary, being likewiſe required of help by the Emperours of Conſtantinople, and by the States of Hungary. Not long ſince *Cairadin* a Pirate, being called by the Inhabitants of Alger to driue the Spaniards out of the fortreſſe, after he had vanquiſhed them, he ſlew *Selim* Prince of the towne, and made himſelfe king, leauing the Eſtate to his brother *Arradin Barberoſſa*. And *Saladine* a Tartarian Captaine, being called by the *Calipha* and Inhabitants of Caire to driue the Chriſtians out of Soria, after the victorie ſlew the *Calipha*, and became abſolute Lorde thereof. The foreſight which the Princes of Germany had of the perill and hurt that all ſtrangers bring to an Eſtate, caused them to bind the Emperour *Charles* the fift, by the twelfth article of conditions, vnto which he ſware before he receiued the Imperiall crown, that he ſhould not bring in any forraine ſouldiors into Germany. And yet through the great number of Spaniards, Italians, and Flemmings that came into the countrie, beeing called in againſt the Proteſtants, there wanted little of changing the Eſtate of Almaigne into an hereditarie kingdom. Which had bene ſoone doone if king *Henry* the ſecond had not ſtaied it by his French power, for which cauſe he was called by books publiſhed, and arches erected in their country, *Protector of the Empire, and deliuerer of the Princes*, who ſince haue concluded amonge themſelues, that they will neuer chuſe a forraine Prince. *Charles* the ſeuenth king of France, hauing by his great good ſucceſſe and vertue, deliuered France of Engliſhmen, and knowing well that it was neceſſarie for him to be furniſhed with his owne forces, inſtituted the decrees of horſemen, and of the companies of footemen. After that, king *Lewes* his ſonne aboliſhed his footemen, and began to leauy Switzers: which being likewiſe practiſed by other kings his ſucceſſors, many men haue noted, that by countenancing the Switzers, they haue cauſed their owne forces to degenerate and growe

Charles the fift, bound by oath not to bring any forraine ſouldiors into Germany.

Charles 7. made decrees for French ſouldiors.

What inconueniences France is fallen into by hiring Switzers.

out

out of vſe, diſanulled the footemen, and tied their horſemen to other footemen: inſomuch that ſince they haue been vſed to fight in company of the Switzers, they think that they cannot obtaine the victorie, nor yet fight without them. Therfore the prudence of king *Francis* the firſt, muſt needes be honored with exceeding great praiſe, in that he eſtabliſhed ſeuen legions of footmen, accounting 6000. men to a legion: ſo that there could be no better deuice for the maintenance of warrelike diſcipline, nor more neceſſary for the preſeruation of this kingdome, if thoſe good ordinances that were made to this end be wel marked. Neuertheles they were aboliſhed in his raigne, eſtabliſhed againe by *Henry* the ſecond his ſucceſſor, and after that abrogated. I am of opinion, that if theſe ancient inſtitutions both of horſemen and footemen were reuined, they would be a good mean, whereby we might alwaies haue men of warre to defend this kingdom, to conquer that which is taken from it, and to helpe our friends: whereas nowe we are faine to vſe the ſeruice of vnskilfull men that are made Captaines before euer they were ſouldiors, or elſe of neceſſitie compelled to begge and to buy very deare the ſuccour of forraine nations. My meaning is not, that a Prince ſhould neuer vſe the helpe of others, but alwaies take his own forces collected among his ſubiects. Nay I ſay to the contrary, that it muſt needs be profitable for him to vſe the ſuccors of his Allies, ſo that they be ioined with him in league offenſiue and defenſiue. For by this meanes, he doth not onely make himſelfe ſtronger, but withall taketh away both that aide from his enimie, which he might otherwiſe haue drawne from thence, and occaſion alſo from all men to make warre with the one, except they will haue the other alſo their enimie. But aboue all things, let no Prince truſt ſo much to the ſuccours of his Allies, except himſelfe with his ſubiects be of greater ſtrength. And if Allies are to be feared when they are ſtronger in another countrie, what aſſurance may a man haue of forraine ſouldiors, that are at no league either offenſiue or defenſiue with vs? Now if vpon the due conſide-

Francis 1. eſtabliſhed ſeuen legions of footmen.

How a Prince may vſe the ſuccours of his Allies.

consideration of these things, souldiors be carefully trained vp in good discipline of warre, which may be collected out of many institutions that are extant, and if the guiding of them be giuen to good, vertuous, and expert Captaines, ledde onely with a desire to doe their dutie to their King and Countrie, this kingdome will be feared of strangers, and without feare it selfe of their assaults and enterprises. Especially if in the Prince his absence, the soueraigne authoritie of commanding absolutely in the armie, be committed into the hands of a Captaine woorthy his charge, as we haue discourſed, who is able to win the harts of men, and to prouoke them to their dutie by liuely and learned reasons: as namely, *That all men must die, and therefore that it were too great follie in a man to refuse to die for publike profit, which bringeth vnto vs immortall glorie, seeing he must once of necessitie yeeld vp his life: that a glorious death is alwaies to be preferred before a shamefull life stained with reproch: briefly, if he can ground his exhortations vpon the occasion of taking armes, of time, place, estate and condition of the enimies, and of the good that will come to them, if they obtaine the victorie.* But in all these things the iustice and equitie of the cause of war, is that which most of all maketh good men courageous, who otherwise neuer ought to fight. We may read a million of goodly Orations made in time of warre, & set forth in one volume, with which euery wise and prudent Captaine may helpe himselfe according as occasion is offred. Now, if that ancient order & discipline, of which we haue hitherto discourſed, and which may be learned more at large in their excellent writings, were renued & imitated by our armies, as the late vse and practise of Armes exercised at this day, is apt and fit for the same, being more terrible than that of the Ancients, who had no gun-powder, no doubt but great obedience of souldiors towards their Captaines would arise of it, whereas now a daies in steede of commanding, they haue nothing left but an humble request to be vsed towards their souldiours, who neuertheles turne it into contempt and want of courage. But if true obedience were ioined with good order, the

How a Captain should exhort his souldiors.

hope

hope of prosperous successe in our enterprises would be farre greater. Nowe, when our affaires succeede happily, so that wee haue our enimies at aduantage, or haue gotten some victorie, wee must beware least insolencie blind vs in such sort, that trusting to our good happe, we goe beyond our bounds, and loose the occasion of a certaine and sure benefite, through hope of some greater good as yet vncertaine. *Hannibal* after the discomfiture of the Romanes at Cannas, sent men to Carthage to carie newes of his victorie, and withall to demand a newe supplie. Whereupon the Senate was long in deliberating what was to be doone. *Hannon*, a prudent old man was of opinion, that they were to vse the victorie wisely, and to make peace with the Romanes, which they might obtain of them with honest conditions, and not to expect the hazard of another battell. He said that the Carthaginians ought to bee satisfied with this declaration alreadie made to the Romanes, that they were such men as could stand against them: and therfore seeing they had woonne one victorie of them, they should not venture the losse of it, in hope of a greater. This prudent counsell was not followed, although afterwarde the Senate did acknowledge it for the best, when that occasion was lost. *Alexander* the Great had already conquered all the East, when the Common-wealth of Tyrus, being great and mightie, bicause the Citie was situated in the water, (as Venice is) and astonished at the greatnes & fame of that Monarches power, sent their Embassadors vnto him to offer what obedience & subiection he would require, vpon condition that neither he nor his men would enter into the Citie. *Alexander* disdaining that one citie would shut their gates against him, to whō the whole world was open, sent them backe again without accepting their offer, & went thither to pitch his Campe against it. After he had continued the siege 4. moneths, he thought with himself, that one onely Towne would shorten his glorie more than all his other conquests had done before: wherupon he purposed to try an agreement by offering that vnto them which thēselues had

How victory is to be vsed.

Examples of such as knew not how to vse victorie wisely, and to take opportunitie offered.

The Tyrians besieged and subdued by Alexander.

had required before. But then the Tyrians were waxen ſo luſtie and bold, that they did not only refuſe his proffers, but alſo executed as many as came to conclude with them. Whereupon *Alexander* being mooued with indignation, cauſed an aſſault to be made with ſuch heate and violence, that he tooke and ſacked the towne, put ſome of the Inhabitants to the edge of the ſwoord, and made the reſidue ſeruants and ſlaues. Agreement and compoſition is alwaies to be preferred before continuance of warre. And howſoeuer a man may ſeeme to be aſſured, and as it were certaine of the victorie, yet ought he to doubt the vncertaintie of humane things. That courageous and valiant *Hannibal*, being called out of Italy by his Countriemen to ſuccour them againſt the Romaines, by whome they were beſieged, when his armie was yet whole, demanded peace of them before he would enter into battel, bicauſe he ſaw that if he loſt it, he brought his Countrie into bondage. What then ought another to do, that hath leſſe vertue and experience than he? But men fall into the error of vnmeaſurable hope, vpon which ſtaying themſelues without further conſideration, they are ouerthrowne. Sometimes when we contemne our enimie too much, and bring him into a deſperat eſtate, we make him more venturous to vndertake, and violent to execute any dangerous matter. Deſpaire (ſaid *Tubero*) is the laſt but the ſtrongeſt aſſault, and a moſt inuincible tower. For this cauſe the ancient Romane Captaines were very diligent and carefull to lay all kind of neceſſitie to fight vpon their men, and to take it from their enimies by opening vnto them paſſages to eſcape, which they might haue ſhut vp againſt them. K. *Iohn*, bicauſe he would not make peace with the Engliſh hoſt, which deſired to eſcape onely with life, was taken and caried priſoner into England, and his armie conſiſting of fortie or fiftie thouſand men, was diſcomfited by ten thouſand Engliſhmen, ſome ſay more, ſome leſſe. *Gaſton de Foix*, hauing woonne the battell at Rauenna, and following after a ſquadron of Spaniards that fled, loſt his life, and made all that a praie vnto the enimie,

It is not good to fight with deſperate men.

Iohn king of France taken by the Engliſhmen.

Gaſton de Foix.

nimie, which he had conquered before in Italy. Ancient hiſtories are full of ſuch examples, and namely of ſmall armies that ouercame thoſe that were great and mightie. *Darius* againſt *Alexander*, *Pompey* againſt *Cæſar*, *Hannibal* againſt *Scipio*, *Marcus Antonius* againſt *Auguſtus*, *Mithridates* againſt *Sylla*, had greater forces without compariſon than their enimies. Therefore good *Traian* ſaid, that *to accept of warre, to gather a great number of men, to put them in order, to giue battell, appertaineth to men, but to giue victorie was the worke of God onely: ſo that great armies preuaile but litle againſt the wrath of the Higheſt*. If then we would knowe a good way how we ſhall neuer be vanquiſhed, we muſt not truſt to our armour or force, but alwaies call vpon God to direct our counſels for the beſt. By this alſo we ſhall be perſwaded to vſe victorie mildly, ſeeing it is the propertie of valiant men to be gentle and gratious, ready to forgiue, and to haue compaſſion of them that ſuffer and indure affliction. There is no true victorie (as *Marcus Aurelius* wrote to *Popilion* Captaine of the Parthians) but that which carieth with it ſome clemencie: ſo that a rigorous and cruell man may not in reaſon be called victorious. And it is moſt true, that to ouercome is humane, but the action of pardoning is diuine. As touching the ſacking and ouerthrow of townes taken in warre, carefull heede (ſaith *Cicero*) muſt be taken, that nothing be done raſhly or cruelly. For it is the propertie of a noble hart to puniſh ſuch onely as are moſt guiltie, and the authors of euil, and to ſaue the multitude. Briefly, to obſerue in all thinges whatſoeuer is right and honeſt, to be valiant and gentle, to be an enimie to thoſe that doe vniuſtly, fauourable to the afflicted, ſeuere to quarrellers, and full of equitie to ſuppliants, are thoſe praiſe-woorthie qualities for which *Alexander*, *Iulius Cæſar*, *Scipio*, *Hannibal*, *Cyrus*, and many other both Greeke and Romane Captaines are moſt commended, who ought to be imitated in the arte of warre by all excellent men.

Small armies that ouercame great.

Victorie commeth only from God.

Valiant men are full of compaſſion.

No true victorie without clemencie.

Ringleaders of euill are to be puniſhed, and the multitude to be pardoned.

Of a happie Life. Chap. 71.

ARAM. WE haue hitherto diſcourſed (my Companions) of vertues & vices, for which the life of man is praiſed or diſpraiſed in all Eſtats and conditions, whereunto the varietie of maners, and inclinations to ſundry ſtudies and works cal men, and make them fit. Wherin we haue chiefly followed the ends and bounds of honeſtie & equitie propounded by Moral Philoſophers, from whence they draw particular duties, and all actions of vertue, vſing a very commendable and excellent order & diſpoſition. Now ſeeing we are come to the end of the cauſe of our aſſemblie, as we began it with the true & Chriſtian knowledge of the creation of man, and of the end of his being, vnknowne to ſo many great perſonages in the world, who are lightened only with humane ſciences, which are but darkenes in regard of that heauenly light, the eternal word of God, that guideth the ſoules of the beleeuers; I think that we ought alſo to end and breake vp this our meeting togither with the maner of a happie life and death, according to thoſe endes that are propounded vnto vs by the infallible rule of all vertue and truth, which if they be not ſo ſubtilly ſet downe and diſputed, as the Philoſophy of the Ancients is, yet at the leaſt they are without compariſon better and more certaine. Go to then, let vs heare you diſcourſe firſt of a happie life.

Humane ſciences are but darkenes in regard of the word of God.

ACHITOB. *Bleſſed are they* (ſaith the Prophet) *that dwell in the houſe of God, and that euermore praiſe him, hauing his waies in their harts. He will giue them grace and glory, and will with-hold no good thing from them that walke vprightly.*

Pſal. 84. 5. 11

ASER. What happier life can we require, than that which S. *Iohn* calleth eternal life: namely, *to know one only true God, & Ieſus Chriſt whō he hath ſent?* But it belongeth to thee AMANA to feede our ſpirits with this excellent ſubiect.

Iohn 17. 3.

AMANA. Although the ſpirite of God, teaching his iuſt and holy will by a doctrine that is ſimple and void of all vaine ſhew of wordes, hath not alwaies obſerued and

kept

kept ſo ſtrictly ſuch a certaine order and methode, to prepare and to direct their liues that ſhall beleeue in him, as the Philoſophers did, who affected the greateſt ſhew outwardly that they could, thereby to make manifeſt the ſharpnes of their wit, & the greatnes of their humane vnderſtanding, yet may we eaſily gather out of this diuine doctrine, (which doth more deface all glittering ſhew and beauty of humane ſciences, than the Sun excelleth darkenes) a moſt excellent order, teaching vs to frame a happie life according to the mould & paterne of true & heauenly vertue. This order conſiſteth of two parts, the one imprinting in our harts the loue of iuſtice, the other giuing vnto vs a certaine rule, that will not ſuffer vs to wander hither & thither, nor to ſlip aſide in the framing of our life. Concerning the firſt point, the Scripture is full of very good reaſons to encline our harts to loue that Good, which in deed is to be deſired, I meane perfect righteouſnes. With what foundation could it begin better, than by admoniſhing vs to be ſanctified, *becauſe our God is holy?* Whereunto the reaſon is added, *that although we were gone aſtray as ſheepe ſcattered & diſperſed in the Labyrinth of this world, yet he hath gathered vs togither, to ioine vs to himſelfe.* When we heare mention made of the coniunction of god with vs, we muſt remember, that the bond thereof is holines, and that we muſt direct our ſteps thither, as to the end of our calling, that we may be transformed into the true image of God, which through ſinne was defaced in the firſt man, & conſequently in vs. Moreouer, to mooue vs the more to embrace that only & true God, the ſpirit of God teacheth vs, that as he hath reconciled vs vnto himſelfe in his ſon Ieſus Chriſt, ſo he hath appointed him to be vnto vs an example and paterne, vnto which wee muſt conforme our ſelues. This heauenly worde alſo taketh occaſion to exhort vs thereunto in infinite places, drawing his reaſons from all the benefits of God, and from all the parts of our ſaluation. As when it is ſaide: *That ſeeing God hath giuen himſelfe to be our Father, wee are to be accuſed of notable ingratitude, if wee behaue not our ſelues as his children.*

Of the loue of righteouſnes.

Leuit.19.2.

1.Pet.1.15.16.

Holines is the end of our calling.

Chriſt is a paterne of righteouſnes vnto vs.

Malach.1.6.

Eph.5.26.30. Seeing Ieſus Chriſt hath clenſed vs by the waſhing of his blood, and hath communicated this purification vnto vs by baptiſme, there is no reaſon why we ſhould defile our ſelues with new filthines. Seeing he hath ioined & ingrafted vs into his body, we muſt carefully looke, that we defile not our ſelues in any ſort, being members of his body.

Col.3.1.2. *Seeing he that is our Head is gone vp to heauen, we muſt lay aſide all earthly affections, and aſpire with all our hart to that heauenly*

1.Cor.6.19. *life. Seeing the holy Ghoſt hath conſecrated vs to be the temples of God, we muſt labour and ſtriue that the glorie of God may be exalted in vs, and beware that we receiue no pollution. Seeing our ſoules and bodies are foreappointed to enioye that immortalitie of the kingdome of heauen, and the incorruptible Crowne of God his*

1.Theſ.5.9. *glorie, we muſt endeuour to keepe both the one and the other pure and vnſpotted, vntill the day of the Lord.* Behold ſurely good grounds, meete to frame and inſtitute a happie life by, and to moone a Chriſtian to bring foorth the effectes of ſuch an excellent and woorthie title through the loue of righteouſnes, hauing this marke alwaies before his eies to direct all his actions thereunto: namely, to aſpire to that perfection which God commandeth. From which although the affections of our fleſh ſeeke to ſeparate vs, and the difficulties are great, ſo that it is impoſſible for vs to attaine perfectly thereunto in this mortall priſon, yet let vs not leaue of to followe that waye which we haue once begunne, looking to our marke in puritie, vprightnes, and ſimplicitie, and ſtriuing to come to our ende, vntill wee perfectly ſee that ſoueraigne goodnes, when hauing put off the infirmitie of our fleſhe, and being made partakers of that goodnes in full meaſure, we ſhall be receiued of God into his heauenlie kingdome. Let vs nowe come to the ſeconde point. Although the lawe of God compriſed in ten Commandements, and thoſe ten alſo contained onely in two, hath a moſt excellent methode and well ordered diſpoſition, whereby to direct our life, & to make it happy, yet it hath pleaſed our good Maiſter, his eternall ſonne, to frame them that are his by an exquiſite doctrine, according to that rule which he had giuen vnto them

We muſt alwaies ſtriue to come to perfection.

them in his lawe. The beginning of that way which he taketh, is after this sort: namely, to teach them that it is the dutie of euery faithful man, to offer his body a liuely, holy, and acceptable sacrifice to God, wherin consisteth the chiefest point of that seruice which we owe vnto him. Thé he goeth on to exhort vs, that we would not fashion our selues to this world, but be changed by the renewing of our mind, that we may prooue what is the good will of God. That is no small reason to say that we must consecrate and dedicate our selues to God, that from hence forward we should neither thinke, speake, meditate, or doe any thing but to his glorie. For it is not lawefull to applye any thing that is consecrated to a prophane vse. Nowe, if we be not our owne, but belong to the Lorde, we may thereby see both how to auoid errour, and whither wee must direct all the parts of our life: namely, to the rule of his holie and iust will. Let vs not propound to our selues this ende, to seeke after that which is expedient for vs according to the flesh. Let vs forget our selues as much as may be, and all things that are about vs. We are the Lordes, let vs liue and die to him: and let his will and wisedome gouerne all our actions. Let all the parts of our life be referred to him as to their onely ende: and let all our humane reason yeeld and retire, that the holie Ghost may haue place in vs, and that our reason may be subiect to his direction, to the ende we may no more liue of our selues, but hauing Iesus Christ to liue and raigne within vs. *I liue* (saith Saint *Paule*) *yet not I nowe, but Christ liueth in me*. Truly he that hath Iesus Christ liuing in him, and that liueth in Iesus Christ, liueth no more in himselfe, and careth least for himselfe. For if all true loue hath such force within the hart where it is placed, that it careth not for it selfe, but delighteth in, and is altogither partaker of the thinge that it loueth: howe much stronger shall the heauenlie loue be to with-drawe all our affections from the earth vnto the things of the spirite? O good Iesus, O loue of my soule (saith S. *Augustine*) as often as loue beginneth in mee, it endeth with hatred in thee:

What the dutie of euery faithful man is. Rom. 12. 1. 2.

What it is to consecrate our selues to God.

Gal. 2. 20.

True loue of God breedeth in vs a dislike of our selues.

thee: but when it beginneth in thee, I come to the hatred of my ſelfe: ſo that the ſcope of thy loue is nothing elſe but diſlike of our ſelues. Therefore our Sauiour ſaid to his Diſciples, that if any man would followe him, he ſhould forſake himſelfe. Moreouer, after the hart of man is once poſſeſſed with this deniall of himſelfe, firſt, all pride, haſtines, and oſtentation, are baniſhed out of the ſoule: next, couetouſnes, intemperance, ſuperfluitie, deſire of honour, and of all delights, with the reſt of thoſe vices that are engendred through the loue of our ſelues. Contrariwiſe, where the deniall of our ſelues raigneth not, there is man giuen ouer to all kind of villanie, without ſhame or bluſhing: or if any ſhewe of vertue appeere in his actions, it is corrupted before God through a wicked deſire of glorie. Moſt of our imperfections proceede from the loue of our ſelues, which hindreth vs from diſcharging our duty towards God and towards our neighbors, according to charity. Charitie is nothing elſe but to loue God for himſelf, & our neighbour for his ſake: I ſay, to loue God, bicauſe he is the ſoueraigne good, & bicauſe the greatnes of his goodnes deſerueth it: to loue our neighbours, bicauſe the image of God ſhineth in them, whome he hath ſubſtituted in his place, that we ſhould acknowledge towardes them the benefits which he hath beſtowed vpon vs. And who is able to performe thoſe duties that S. *Paule* requireth in charitie, vnleſſe he hath renounced himſelfe, that he may ſeeke nothing but the profite of his neighbour? *Loue* (ſaith hee) *ſuffereth long: it is bountifull, it enuieth not: it doth not boaſt it ſelfe: it is not puffed vp: it diſdaineth not: it ſeeketh not hir owne things: it is not prouoked to anger*, and ſo forth. If that onely ſaying were there, *that we muſt not ſeeke our owne profite*, it ſhould be of no ſmall force with our nature, which draweth vs ſo much to the loue of our ſelues, that we forget what wee owe to our neighbours. But if we would faithfully diſcharge this dutie, let vs whileſt we do good, and exerciſe the offices of humanitie, remember this rule: *That we are Stewards of all that God hath giuen vnto vs*, wherby we may help our neighbour,

Matth. 16. 24.

Fruits of the deniall of our ſelues.

Selfe loue is the cauſe of the moſt of our imperfections.

The definition of charitie.

1. Cor. 13. 4.

bour, and that one day wee ſhall giue account howe wee haue executed our charge limited vnto vs in the practiſe of charitie, by a true and ſound affection of friendſhip. Which thing wil haue place amongſt vs, when we take vpon vs their perſons that ſtand in neede of ſuccour, when we pitie their miſerie, as if we felt and ſuſtained it, & when we are touched with the ſame affection of mercie to help them, that is in vs to helpe our ſelues. As for that which onely concerneth our dutie towards God, the deniall of our ſelues will make vs patient and meeke. And when our affections pricke vs forward to ſeeke how we may liue in reſt and eaſe, the Scripture alwaies bringeth vs backe to this, that reſigning our ſelues and all that we haue, into the hands of god, we ſhould ſubmit the deſires of our hart to him, that he may tame them, and bring them vnder his yoke. We are led with a furious kind of intemperance, & with an vnbrideled luſt, in deſiring credite and honour, in ſeeking after power and might, in heaping vp of riches, and in gathering togither whatſoeuer we iudge meete for pompe and magnificence. On the other ſide, we maruellouſly feare and hate pouertie, baſenes, and ignominie, & flie from them as much as we can. Heereupon we ſee in what diſquietnes of minde all they are that order their liues after their owne counſel, how many waies they aſſay to attaine to that, vnto which their ambition & couetouſnes carieth them. But they that ſubmit themſelues wholy vnder the yoke of Gods wil, neuer entangle themſelues in theſe ſnares. For firſt, they neither deſire, hope, or imagine of any other meanes to proſper by, than the bleſſing of God: and therefore they ſtay and reſt themſelues aſſuredly therupon, as vpon that which is able to giue thé a good iſſue in all things, and true felicitie, which cannot in any wiſe be in the dooings of wicked men, what falſe proſperitie ſoeuer appeereth in the eies of fleſh. Heereof it commeth, that they aſpire not through iniuſtice or other ſiniſter meanes to any worldly goods, but contemne them, ſeeking after the onely true goods which turne them not aſide from innocencie. For they are aſſuredly perſwaded

The effect of true charitie towards our neighbour.

The naturall inclination of men

that the bleſſing of God is not extended vpon the woorkers of iniquitie, but onely vpon ſuch as are vpright in their thoughts and works. Moreouer, it ſerueth for a bridle to reſtrain them, that they burne not with a diſordred deſire of worldly goods, bicauſe they holde this for certaine, that the bleſſing of God cannot helpe them to obtaine that which is cleane contrary to his word, whereby we are commanded to withdraw our whole hart from this world, that we may lift it vp in the meditation of eternall happines. The Lord (ſaith *Iuſtine Martyr*) will not honour his children with worldly happines, for a reward of their pietie. For thoſe things that are ſubiect to corruption can not be a recompence to good men for their vertue: bicauſe they are circumſcribed and limited by the change of the mortall eſtate of vertuous men, who are depriued altogither of them at the time of their death. And as good men are not ſaid or accounted to be of the world, ſo their glorie, riches, and wealth, are not in the earth. So that in what eſtate ſoeuer a Chriſtian man is, he feeleth him ſelfe alwaies mooued to giue glorie to God, & iudgeth that all things are appointed by him in ſuch ſort, as is moſt expedient for his ſaluation. If aduerſitie preſſe him, & the miſeries of mans life ſeeke to make him diſtruſt the grace and fauour of God, or to murmure againſt him through impatiencie, he ſtriueth ſo much the more on the other ſide to conſider of his heauenly iuſtice and goodnes, in that he chaſticeth him iuſtly, and for his benefite: and arming him-ſelfe with patience, he expecteth with a quiet and thankefull mind the iſſue of God his ordinance, whereunto he wholy ſubmitteth himſelfe. Beſides, he conſidereth howe God calleth all his to beare their croſſe, and teacheth them to prepare them-ſelues to ſuſtaine a hard and laborious life, full of trauell and of infinite kindes of euils, vnto which Ieſus Chriſt their Head was firſt made ſubiect. Where this conſolation followeth preſently vpon it, that ſuch a life is a preparation to follow him into his eternall glorie. Yea the more we are afflicted and indure miſeries, the more is our ſocietie with Chriſt Ieſus certainly

Corruptible things are no ſufficient recompence for vertuous men.

Rom.8.28.

Matth.16.24. 25.

Rom.8.17.

certainly confirmed vnto vs. Now the chiefe rule propoũded vnto vs by the ſpirite of God concerning this matter is, that with what kinde of tribulation ſoeuer we are afflicted, we ſhould looke to this ende, to acquaint our ſelues with the contempt of this preſent life, that we may thereby be brought on to meditate vpon the life to come. But bicauſe this diuine wiſdome knoweth full well that we are enclined and led with a blind & euen brutiſh loue of this world, it vſeth a very apt reaſon to draw vs backe and to awaken our ſluggiſhnes, that our harte ſhoulde not bee too much ſetled vpon ſuch a fooliſh loue. There is none of vs that will not ſeeme to aſpire throughout the whole courſe of his life to a heauenly immortalitie, yea to ſtriue for the obtaining of it. For we are aſhamed not to excell the brute beaſtes in ſome thing, whoſe condition would ſeeme to be more happy than ours, if we had no hope of eternitie after death. Neuertheleſſe, if a man examine the counſels, deliberations, enterpriſes and workes of euery one, he ſhall find nothing but earth in them, being ſuch as tend altogither to the commoditie of this life. Now this blockiſhnes proceedeth from hence, that our vnderſtanding is as it were dimmed with that vain brightnes which riches, honors and powers haue in outward ſhew, wherby it is hindred from looking farther. In like maner our hart being preſſed with the affections of the fleſh, which propound vnto it couetouſnes, ambition, and all other carnal deſires, our ſoule is at length perſwaded to ſeek for hir felicitie vpon earth. The Lord therefore to meete with this miſchief teacheth his ſeruants to know the vanitie of this preſent life, by exerciſing them daily with diuers miſeries. He ſendeth thẽ no proſperitie, which is not mingled with greater aduerſitie, that by learning to condemne altogither this earthly life, they may frame their harts to deſire and to meditate vpon the life to come. Wherefore when they trie by afflictions, that this preſent life, conſidered in it ſelfe, is full of diſquietnes, of troubles, altogither miſerable, and in no reſpect happy, that all the wealth thereof had in ſo great eſtimation, is tranſitorie and vncertaine,

How God teacheth vs to know the vanitie of this life.

vaine

vaine and mingled with infinite miſeries, they conclude therupon that nothing is to be ſought or hoped for in this world but calamitie, and that the crowne of glory & true felicitie is to be looked for elſe-where, namely, in heauen. Notwithſtanding as long as they enioy this life, he would not haue them ſo to contemn it, as to grow into a hatred therof, or to be vnthankful to God for the benefits which they daily receiue therin of his maieſtie, but rather to account it a ſpeciall gift of his heauenly clemencie, in that through the midſt of thoſe tribulatiõs which they endure, he maketh a way and entrance for them vnto eternal life. For which, & for thoſe infinit bleſſings which they receiue alſo in this life of his goodnes, they acknowlege that they are bound to yeeld vnto him immortal thanks, labouring only to vnfold themſelues out of this ouer-great deſire of mã, caried away with the diſordinate loue of this life, that they may tranſferre their chief affection to the celeſtial & heauenly life. And ſeeing it is ſo, that al the faithful, as long as they remain vpon earth, are as ſheepe appointed to the ſlaughter, to the end they might be made conformable to their head Chriſt Ieſus, ſurely they ſhould bee accounted paſſing wretched, if they did not lift their mindes on high to ſurmount all that is in the world, and to go beyond the regard and care of things preſent. On the contrary ſide, if they haue once lift vp their thoughts aboue the earth, whẽ they ſhall ſee the vniuſt proſper in the world; when themſelues ſhalbe vngently handled by thẽ, when they ſhal endure reproch, when they ſhalbe polled or afflicted with any kind of iniurie, their comfort in al theſe euils will be to haue the laſt day before their eies, in which they know that the lord wil gather his faithful ones togither into the reſt of his kingdom, that he wil wipe away the teares frõ their eies, crown thẽ with glory, clothe thẽ with gladnes, ſatiſfie them with the exceeding ſweetnes of his delicacies, exalt them vnto his high manſion, in a word, make them partakers of his happines. In the meane time going on in their courſe with all tranquillitie & ioy of ſpirit, they are cheerfully to giue vnto God that homage & worſhip that is due

We muſt not hate the bleſſings of this life.

Pſal.44.22.

The comfort of the godly in the midſt of troubles.

Math.25.34.

Iſai.25.8.

Apoc.7.17.

vnto

vnto him, ſubmitting themſelues wholy to his greatneſſe, & receiuing with all reuerence his cõmandements. Next, they muſt put that truſt & hartie aſſurance in him, which they haue receiued by knowing him aright, attributing to him all wiſdom, iuſtice, goodnes, vertue & truth, & making this account, that all their happines is in communicating with him. Inuocation foloweth, wherby their ſoules muſt haue recourſe vnto him as to their only hope, whẽ they are preſſed with any neceſſity. In the laſt place is thankſgiuing which is that acknowledgement, wherby all prayſe is giuẽ vnto him. Vnder theſe 4. points of worſhip, truſt, prayer, and thankſgiuing, all thoſe innumerable duties which we owe to God, may well be comprehended. Moreouer, the contempt of this preſent life, and the meditation of that which is immortal & heauenly, will teach vs the right vſe of earthly goods created of God for the ſeruice of man, as neceſſary helpes for this life. Which things we muſt not neglect in ſuch ſort, that we neuer vſe them but vpon conſtraint & neceſſity, taking no delight in them as if we were ſenceleſſe blocks. Much leſſe may we abuſe them by ouergreat luſt in ſuperfluity & delights, but apply them to that end for which God hath created & appointed thẽ for our good, & not for our hurt, namely, that they ſhould ſuſtain, nouriſh, preſerue & delight our nature, vſing thẽ in al temperance & mediocritie with thankſgiuing. So that we are to vſe theſe goods as though we vſed them not, that is to ſay, our chief affection and deſire muſt be ſo ſmally ſet vpõ them as if we were wholy depriued of them: and we muſt be diſpoſed and affected as well to ſuſtaine pouertie patiently & with a quiet mind, as to vſe abundance moderately. Eſpecially let vs referre the true and holy vſe of all our earthly commodities to the works of charitie, as we haue already touched: knowing that all things are ſo giuẽ vnto vs by the goodnes of God, & appointed for our commoditie, as things cõmitted to our truſt, of which we muſt one day giue account before his maieſtie. For the concluſion therfore of our ſpeech, we learn that the life of a Chriſtian is a perpetuall ſtudie and exerciſe of the mortification

The ſumme of our dutie towards God.

The true vſe of temporal things

of

of the fleſh, vntil it be ſo throughly dead, that the ſpirit of God may raigne fully in his ſoule. We learn alſo, that our whole life ought to be a meditation and exerciſe of godlines, bicauſe we are called to ſanctification: that true happines of life in this world conſiſteth therein, namely, when being regenerated by baptiſme and the ſpirit of God, we haue the loue of righteouſnes throughly imprinted in our harts, and follow the diuine rule thereof by framing and directing all our actions to the glory of our God and profit of our neighbors. Wherfore euery one of vs muſt take his vocation and calling for a principle and ground, & for a ſtation aſſigned of God, vnto which we muſt direct our leuell, withdrawing our mindes from the yoke and bondage of thoſe naturall perturbations that are in vs. Wee muſt not be led with ambition and deſire to take hold of many ſundry matters at once, being aſſured, that euery worke done according to our calling, how contemptible ſoeuer it be among men, ſhineth before God and ſhall be rewarded by him, beyng accounted very precious in his ſight.

Wherein a happy life conſiſteth.

Of Death. Chap. 72.

AMANA. NO man ought to be ignorant of this, that after God had created man in the beginning, he placed him in a garden and paradiſe ful of al pleaſures and delights, and gaue him leaue to vſe all things contained therin, the fruit of the knowledge of good and euill onely excepted, which was expreſly forbidden. Neuertheleſſe, being vnable to keepe himſelfe in that high degree and great dignitie, he fell by diſobedience: ſo that thinking to make choice of life, he choſe the fruit of death, as God had foretold him, ſaying, *Whenſoeuer thou eateſt of this fruit of the knowledge of good and euil, thou ſhalt die the death:* which thing fell vpon him, and vpon all his poſteritie. Whereby we ſee, that the reward and recompence of ſinne, is death, not onely bodily death, but which is more, ſpirituall, whereby we are baniſhed and ſhut out of

Gen. 2. 17.

Rom. 6. 23.

of the heauenly kingdome and inheritance, if we apprehend not that great grace and mercy of the father offered to all that draw neere vnto him by true confidence in Iesus Christ: to the ende (as the Apostle saith) that as sinne raigned vnto death, so grace might raign by righteousnes vnto eternall life through Iesus Christ our Lord. And this is the onely way wherby to passe from death to life, when we shall be subiect to no condemnation or affliction. Moreouer, neither sworde, famine, nor any other miserie can hurt vs, no not temporal death, which (according to mãs iudgement) is the extreamest of all miseries, shall in any sort confound vs, but rather be a meane and pleasant way for vs to passe by from prison and bondage to ioyfull liberty, and from miserie to happinesse. Therfore (my companions) as death is the end of all men, happy to the elect and vnhappy to the reprobate, so let vs finish our discourses with the handling thereof. Rom.5.21. Temporal death is the way that leadeth the godly from bondage to blessednesse.

ARAM. Nothing but death and the end of this bodily life is able to accomplish the wish and desire of a faithful christian. For the spirit being then deliuered, as it were out of a noisome and filthie prison reioyceth with freedom and libertie in those pleasant places, which it seeketh after and desireth so earnestly.

ACHITOB. *It is decreed that all men must once die.* And therfeore (as the Wiseman saith) *whatsoeuer thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt neuer do amisse.* Now ASER, as thou beganst to lay the foundation of our Academie, so make thou an end of it with the treatise of Death that endeth all things. Heb.9.27. Ecclus 7.36.

ASER. It is no maruell if natural sense be mooued & astonished, when we heare that our body must be separated from the soule. But it is in no wise tollerable, that a Christian hart should not haue so much light as to surmount & suppresse this feare whatsoeuer it be, by a greater comfort and consolation. For if we consider that this tabernacle of our body which is weake, vicious, corruptible, casuall, and inclining to putrefaction, is dissolued and as it were pulled downe by death, that it may afterward The comfort of euery true christian against death.

be

be reſtored to a perfect, firme, incorruptible and heauenly glory, ſhal not this certain aſſurance compel vs to deſire earneſtly that which nature flieth and abhorreth? If we conſider that by death we are called home from a miſerable exile, to dwel in our countrey, yea in our celeſtial coũtrey, ſhall we not conceiue ſingular conſolation thereby? But ſome man may ſay that al things deſire to continue in their being. For the ſame cauſe I ſay, we ought to aſpire to the immortalitie to come, where we haue a ſetled eſtate, which is not ſeene at all vpon earth. How commeth it to paſſe, that the bruite beaſts and ſenceleſſe creatures, euen wood and ſtones, hauing as it were ſome feeling of their vanitie & corruption, are in expectation of the iudgement day that they may be deliuered from their corruption, and yet we that haue ſome light of nature, & boaſt that we are illuminated by the ſpirit of God, lift not vp our eies aboue this earthly putrefaction, when we talk of our beeing? But what ſhal we ſay of thoſe men (whoſe number alas is very great) who quenching all natural light, & oppoſing themſelues directly againſt the teſtimonies of truth, which preſſe their conſciences & ſound daily in their eares, dare yet doubt of, yea impudently deny this day of iudgement, and the change of this mortall life into a ſecond, which is immortal? If the word of god ſo expreſly ſet down for our aſſurance be of ſo litle credit, that it wil not ſatiſfie them, yet how is it that they are not conuinced by the writings of ſo many Ethnike and heathen Philoſophers, who make the immortalitie of the ſoule out of doubt, & by the conſideration of the being of this life conclude a iudgemẽt to come, which bringeth perpetuall happines and felicitie to the ſoules of the bleſſed, & euerlaſting miſerie & paine to them that are vnhappy? *Plato* vnder the name of *Socrates* may ſerue for a fit teacher for ſuch Epicures and Atheiſts that wil not heare the heauenly word of the almighty. *Frõ whence commeth it* (ſaith he) *that we ſee ſo many wicked mẽ paſſe the courſe of their dyes in worldly happines and felicitie, and die in great reſt & quietnes, whereas on the other ſide ſo many good men liue & die in great afflictions, & moſt hard calamities? The reaſon*

Rom. 8. 22.

Againſt Atheiſts and Epicures that deny the immortalitie of the ſoule.

is,

is, bicause God doth not punish and chastise all the wicked vpon the earth, to the end men may know, that there is a iudgement to come wherin the vngodlines of such men shal be corrected. Neither doth he recompence all good men with blessings in this world, to the ende they may hope that there is a place in the other life where the vertuous shalbe rewarded. Likewise he doth not punish all the wicked, nor reward al good men here beneath, least men should thinke that the vertuous folowed vertue in hope of a carnal & earthly reward, or eschewed vice for feare of punishmẽts & torments in this world. For so vertue should be no more vertue, seing there is no action that may cary the surname of vertuous, if the intent of him that doth it, be in hope of some earthly & carnal recompence, & not for the loue of vertue it self, & that he may be accepted of God, and so conceiue hope of eternal rewards in the other life. Also he punisheth and correcteth some wicked men vpon earth, & rewardeth some good men, least if good men only were afflicted, & the wicked suffred in quiet, men might be brought to beleeue that there were no prouidence, & that the diuine nature had no care of vs, & so all men would giue ouer themselues to folow iniustice. By the sequele of this speech *Plato* inferreth & proueth, that there is one God that hath care ouer his cretures, & that naturally euery spirit loueth him better that striueth to resemble him in manners & fashiõs of liuing, that reuerẽceth & honoreth him, thã those that feare him not, but despise him whose conditions are altogither vnlike his. *Moreouer, he prooueth euidẽtly, that good men in feare & reuerence of the Deitie, striue to imitate it by good works done to the benefit and safetie of others: and contrarywise, that the wicked despise God and all lawes both diuine and humane: whereupon it followeth that God loueth good men, and hateth the wicked. And bicause we see that good mẽ are subiect to calamity & ignominy in this world, we must therfore vndoubtedly confesse, that there is another life after this, wherein good men are eternally rewarded, & the wicked punished. Otherwise it would folow, that God cared more for the wicked than for the good, which were too absurd to graunt. From hence that diuine Philosopher draweth this conclusion, that the life of a wise man ought to be a perpetual meditation of death, and that the very feare to die, & not any desire to liue, is that which maketh death fearefull to them that know not the immor-*

Plato prooueth that there is a iudgement to come, and a second life.

How good men are discerned from the wicked

The afflictions of the godly in this world, proone a second life.

immortalitie of the ſoule. Now then ought not theſe men to bluſh for ſhame, that dare doubt of the ſecond life and future iudgement, when they heare this diſcourſe of an Ethnike and Pagan, deſtitute of that true light of God, and ſincere religion which is manifeſted to vs in Ieſus Chriſt? Truly nothing is more cleere in all the holy ſcripture, than that as before the firſt day mẽtioned in Geneſis, all things were poſſeſſed of Eternitie, ſo that there was neither time, nor yeere, nor moneth, nor ſeaſon, but all things were in that Eternitie, ſo when the laſt day ſhal come, all ſhall be eternall for the felicitie of the good, & torment of the wicked. But to returne to our ſpeech of death, the worde of God giueth vs to vnderſtand of three kinds of death: the one is the ſeparation of the ſoule from the body, with the diſſolution of the body vntill the reſurrection, and of this is our preſent diſcourſe. The ſecond is the death of ſinne, as it is ſaid oftentimes, that they are dead that nouriſh themſelues in ſinne. The third is called in the Apocalyps, the ſecond death, and ſomtimes eternal death, vnto which the wicked ſhalbe condemned in the laſt iudgemẽt. Therfore to cõtinue our ſpeech of corporal & temporal death, if the doctrine of the ſonne of God be neuer ſo little apprehended of vs by faith, we ſhall ſee cleerely enough that the faithful ought to haue that in great requeſt, which to humane ſenſe ſeemeth neither happie, nor to be deſired, ſeeing it turneth to their ſaluation. It belongeth to him that will not goe vnto Ieſus Chriſt to feare death: and to be vnwilling to goe to Chriſt, is a badge of ſuch a one as wil not raign with him. What traueller hauing paſſed many dangerous wayes, reioyceth not when he draweth neer to his countrey? And who is not content to depart out of an olde ruinous houſe? What pleaſure haue wee in this world, which draweth neere to an end euery day, & which ſelleth vnto vs ſo deere thoſe pleaſures that wee receiue therein? What other thing is this life but a perpetual battell and a ſharpe skirmiſh, wherein we are one while hurt with enuie, another while with ambition, and by and by with ſome other vice, beſides the ſuddaine onſets giuen vpon

Three kinds of death.

Apoc. 20. 6.

Why the faithfull ought to deſire death.

What the life of man is.

vpon our bodies by a thouſand ſorts of diſeaſes, and fluds of aduerſities vpō our ſpirits? Who than will not ſay with S. *Paul, I deſire to be diſſolued and to be with Chriſt?* Why do we daily pray that the kingdom of God ſhould come, if it be not for the deſire which we ought to haue to ſee the fulfilling therof in the other life? We haue a thouſand teſtimonies in the ſcripture, that the death of the body is a certaine way by which we paſſe into that true and eternal life, and into our owne countrey. *Fleſh and bloud* (ſaith Saint *Paul*) *cannot inherite the kingdom of God, neither doth corruption inherite incorruption. For this corruptible muſt put on incorruptiō, and this mortall muſt put on immortalitie: then ſhall bee fulfilled that which is written, Death is ſwallowed vp in victory.* They that beleeue in Ieſus Chriſt haue already ouercome death, ſin, and hell. And therefore contemning death they may ſay, *O death where is thy ſting? O graue where is thy victory? The ſting of death is ſinne, and the ſtrength of ſinne is the law: but thanks be vnto God which hath giuen vs victory through our Lord Ieſus Chriſt. He which hath raiſed vp the Lord Ieſus, ſhall raiſe vs vp alſo. Our conuerſation is in heauen, from whence alſo we looke for the ſauiour, euen the Lord Ieſus Chriſt, who ſhall change our vile body that it may be faſhioned like vnto his glorious body, according to the working, whereby he is able euen to ſubdue all things vnto himſelfe. Ye are dead* (ſaith he to the Coloſſians) *and your life is hid with Ieſus Chriſt in God. When Chriſt which is our life ſhall appeere, then ſhall ye alſo appeere with him in glory. My brethren* (ſaith he to the Theſſalonians) *I would not haue you ignorant concerning them which are aſleepe, that ye ſorow not euen as other which haue no hope. For if we beleeue that Ieſus is dead, and is riſen, euen ſo them which ſleepe in Ieſus will God bring with him. Ieſus Chriſt* (ſaith he to the Hebrewes) *was partaker of fleſh and bloud: that is to ſay, was truly man, that he might deſtroy through death, him that had the power of death, that is, the deuill. And that he might deliuer all them, who for feare of death were all their life time ſubiect to bondage. God hath ſaued vs, and called vs with an holy calling* (as he ſaith to *Timothie*) *not according to our works, but according to his owne purpoſe and grace, which was giuen to vs through Chriſt Ieſus before the world was, but is now made mani-*

Phil.1.23.

1.Cor.15.50. 53.54.55.56. 57.

2.Cor.4.14.

Phil.3.20.21.

Col.3.3.4.

1.Theſ.4.13. 14.

Heb.2 14.15.

2.Tim.1.9.10.

fest by the appeering of our Sauiour Iesus Christ, who hath abolished death, & hath brought life & immortalitie vnto light through the Gospel. I am sure (saith *Iob*) *that my redeemer liueth, and he shall stand the last on the earth. And though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet shall I see God in my flesh. Whom I my selfe shall see and mine eyes shall behold, and none other for me. Iesus Christ is our head, and we are his members.* This head cannot be without his members, neither can forsake them. *Where Christ is there shall we be also.* He that considereth diligently these places of Scripture, and infinite others contained therein, it cannot be but he should haue great ioy and comfort in his hart against all feare and horror of death. And then comming to compare the miseries which neuer leaue this life, with that vnspeakable happines and felicitie, *which eye hath not seene, neyther eare hath heard, neyther came into mans hart, which God hath prepared in the second and eternall life for all faithfull beleeuers*; a christian will not onely passe ouer this mortall life with ease and without trouble, but will euen contemne and make no account of it, in respect of that which is immortall. But to whome is death sweete if not to them that labour? The poore hireling is well at ease when hee hath done his dayes woorke. So death is alwayes sweete to the afflicted, but to them that put their trust in worldly things, the remembrance thereof is bitter. Now then the children of God are not afrayd of death, but (as *Cyprian* writeth in an Epistle sent to the Martyrs of Christ) hee that hath once ouercome death in his owne person, doth daily ouercome him in his members: so that we haue Iesus Christ not onely a beholder of our combates, but also an assistant and fighter with vs. And by his grace abounding in the harts of the faithfull, they are so much the more bent to meditate vpon the benefites of the future and eternall life, as they see that they are inuironed with greater store of miseries in this fading and transitorie life. Then comparing both togither they find nothing more easie than to finish sweetly their race, and to value the one as litle, as they account the other absolute in all felicitie. Moreouer, seeing heauen

Iob 19.25.26. 27.

Iohn 12.& 17.

1.Cor.2.9.

Who they be that feare not death.

is

is our countrey, what is the earth elſe but a paſſage in a ſtrange land? And bicauſe it is accurſed vnto vs for ſinne, it is nothing elſe but the place of our baniſhment. If our departure out of this world be an entrance to life, what is this world but a ſepulcher? And to dwell heere what is it elſe but to be plunged in death? If it be libertie to be deliuered out of this bodie, what is this bodie but a priſon? And if it be our chiefe happines to enioie the preſence of our God, is it not a miſerie not to enioie it? Now vntill we go out of this world, we ſhal be as it were ſeparated from God. Wherefore if this earthlie life be compared with the heauenlie, no doubt but it may be contemned, and accounted as it were doung. True it is that we muſt not hate it, but ſo far foorth as it keepeth vs in ſubiection to ſinne. And yet whileſt we deſire to ſee the ende of it, we muſt not be careleſſe to keepe our ſelues in it, to the good pleaſure of God, that our longing may be far from all murmuring and impatiencie. For our life is as a ſtation, wherein the Lord God hath placed vs, that we ſhould abide in it vntill he call vs backe againe. Saint *Paul* indeed bewailed his eſtate, bicauſe he was kept as it were bound in the priſon of his body longer than he would, & groned with a burning deſire vntill he was deliuered: but withall to ſhew his obedience to the wil of God, he proteſted that he was ready for both, bicauſe he knew himſelfe indebted for the glorifieng of his name, whether it were by death or by life. For it belongeth to him to determine what is expedient for his glorie. Wherefore if it behooueth vs to liue and die vnto him, let vs leaue both our life & death to his good pleaſure, but yet ſo that we alwaies deſire rather to die than to liue, & be ready cheerfully to renounce this life, whenſoeuer it pleaſeth the Lord, bicauſe it holdeth vs vnder ſin. And let vs hold this Maxime, that no man hath throughly profited in the ſchool of *Chriſt Ieſus*, but he that with ioy & gladnes expecteth the day of death, and of the laſt reſurrection. S. *Paul* in his epiſtle to *Titus* deſcribeth al the faithful by this mark: & the ſcripture when it propoũdeth vnto vs matter of reioicing calleth vs backe thither.

A compariſon betweene this life and that which is eternall.

Phil. 1. 23.

Titus. 2. 13.

Luke 21.28. *Reioice* (ſaith the Lord in *Luke*) *and lift vp your heads, for your redemption draweth neere*. It were abſurd that that thing ſhould breed nothing but ſorow and aſtoniſhment in vs, which Chriſt thought was fit matter to worke ioy in vs. Now than ſeeing death is dead to them that beleeue in him, there is nothing in death which a mā ought to feare. It is true that the image thereof is hideous and terrible, bicauſe that beſides the violent taking away of life, it repreſenteth vnto vs the wrath of God, which biteth like a ſerpent: but now the venome of it is taken away and can not hurt vs. And as through the braſen ſerpent which Moſes lift vp in the wilderneſſe, the liuing ſerpents died, and their venome hurt not the Iſraelites: ſo our death dieth, and is not able in any ſort to hurt vs, if we behold with the eyes of faith the death of Ieſus Chriſt. Briefly it is nothing but an image and ſhadow of death, and the beginning and entrance vnto true life. Wherefore concluding our preſent ſpeech, let vs learne that as our miſerable nature had brought vs to the like condition of death: ſo the grace of God maketh this difference, that ſome, namely the wicked, die to their deſtruction; and others, which are the children of God led by his ſpirit and word, die to liue more happily; ſo that their very death is precious in the ſight of God. And although the luſt of our fleſhe, beyng blind and earthly, ſtriueth continually againſt the deſires of the ſpirit, ſeeking to ſeparate vs as far as it can from our ſoueraigne *Good*, yet let vs haue this ingrauen in our harts, that they are happy that know the vanitie of this world, more happy that ſet not their affections vpon it, and they moſt happy that are taken out of it to be with GOD in the kingdome of heauen.

How death can not hurt.

Pſal. 116.15.

The ende of this Academie.

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